THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

MONTEFIORE, C. G. (CLAUDE GOLDSMID), 1858-1938

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THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

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THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

EDITED WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND A COMMENTARY

BY

C. G. MONTEFIORE

TOGETHER WITH A SERIES OF

ADDITIONAL NOTES

BY

I. ABRAHAMS

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. I

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1909

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TO

F. G. M.

φίλτρον γὰρ ἀνυσιμώτατον καὶ δεσμὸς ἄλυτος εὐνοίας ἑνωτικῆς ἡ τοῦ ἑνὸς θεοῦ τιμή.

Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus*, Lib. I. (*De Monarchia*) Chap. VII. (Mangey II. p. 219).

τὸ συγγενὲς οὐχ αἵματι μετρεῖται μόνον, πρυτανευούσης ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ πράξεων ὁμοιότητι καὶ θήρᾳ τῶν αὐτῶν.

Philo, *De Nobilitate*, Chap. I. (Mangey II. p. 438).

ואהבת לרעך כמוך. רבי עקיבא אומר זה כלל גדול בתורה. בן עזאי אומר זה
ספר תולדות אדם. זה כלל גדול מזה: אמר רבי תנחומא שלא תאמר הואיל
ונתבזיתי יתבזה חבירי עמי הואיל ונתקללתי יתקלל חבירי עמי. אם עשית בן רע
למי אתה מבזה. בדמות אלהים עשה אותו:

Sifra 89 b on Lev. xix. 18, and Genesis Rabba Chap. xxiv. ad fin.
Cp. Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, Vol. I. p. 417, n. 4,
p. 422, n. 1. (Ed. 2, 1903.)

σοφία...μία δὲ οὖσα πάντα δύναται, καὶ μένουσα ἐν αὑτῇ τὰ πάντα καινίζει, καὶ κατὰ γενεὰς εἰς ψυχὰς ὁσίας μεταβαίνουσα φίλους θεοῦ καὶ προφήτας κατασκευάζει.

Wisdom of Solomon vii. 27.

The Country Parson...as he doth not so study others as to neglect the grace of God in himself and what the Holy Spirit teacheth him, so doth he assure himself that God in all ages hath had his servants, to whom he hath revealed his Truth as well as to him; and that as one Country doth not bear all things, that there may be a Commerce, so neither hath God opened or will open all to one, that there may be a traffick in knowledge between the servants of God for the planting both of love and humility.

George Herbert, *The Country Parson*, Chap. IV.
"The Parson's Knowledge."

The Humble, Meek, Merciful, Just, Pious and Devout Souls are everywhere of one Religion; and when Death has taken off the Mask, they will know one another, though the divers Liveries they wear here makes them Strangers.

Some Fruits of Solitude, by William Penn.
(Part I. Number 519.)

PREFACE

I HAVE sufficiently explained the nature and object of my book in the Introduction and in the opening words of the commentary upon Mark. It is unnecessary to recapitulate what is there said.

It had been for many years the desire of my friend Mr Israel Abrahams, Reader in Talmudic and Rabbinic Literature in the University of Cambridge, and myself to join together in some work upon the New Testament. The Additional Notes which he is going to contribute to the present book will be a partial fulfilment of our old desire. I had greatly hoped that these Notes, in which Mr Abrahams' wealth of Rabbinic learning will be used to illustrate and explain the Gospel text, would have appeared together with my own commentary. I keenly trust, though this hope has been, to my deep regret, disappointed, that they will appear (as the third and concluding volume of the work) before the end of 1910. It is right to add that while Mr Abrahams and I are in general accord in our estimate of the Gospels, he is in no way responsible for what I have written, and does not, as a matter of fact, agree with every part of it.

For the benefit of my Jewish readers (for whom my book is specially intended) I have given the translation of each Gospel separately, and as a whole, before the commentary upon it. I am anxious that they should first of all read the story as it stands, undisturbed by breaks or verse divisions or remarks. The translation is then repeated before each section of the commentary. The character of the translation is set forth in § 2 of the Introduction.

At an early stage of the book Dr Carpenter, the Principal of Manchester College, Oxford, was good enough to read through a considerable portion of the commentary. I owe a great deal to his suggestions, and I have ventured to include (without asking his permission) some of the observations which he pencilled upon the margin of the paper into the body of my work. In most cases I have added his name.

The book does not pretend to learning. If it were not for my special point of view, I should have no justification to write upon the Gospels at all, and in any case I am keenly conscious of my own temerity and inadequacies. There are numbers of books which any scholar ought to have read and absorbed, whereas I, partly through lack of leisure, have entirely neglected them. And the textual side of Gospel study I have almost wholly omitted from view. If it be asked: 'Why then do you venture to throw your work at the public?', I can only reply that the peculiar point of view, to which I have alluded, may, I hope, make my book of some interest and use to a few persons in my own religious community and to a few persons outside it.

Though I speak of a 'peculiar point of view,' it hardly needs saying that I am *specially* dependent upon the labours and researches of the great scholars who have given their lives to Biblical or New Testament study. The names and the books of those to whom I have most frequently gone for help will all be mentioned in the course of the commentary: I ought, however, here to state that the writers to whom I owe the most, and have quoted most often, are Loisy and Wellhausen, and next to them, I think, H. J. Holtzmann and Johannes Weiss. But I must confess, to my shame, that I have not yet been able to study the works of Dr E. A. Abbott. This grave omission, from which my book is bound to have suffered greatly, I hope to make good upon some future occasion.

I owe the index to the care and patience of my friend and secretary, Miss W. Seymour, to whom my best thanks are due.

List of those authorities who are quoted under Abbreviations

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Das Evangelium Lucae. (1904.)
Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien. (1905.)

Where the reference is obviously to the commentary upon the particular Gospel concerned, I have quoted it simply as *W.* References to the *Einleitung* are given thus: W. *Einleitung.*

Weiss (Johannes). Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments übersetzt und...erklärt [by J. Weiss and other scholars].

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(The commentary on Matthew appeared too late for me to use.)

[N.B. I should like to add that I was only able to use Professor B. W. Bacon's 'The beginnings of Gospel story' (a commentary upon Mark), 1909, in revising my Introduction. And my book was printed off before I could make any use of Wendling's *Die Entstehung des Marcus Evangeliums* (1908) Nicolardot, *Les Procédés de Rédaction des Trois Premiers Évangélistes*, 1908, and Sharman's *The Teaching of Jesus about the Future according to the Synoptic Gospels*, 1909.]

C. G. M.

September, 1909.

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. *Character of the work: the Jews and the Gospels: the Jewish point of view.*

The task which I have set before myself in this book is, I am fully aware, far too great for my narrow learning and capacities, yet it is one which so urgently needs doing that I have ventured to make a small beginning towards its accomplishment.

The book is fragmentary and tentative. A Jewish commentary to the entire New Testament is required, and here I have only given a commentary upon a portion. Moreover, it is fragmentary and tentative for other reasons as well. If I had waited for several more years I might have gained much fresh knowledge, and modified many opinions here expressed. But it seemed best to wait no longer. Life is uncertain, and other duties make the hours which can be given to study few and sometimes even far between.

The book is also tentative because I am in many respects a pioneer. For of Jewish exposition of the Gospels there has been little. Endless Christian commentaries exist, written from many different points of view, with great learning and splendid patience, but Jewish commentaries can hardly be said to exist at all. Jewish scholars have usually taken up an attitude towards the New Testament, and more especially towards the Gospels, which does not lend itself to impartiality. It has not been a very fruitful and light-giving attitude. A main effort has been to show that to various admittedly admirable sayings of Jesus reported in the Gospels there are excellent parallels in the Old Testament or the Rabbinical writings. An atomistic treatment has usually been adopted. The teaching of Jesus has not been much discussed and appraised as a whole. And where it has been so discussed, the line has been rather to depreciate or to cheapen. Jewish writers have either looked for parallels or for defects. Considering what Judaism and the Jews have had to suffer at Christian hands, this Jewish treatment of the Gospels is not astonishing. No wonder

that the Jews should show some injustice towards the literary origins of a religion from the adherents of which they have suffered such gross and terrible wrongs. No wonder that they should express some disdain at this supposed superior and superfine teaching of love which, so far as they are concerned, has so generally proved itself a religion of violence, cruelty and hate. No wonder that they should desire to defend the excellence of their own religious writings and of their own religion, which have been so constantly depreciated and misunderstood by Christian writers. All this is quite human, quite natural.

It may be added that till just recent times it was scarcely possible for Jews to dissociate the Christian claim that Jesus lived an exceptional life, and that his teaching was uniquely great and original, from the further Christian claim that he was divine, or indeed that he was God. It was the divinity of Jesus that was for Jews the true stumblingblock to any scientific estimate of his teaching. If all Christians had been Unitarians from the first, a drawing together and a good understanding between Jew and Christian as regards the place of Jesus in the history of Judaism and of religion would have been far easier. The objections to Jesus as a heretic, or as an iconoclast, or as a critic of the Law, would not have been so insuperably difficult. Moreover, for many centuries to say that Jesus was a good man and a fine teacher, but not divine, was exceedingly dangerous. It meant the stake or the sword. Hence to keep complete silence was much easier, and this negative attitude gradually became extremely general. And when the danger of speech was removed, the old objections and stumblingblocks were still in force.

Yet in England the time has come when it is right and possible for a Jew to look at the Gospels in a more historical, comprehensive and impartial spirit. This at all events is my aim, and though I am very deficient in learning, the circumstances of my education, environment and life, perhaps too the 'cross bench' cast of mind with which I chanced to be born, have given me some advantages for its partial attainment.

I do not want to depreciate the Rabbis or their teaching, but I have no desire unduly to exalt them. And at the same time I do not want to depreciate Jesus or unduly to exalt him. It may sometimes be necessary to indicate parallels or contrasts, but the object which I have set before myself is to find neither the one nor the other. So far as I can, I am anxious to get at the facts, and to let them speak for themselves; to look at things as they really are.

Yet I know that one cannot get rid of one's upbringing, one's origin, and one's own peculiar point of view. I have no doubt

that a Buddhist or Mohammedan critic would be able to detect in my book many a prepossession and a prejudice. Yet that I shall seem to Jewish critics too Christian, and to Christian critics too Jewish is, I trust, likely, and is to me a source of some hope that now and then I may have said the truth.

I also realize that the scientific or historical character of the book is spoiled, as it were *ab initio*, by the fact that it has a by no means purely scientific object. The book has been mainly written for Jewish readers, though I fear it is not probable that many will read it. It has turned out somewhat too long and too dull. It is, however, mainly written for Jewish readers, though I hope that a few Christian readers may find some of its pages not without a certain interest.

It seems to me (for reasons into which I cannot here enter) that it is of great importance for Jews to understand and appreciate aright the life and teaching of Jesus. What should be the right relation of Judaism to that teaching? What place should Jesus and his teaching take or fill in the religion of 'his own people' to-day? What should be the place of the New Testament in Jewish eyes and for the Jewish religion? To find the due and proper answer to these questions seems to me one of the most important duties which lie before modern, and especially before liberal, Judaism. Up to now, the work has been hardly tackled at all, at least not to any serious or profitable purpose. And this is another reason why my own book is tentative. For under such circumstances, when a man is not following in a well-beaten path, it is not likely that he, in his loneliness, will make much progress. I am not so conceited or silly as not to realize this. Not only is my own book but a commentary upon one small piece (though the most important piece) of the New Testament, but it is a mere temporary beginning, a provisional contribution. To find the long-delayed answers to so large a problem one man will not suffice, or one generation.

I shall be content if I have contributed a little material and a few unsystematic suggestions towards the right and final answer —if indeed a final answer there can ever be. This commentary upon the Synoptic Gospels does not contain (it is not its aim) any systematic presentation of the life and teaching of Jesus or any systematic discussion of the relation of that life and teaching to modern Judaism. It deals with the various points as they arise in their place in the narrative, and it deals with them, moreover, very often in a somewhat halting and undecided way.

For this is one more reason why my book is tentative. To several of the problems connected with the life of Jesus, and to some connected with his teaching, I myself, with the material at

our command, do not, so far, see my way to any clean-cut and decisive replies. Thus, when I do not feel sure, I prefer to express my uncertainty. I have freely quoted from the works of great scholars and distinguished authorities. The reader will, at all events, hear what *they* think, and perhaps he will judge between them more rapidly or confidently than I, so far, have been able to do. The quotations are almost all from the works of great Christian scholars, German, French, and English. Though I have, as it were, sat at the feet of these scholars, and learned from them a very great deal, I have not hesitated to point out where, from my Jewish point of view, they seem to me prejudiced and therefore inaccurate, or when they seem ignorant of matters about which a more intimate knowledge of Jewish thought, and a more intimate experience of Jewish life, can bring correction.

That my own book may be soon superseded by another book from a Jewish pen which will be more learned, more impartial, and more conclusive than mine, I earnestly hope. Meanwhile even provisional books and provisional suggestions may have their temporary uses. Such, I hope, may be the case with mine. If its readers will judge it as a whole, they will judge it as it asks to be judged.

§ 2. *Contents of the work: the Synoptic Gospels: origin and meaning of the word* synoptic.

My work consists of a translation of, and a commentary upon, the first three Gospels—Matthew, Mark, and Luke, or according to the order in which they are here placed—Mark, Matthew, and Luke. The translation is based upon the Authorised Version. I have, however, made many changes, mainly in order to obtain greater accuracy. Sometimes the variation is due to the fact that a better and earlier Greek text can now be obtained than was known to the translators of King James's Version or to their predecessors. Occasionally the changes are due to the omission of an archaism. (I fancy that many Jewish readers coming to the Authorised Version of the New Testament for the first time would suppose that John the Baptist's head was brought to Herod upon a horse.) I have, however, not sought to produce a consistently modern version, though I have derived help and benefit from a frequent consultation of Dr Moffatt's and of Dr Weymouth's interesting translations.

The first three Gospels are frequently called the Synoptic Gospels, because 'they are all constructed on a common plan, and from first to last, amid minor differences, the teaching and

work of Jesus are presented from the same general point of view' (Carpenter, *First Three Gospels*, p. 7). The use of the word Synoptic as applied to the first three Gospels is due to J. J. Griesbach, a German theologian of the eighteenth century. In 1774 he published the first part of a new edition of the 'historical books of the New Testament,' containing a *synopsis* of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke.' In his preface (p. iv.) he states that the ordinary editions of the Gospels are unsuited to students. 'For,' says he—and as not one person in a thousand is likely to look up Griesbach's book, his actual words (translated from the Latin) are worth quoting—'in the first place, if Matthew, Mark, and Luke are commented on one by one in the order in which they follow one another, the frequent repetitions of narratives recorded by two of them, or by all three, steal away too large a portion of our small span of time without any corresponding advantage. Hence it seemed worth while to construct a sort of *synopsis* of these three Gospels, in which the parts common to all three, or to two of them, should be put side by side in such a way that the interpretation of one Evangelist should serve to make the rest intelligible, or at least leave but a few points over for explanation. Indeed one may hope that a *synopsis* of this kind will contain several advantages.' There had been harmonies of the Gospels compiled before for apologetic purposes. Griesbach is careful to point out that his new *synopsis* is not one of these. Later commentators on the basis of what Griesbach had done, used the adjective *synoptic* to characterize those first three Gospels of which it was possible and useful to form a *synopsis*. I have not, however, discovered who was the first man to do this. Perhaps I should add for those of my readers who know no Greek that *sun* (σύν) in Greek means 'with' and *opsis* (ὄψις) means 'look, appearance, sight.' Hence *sunopsis* (σύνοψις) means 'a seeing together, a general view.' The adjectives *sunoptos* (σύνοπτος), 'that can be seen at a glance,' and *sunoptikos* (συνοπτικός), 'seeing the whole together,' are both used by good Greek writers.

It will, therefore, be noticed that of the four Gospels this book only includes three. The fourth, the Gospel of John, is omitted. The reason is that, whilst the first three Gospels treat their subject from this common point of view and arrangement, the fourth is different in both. It has a different conception of Jesus, and tells in many respects a different history. The words which it puts into Jesus's mouth are peculiar and special. Moreover, this fourth Gospel is less historic than the first three; it gives 'an *interpretation* of the person and work of Jesus rather than a record of his words and deeds' (*First Three Gospels*, p. 9). Notable, great and important as this Gospel is, it can—and indeed

must—be studied by itself, and not together or in conjunction with the first, the allied, three. Therefore it forms no part of the present more limited undertaking. For that undertaking, though limited, is yet sufficiently, and more than sufficiently, arduous, intricate, and obscure.

§ 3. *The sort of books the Synoptic Gospels are: their dates and their sources.*

What sort of books are these first three Gospels? The answer is best obtained by reading them, but some preliminary words are necessary or advantageous. I wish I could just transfer to this Introduction the pages of Dr Carpenter's book, *The First Three Gospels: their Origin and Relations.* It contains so much in so small a space, and is the product of such wide knowledge and such high impartiality. I have quoted from it already, and shall constantly quote from it again. The fourth edition, to which my references belong, was published in 1906 (by Philip Green, 5 Essex Street, Strand, London, W.C.), and costs *sixpence.* If all my Jewish readers at least would spend sixpence, and read Dr Carpenter's book before or together with mine, it would be a great advantage for them. It has 395 pages, but they are not big ones. Dr Carpenter writes from the point of view of a Unitarian Christian, but I cannot imagine that anyone, whether Jew on the one hand, or Trinitarian Christian on the other, could be hurt or unprofited by his words.

The first three Gospels tell of the life and death and alleged resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth. The word Gospel means 'good spel,' 'spel' signifying 'speech' or 'story.' It is thus intended to be a literal translation of the Greek word *εὐαγγέλιον* (*euangelion*) or 'good tidings.' We keep the Greek in the word 'evangelist,' but 'evangel' for 'Gospel' is rare. German and French both use the Greek form: *les évangiles, die Evangelien.* When we speak of the four Gospels, or of the Gospel according to Mark, we mean the particular books in which the preaching of the Good Tidings and the life of the preacher are recorded. Some remarks upon the original meaning of the word will be found in the note on Mark i. 1.

The Gospels, like the books of the Hebrew prophets, are not easily brought under any previously existing class or category of literature. The veteran and learned theologian, H. J. Holtzmann, whose little prejudices (as they seem to me) I have now and then ventured to indicate, but from whose splendid and laborious commentary, I, like hundreds of others, have freely and gratefully

drawn, rightly says of the Gospels: 'Both in form and in contents they are unique in ancient literature: they form a group by themselves, and they cannot be assigned to any of the traditional and then existing classes of literary composition—not even to the class of Jewish didactic stories which would seem otherwise to lie nearest at hand' (*Hand-Commentar*, third edition, p. 36). Some admirably suggestive remarks as to the excellence of the Gospels and its causes are given by Renan in *Les Évangiles*, chapters v. and vi.

The first question that suggests itself to anybody to ask about the Gospels is, When were they written? As to that question no complete agreement has yet been reached by scholars. But the limits of variation are not very wide. It is generally believed that the Gospel according to Mark, the oldest Gospel, and one main source of the other two, was in existence in the form in which we now possess it very soon after the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D. Matthew and Luke are later: we may roughly place them somewhere about 90 to 100 A.D. We have, therefore, to remember that the earliest Gospel was written not more than forty years after the death of Jesus. If a disciple of Jesus was thirty years old when his Master died, he was not much more than seventy years old when the Gospel of Mark saw the light.

But we are able to push even the *literary* sources for the life of Jesus still further back, and nearer to the date of his death (A.D. 29 or 30, as is generally supposed). For though scholars are not even yet wholly at one as to the origin and character of Mark, still it is pretty generally agreed either that a shorter form of the Gospel, as we now possess it—an *Urmarcus*, to use the German word—or that one or more of Mark's *sources*, were written in Aramaic. This *Urmarcus*, or these *sources*, will take us back some ten to twenty years more, that is from 70 to 50, or not more than 20 years after the death of Jesus.

Again, these sources were either themselves drawn up by eye-witnesses, or they drew upon, and were at any rate the partial product of, the stories and reminiscences of persons who had actually lived and talked with Jesus. An oral tradition was at their base, and is, therefore, at the base of Mark. For even when Mark—the Greek Mark as we have it now—was written and issued in its present form, there must have been several persons yet living who had seen and spoken with Jesus. Still more must such persons (and in greater numbers) have existed when the first Aramaic *Urmarcus* or when the earliest Aramaic sources (in their earliest and most primitive form) were composed.

Jesus himself, so far as we know, wrote nothing. He had, however, many disciples, and eastern disciples of an eastern

Master have retentive memories. When he was put to death, there must have been a store of reminiscences of his words and deeds. When his disciples began to preach that he was the Messiah, they drew upon this store. They comforted themselves for the loss of the Master's presence by repeating his words and recalling his deeds. At first, for a few years after the crucifixion, the need for writing down these reminiscences may not have arisen; all the more, as for these few years the disciples still expected that the End of the Age, or, as we may also call it, the End of the World, would soon ensue. But after a time the necessity for such written records would naturally make itself felt. The disciples and eyewitnesses became fewer and died; there was a danger lest the words and deeds of the Master should be forgotten or wrongly told; as the new religion—for this it soon became—was preached to ever wider circles, the need for written documents became greater. Thus in the most natural way collections of the Master's sayings, records of his life and of the miracles which he wrought, must gradually have been composed. Luke, writing about 90 to 100 A.D., speaks of many such narratives and collections as already in existence.

We naturally ask, What relation does our oldest Gospel bear to these oral traditions and reminiscences? Have we in it the exact written precipitate or record of what contemporaries and disciples of Jesus saw and heard?

This is a very difficult question. How we answer it partly depends upon our different points of view. What I mean will be made clear by an example. In the sixth chapter of Mark Jesus is reported to have made, through miraculous multiplication, five loaves and two fishes suffice for a good meal to five thousand men. He is also reported to have walked upon the sea. If we are willing to believe these miracles, we shall be inclined to say that these events were remembered and repeated by the disciples, and may easily enough have been reported to the author of the Gospel of Mark by a man, or by men, who actually saw them take place.

If, on the other hand, like the writer of this book, we do not believe that the miracles happened, then it seems tolerably certain that whatever substratum or residue of non-miraculous fact these stories may contain, they could not have been directly reported, in the form in which we now possess them, to the writer of the Gospel by actual eyewitnesses. We must, at any rate, assume that the eyewitnesses thought they saw a miracle when they did not see one, or that they exaggerated, or that their memories soon gave way. Or we must assume that, even before Mark or his sources were written, many of the eyewitnesses had died, or that the writer or writers drew rather from the general volume of

popular oral tradition, as it had constituted itself in the Christian community, and as it was floating about in their environment, than from the direct reports and communications of the actual disciples or eyewitnesses of the Master's deeds and words. It is probable that for different stories and speeches one or other of all these various 'assumptions' would have to be used. The facts require, or are the product of, all of them, though in various degrees.

§ 4. *The Gospel of Mark. Who was Mark? The statements of Papias.*

Passing from such general considerations, one asks more specifically, Is anything actually known as to the origin of the oldest Gospel? Who was Mark? Is he the author of the book which bears his name?

There was a John Mark of whom we hear several times in various New Testament books. His mother's name was Mary, and she lived in Jerusalem and belonged to the Christian community. To her house Peter is said to have come when he escaped from Herod's prison (Acts xii. 12). He was the cousin of Barnabas (Colossians iv. 10), and is said to have accompanied the apostle Paul on some of his travels (Acts xii. 25, xiii. 13, xv. 37–39; Philemon 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11). Moreover in Jerusalem Mark is supposed to have become acquainted with, and a constant companion of, the apostle Peter. In the first Epistle of Peter (v. 13) he is spoken of as at Rome. 'She (*i.e.* the Church) that is in Babylon (*i.e.* Rome) salutes you, and so does Mark my son (*i.e.* my spiritual son).' Thus it is further supposed that Mark wrote his Gospel in Rome. And to Mark, the author of the Gospel, there is supposed by some to be an allusion in the Gospel itself (see note on xiv. 51, 52), and it is even conjectured that the place of the Last Supper was the house of Mark's mother. As to the value of these traditions, so far as they bear upon the problem of the authorship of the second Gospel, something will be said later on.

The oldest reference to Mark as a writer comes from Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, who wrote about 140–150 A.D. Excerpts of his work have been preserved by Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, 265–340 A.D. Papias, then, is quoted by Eusebius as having received information from 'John the Elder,' as follows: 'This also the Elder used to say: Mark, having become Peter's interpreter, wrote accurately all that which he (Mark) repeated (or remembered), though not in order, that was said or done by the Christ. For he had neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but

afterwards, as I have said, followed Peter, who used to frame his teaching according to the needs (of his hearers), but not as making a connected series, or narrative (*σύνταξιν*), of the Lord's discourses (or words). So Mark committed no fault, in that he wrote down (or, as having written down) some particulars (*ἔνια*) just as he (Mark) repeated them from memory. For he took heed (but) to one thing, to omit none of the facts that he heard, or to make no false statement in his account of them.'

In this statement of Papias there are several words which are a little uncertain, and as a whole it gives rise to a great deal of doubt and discussion.

First, as to a few of the details. Up to what point is Papias quoting the Elder? Probably only up to the end of the first sentence ('done by the Christ'). The rest is the commentary of Papias. Next, what is the meaning of 'interpreter' (*ἑρμηνευτής*)? Some think the word means that Mark merely became the interpreter of Peter by writing his Gospel. But this explanation is extremely unlikely. The word *ἑρμηνευτής*, 'interpreter,' must indicate a personal relationship. And the probable meaning is that Mark orally translated Peter's Aramaic discourses and preachings into Greek, and then carefully wrote down what he had orally said. Thirdly, as to the word *ἐμνημόνευσεν*. What is its exact meaning? Who is its subject? Some have rendered 'all that he (Peter) mentioned,' but more probably 'all that he (Mark) repeated (from memory)' is meant. The word may also mean 'remembered,' and in that case too either Peter or Mark may be its subject. The same doubt exists about *ἀπεμνημόνευσεν* a little further down. That word is probably to be translated 'as he (Mark) exactly repeated them from memory.' Peter spoke in Aramaic; Mark translated orally, and then, later on, wrote down, as accurately as he could, the discourses which he remembered, and had himself verbally delivered. Another important detail is the phrase 'not, however, in order,' *οὐ μέντοι τάξει*. Does this refer to chronology? More probably it refers to what Loisy calls 'la bonne distribution des matières.' Perhaps the Elder thought that Matthew arranged his material better than Mark. 'Afterwards, as I have said, he followed Peter.' What does 'afterwards' mean? Taken in connection with 'as I have said' it probably means that Papias had elsewhere remarked that Mark had 'followed' Paul, and now he tells us that 'later on' he became the follower and interpreter of Peter. Lastly, what is the meaning of 'some particulars, matters or things' (*ἔνια*)? We must not apparently suppose that this word *ἔνια* ('some things') implies that to Papias only a part of the Gospel of Mark goes back to Mark. Papias is alluding to our Gospel and not to a part of it. The

'some things' simply refer to the separate particular teachings and preachings of Peter according as Mark remembered them.

The value of the statement of Papias would be increased if we knew more about Papias's authority, John the Elder. But from another fragment of Papias, quoted by Eusebius, it is practically certain that John the Elder was not the apostle John, and indeed was probably not an apostle at all or an immediate disciple of Jesus. 'If,' says Papias, 'anyone arrived who had followed the Men of Old Time (the Elders) (*παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις*), I enquired as to their words: what Andrew or what Peter said or Philip or Thomas or James or John or Matthew or any other of the disciples of the Lord, or what Aristion or John the Elder [the disciples of the Lord] say.' Here clearly the apostle John and John the Elder are distinguished from each other, while the bracketed words are in all probability a gloss. It is not even certain that Papias had spoken directly with John the Elder: he may only have spoken with someone who had 'followed' him. Under these circumstances the statement of Papias simply comes to this: that a disciple of the disciples told him a tradition about the origin and authorship of the Gospel of Mark. Thus, as Loisy justly observes, what Papias, on the authority of John the Elder, says of Mark and of Matthew, has not a strictly historical character, and one has even the right to ask if his statements are not semi-conjectures, 'complétant des demi-renseignements,' about books already in credit, which needed to be covered with an important name in order to maintain the authority they had acquired, at a time when nobody quite knew how they had acquired it (*E. S.* I. p. 24).

It is necessary to test the assertions of John the Elder by an examination of the Gospel itself and by such other evidence as may be available. The connection of Mark and Peter mentioned in the so-called first Epistle of Peter is of little importance. The Epistle is in all probability not authentic, and was written after the Gospel. Perhaps even the very mention of Mark's name in that Epistle is not without connection with the attribution of the Gospel to a disciple of Peter. 'Ce serait une mention intéressée, comme le dire de Jean l'Ancien' (*E. S.* I. p. 113). In any case the Mark who was Peter's disciple can hardly have been the Mark who was the companion of Paul.

§ 5. *The relation of Peter to the Gospel of Mark.*

If we test and compare the Gospel of Mark as we now possess it with the statement of Papias, there are various questions to be asked: Does the Gospel give the impression of being in its

entirety the work of a disciple of Peter? Or, indeed, does it even give the impression of being the literary precipitate of Peter's discourses? Is it not rather composite, either in the sense that one person did not write it all in the form in which we now possess it, or in the sense that written sources were used by its author and incorporated into his work, or in both senses at once? Lastly, is Papias right in saying of our Gospel that it lacks *τάξις*, 'order, arrangement'?

As regards the last question, we have seen that *τάξις* ('order') to John and Papias probably meant not chronological order, but the right arrangement of material and discourses. 'Jean pouvait trouver, et il trouvait sans doute, que Marc avait moins d'ordre que Matthieu' (*E. S.* I. p. 26). Nevertheless it has to be admitted that, even so, the statement of John is rather surprising, for, as Loisy observes, 'les morceaux de Marc' are not 'des catéchèses mises bout à bout.' Mark may have Petrine material, but in no sense can it be regarded, so far as *order* is concerned, as a mere collection of Peter's sermons and teachings and discourses. Prof. Bacon says that the tradition which Papias records 'is warmly apologetic in purpose, and aims to show that Mark, although not agreeing with Matthew in the "order," nevertheless "made no mistake, while he thus wrote down some things as he remembered them; his one care was neither to omit anything that he had heard or to set down any false statement therein"' (Bacon, *Beginnings of Gospel Story*, 1909, p. xx.).

The other questions involve a discussion of the substance and the details of the entire Gospel, and cannot be profitably examined in a brief Introduction of the kind suitable to this particular book. The great authorities are by no means unanimous in their answers. Suffice it to say that, following such scholars as Loisy, Wellhausen, Bacon and many others, who, differing in many points, agree in this, I cannot regard the Gospel of Mark as being *in its entirety* the work of a disciple of Peter. It is, as Loisy says, *not* 'la transcription d'un témoignage original et direct touchant l'enseignement et la carrière de Jésus.' It is *not* the work of a man 'spécialement attaché à Pierre, et qui tiendrait de l'apôtre même ce qu'il raconte à son sujet' (*E. S.* I. p. 25). It is *not* the work of a man who was careful to collect the sure evidence of those who had seen and heard Jesus, and who could have known the circumstances of his death, but it is rather an anonymous compilation, a more or less heterogeneous residuum of the historic tradition of the life and teaching of Jesus, and of the interpretations, corrections, and additions which the labours of early Christian thought had introduced into that tradition (*E. S.* I. p. 112).

Nevertheless it may be fairly safely assumed that some of Mark, or some of Mark's material, goes back to, or is based upon, the reminiscences and statements of Peter. Over and above the tradition to this effect, there are some positive arguments to be drawn from the Gospel itself. These will be noticed in their place. The opening scenes of the Galilæan ministry are located in Peter's home: the Gospel begins to be detailed where Peter had personal knowledge. The story of Peter's denial must, it is argued, be due to him and him alone: would tradition have invented a story so damaging to the reputation of the great apostle?

Scholars vary in their opinion as to the amount of the 'Petrine' material in Mark. For example, Dr Carpenter accepts the traditional view to a considerable extent. 'How Peter's reminiscences,' he says, 'were shaped into our Mark we cannot tell.' But he thinks that 'at any rate it remains probable that the main facts of our second Gospel were derived from Peter; the baptism, the ministry in Capernaum and on the lake, the choice of the disciples, the enlarging work, the opposition and the conflict, the confession of the Messiahship, the journey to Jerusalem, the entry into the capital, the last days of gathering danger, the fatal night of anguish and desertion—of all these he may have spoken. The leading outlines of the immortal story are drawn from the life. Here Jesus thinks, prays, speaks, feels, acts, as a man' (*First Three Gospels*, p. 231). The many graphic touches which we shall frequently notice in Mark bespeak, to many scholars, the eye-witness.

On the other hand, there seems to be much in the Gospel, as we now have it, which cannot proceed from Peter, just as, if Peter had been its main source, many things would probably be different from what we now find and have.

To begin with, if the Gospel were the work of a disciple of Peter, one would suppose that we should have heard somewhat more about him and perhaps even that the place assigned to him would be other than what it is. Or must we say that Peter was very modest, and kept his own relations with Jesus in the background? Jülicher indeed says: 'Dass Petrus in unserem Evangelium besonders hervortritt, wird nicht zu leugnen sein' (*Einleitung*, p. 276). But it is dubious whether the mention of Peter in x. 28 and xi. 21 means very much, even though Matthew in his parallel to xi. 21 has the disciples generally, and not Peter. Jülicher seems to think it very significant that in xvi. 7 Peter is specially singled out for mention (*cp.* xiv. 29). As against such arguments we have the arguments of Bacon, who points out that the first trace of an individual *rôle* for Peter is the rebuke viii. 29–33. 'Thereafter he appears in ix. 5, x. 28, xi 21, xiv.

29–37, 66–72. With the single exception of xi. 21 he appears always as the object of rebuke and correction.' The American professor goes even so far as to say: 'Sight by hypnotic suggestion has few more curious illustrations than the discovery by writers under the spell of the Papias tradition of traces in Mark of special regard for Peter! How different in this respect is our First Gospel.' It does really seem the case as regards Peter that in Mark we hear comparatively little about him; and moreover—a very important point—there is a tendency (unlike Matthew) to depreciate (in a Pauline manner) the intelligence and, to some extent, the position, of all the Galilæan apostles, including Peter (*cp.* Bacon, *op. cit.* pp. xxiv.–xxvii.). If the author of Mark had 'followed' Peter, might we not assume that his Gospel would have been longer. Wellhausen observes that the traditional material which Mark reduces to writing is 'comparatively rich for Jerusalem, but poor for Galilee.' Would this be so if this tradition went back to the apostles? 'It would rather seem as if the narrative tradition in Mark did not mainly proceed from the intimate friends of Jesus.' 'It has for the most part a somewhat rough popular manner. In the form in which we now possess it, this tradition must have passed through many people's mouths to have reached its present rather blunt and rough-hewn shape' (*Einleitung*, p. 53). Then, again, there are the miracles. Do these not imply and require a certain time and growth, a certain amount of transmission or development from mouth to mouth? Thus, to quote Wellhausen again, he observes: 'Are we to suppose that Peter was the authority for the sudden call of the four "fishers of men"? Did he testify to the walking on the sea, to the passing of the evil spirits into the swine, the healing of the woman with an issue through the power of Jesus's dress, or the cure of the deaf and the blind by spittle? And why are we not told more, or not told more credible things, about the intercourse of the Master with his disciples?' (*Einleitung*, p. 52). But other scholars, for example Renan, would not hold that the miracles prevent us from accepting the view that Mark embodies many of the direct recollections of Peter. The miracles, the 'materialistic thaumaturgy,' are, he thinks, quite in keeping with Peter's disposition. The Gospel of Mark is 'une biographie écrite avec crédulité.' The miracles are no proof of its unhistoric character. 'Things which upset us in the highest degree were matters of everyday occurrence to Jesus and his disciples. The Roman world even more than the Jewish world was a dupe to these illusions. The miracles wrought by Vespasian are of precisely the same type as those of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark....But the characters in the legend, the vagueness of the circumstances, the indistinct softness of the outlines are very noticeable in Matthew

and in Luke. In Mark, on the other hand, everything is vivid and lifelike: we feel that we are in the presence of reminiscences' (*Les Évangiles*, p. 118). Thus do the authorities differ!

There are indeed two or three strands or elements in the Gospel of Mark as we now possess it. And it may be, and it has been argued, that the very co-existence of these different strands is a proof for the historical character of one of them. Mark has not produced a consistent picture of Jesus. All the more proof that some of the traits of this inconsistent picture were drawn or taken from the life. This seems a good argument up to a point. But it is not a good argument for the theory that Mark as a whole is the written precipitate of the discourses of Peter. Underneath the real or apparent freshness and immediateness of the narrative—or shall we rather say often encompassing and modifying and misinterpreting it?—there can be found the dogmatic theories of the theologian. These theories we shall hear of in the course of the commentary. Mark's object is to prove that Jesus is the divine Messiah, the Son of God. But if, in spite of this conception of his hero, a simpler, and more human figure can nevertheless well be discerned beneath all later theological overwrappings in the pages of Mark, are not many critics right in regarding this as a tremendously powerful argument for the accuracy and primitiveness of the tradition, which, in spite of the later accretions and developments, still keeps its original character? Has not Mark reported many things faithfully? And of these many things must not Peter be the ultimate source and authority? Harnack, at any rate, seems to go too far when he says (*Lukas der Arzt*, p. 86, n. 1) that Mark either almost made of Jesus a divine spectre (*nahezu ein göttliches Gespenst*) or already found such a conception existing. A vehement and learned advocate for the faithfulness of Mark as an incorporator of true historical tradition is Professor Burkitt, whose lectures on 'the Gospel history and its transmission' are delightful and easy reading. The third lecture deals with, and eloquently pleads for, the great historical value of Mark.

§ 6. *Mark and Paul.*

We have seen that, according to Papias, the author of the second Gospel, whose name was Mark, was not only a 'follower' of Peter, but also a 'follower' of Paul. Putting aside the question of detail—whether, that is, the Mark alluded to in certain epistles attributed to Paul and in the Acts was the writer of the Gospel—there is the further, larger and far more important question whether the Gospel of Mark, as we have it now, shows traces of

Pauline doctrine and Pauline views, whether, though it includes many genuine sayings of Jesus, and much historic information about the last year of his life, it puts these sayings and information in a Pauline setting, and in so doing to some extent changes, modifies and adds to them?

This larger question will often be alluded to in the commentary. The authorities greatly differ; some strongly denying, some strongly emphasizing, the Pauline character of Mark. For myself, I am inclined to agree with Bacon and Loisy, and to accept Mark's Paulinism—within certain limits. How far this Paulinism may cause us to suspect the historic accuracy of certain words and phrases which are put in Jesus's mouth is a delicate and difficult question which will occasionally be alluded to in the commentary. The measure and kind of the Paulinism, which Loisy, not, as I think, improperly attributes to Mark, are put forth by the French commentator in a paragraph of his Introduction which I will here translate.

'Mark may have been a disciple, he was certainly a great admirer, or rather a warm partisan, of Paul. His Gospel is a deliberate Pauline interpretation of the primitive tradition. His Paulinism is not confined to certain expressions, to certain scraps of phrase or doctrine which he might have borrowed from Paul. It rather consists in the general intention, the spirit, the dominating ideas, and in the most characteristic elements of his book. It is significant that Jesus in x. 45 declares that he came to give his life as a ransom for many. But it is more significant still that the story of the Last Supper has become the story of the institution of the Eucharist by means of the introduction of formulæ which are directly inspired by the Pauline conception of the Eucharist—a conception which itself depends on the Pauline theory of redemption. What is said (iv. 10, 11) of the divine and intentional blinding of the Jews through the parables is related to the ideas of Paul on predestination, and to the experiences of Paul's ministry both inside and outside Israel. Indeed the influence of Paul, and even a certain keenness for him personally, a desire to apologize for his conduct and action, make themselves constantly a little felt, whether, for example, in the writer's attitude towards the Jews, or in his method of judging and representing the characters of the Galilæan apostles who in one place are almost identified with the Jews (viii. 17, 18). The Sabbath stories seem to point towards the abrogation of the Sabbath for Christians; in connection with the saying on true defilement, the Evangelist definitely argues—and in the very spirit of Paul—against the observances of the Law. It is in Paul's interest that the story of the strange exorcist is related or perhaps invented; it is in order to reserve for Paul one

of the first places in the Kingdom of God that Jesus refuses to grant the request of the sons of Zebedee (see the commentary, p. 257). The Evangelist is not however more hostile to Peter and the other apostles than is Paul himself: he only permits himself to judge them, and not to admire or approve of them without qualifications. He does not enter into the details (*les spécialités*)—one might say the subtleties—of the Pauline theology, whether because of a certain sense of restraint which the story of the history of Jesus imposed upon the narrator, or because his cast of mind inclined him to general and simple ideas, or because the teaching of Paul only came to him indirectly through an intermediary, and he himself had never heard the apostle or read his writings' (*E. S.* I. p. 116). There may be some exaggeration in this estimate of Loisy's, but I think that there is also much truth.

§ 7. *The sources of Mark.*

How then are the various elements in Mark, including also certain unevennesses, doublets, and additions, to be accounted for? There are certain scholars who hold that (with the exception of chapter xiii.) there is little or nothing behind our Mark other than oral tradition. (Whether Mark was originally written in Aramaic is a separate question which need not concern us here.) Mark was known to and used by Matthew and Luke very much in the form we know and have him now, and a shorter edition of his book, an *Urmarcus*, never existed. Or, again, it has been held that, though behind our Mark there is nothing but oral tradition, yet both in Aramaic and in Greek there was more than one 'edition' of the book. The work as we have it now has gone through expansions and additions. The difference between these two views is not of very great importance when they are both contrasted with a third view to which, after much hesitation, I now incline. That third view (which may or may not be combined with the second) is that our Gospel of Mark is a compilation, that Mark had written sources, which have not survived. These written sources may have been originally written in Aramaic, while Mark itself may have been written from the outset in Greek. And these sources, or some of them, may conceivably have been also known to Matthew and to Luke. This third view is maintained by Loisy and by Bacon as well as by other scholars. It is, especially in one important part of it, strongly denied by Wellhausen, while other scholars are less definite one way or the other.

§ 8. *The supposed narrative source.*

The first of these hypothetical sources was, it is supposed, a narrative of the ministry and death of Jesus. It may have included in a shorter form a large number, in fact the large majority, of the stories which the second Gospel now contains. Thus Loisy thinks that this narrative source may have embraced, after a brief mention of John the Baptist, the baptism of Jesus and his return to Galilee,

(1) The call of the first disciples.
(2) The incidents of the first Sabbath at Capernaum, except, probably, the story of the man with the unclean spirit (i. 23–27).
(3) The basis (*le fond*) of the story of the paralyzed man.
(4) Perhaps the call of Levi.
(5) The action taken by Jesus's relations.
(6) The basis probably of the story of the man with the unclean spirit among the Gadarenes.
(7) The basis probably of the story of the daughter of Jairus.
(8) The story of the preaching of Jesus at Nazareth.
(9) General indications about the despatch of the disciples and their return.
(10) The journey to Gennesareth.
(11) The journey to the district of Tyre.
(12) Perhaps the story of the Canaanite woman.
(13) The confession of Peter with the promise of the near Parousia and the reflections on the coming of Elijah.
(14) Perhaps the healing of the epileptic child.
(15) The return to Capernaum, and
(16) Perhaps the story of the children brought to Jesus for his blessing.
(17) The departure for Judæa, and
(18) Perhaps the story of the rich young man.
(19) The journey to Jerusalem.
(20) Perhaps the question of Peter about the future lot of the disciples, and the promise of the thrones.
(21) The Messianic entry at the mount of Olives.
(22) The expulsion of the money-changers from the Temple.
(23) The question of the priests about the 'authority' with which Jesus is endowed.
(24) The question of the Pharisees about the tribute-money.
(25) Probably also the question of the Sadducees about the Resurrection.

(26) The saying as to whose son is the Messiah.
(27) The story of the woman taken in adultery.
(28) Perhaps the story of the widow's mite.
(29) A saying as to the destruction of the Temple.
(30) The basis of the narratives about

(*a*) The betrayal by Judas.
(*b*) The Last Supper.
(*c*) The night at Gethsemane.
(*d*) The arrest.
(*e*) The denial of Peter.
(*f*) The trial and condemnation of Jesus before Pilate.
(*g*) The mockery scene at the prætorium.
(*h*) The crucifixion and the death.

It is this narrative source which may have supplied the basis for what John the Elder was reported to have said about Mark and Peter. In that source there may perhaps be heard 'an echo of apostolic evidence and specially of the reminiscences of Peter. A special and direct relation of the author of this source with Peter is possible and even probable, though by no means necessary. A story such as Peter's denial goes back to Peter and could only have got into the tradition through him. But the man who first wrote the story down may have had it from intermediaries: still more therefore could other stories such as the confession of Peter and the arrest have been narrated to him by others. He may have drawn from the common memories of the Galilæan apostles just as well as from one individual. But as this first writer may well have had relations with Peter, and as the origin of the tradition about the origin of the second Gospel is thus more easily explained, there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that a disciple of Peter collected this series of reminiscences from the mouth of the apostle himself. In any case it is certain that Peter played a preponderant part in the formation of the traditional apostolic teaching (*la catéchèse apostolique*), and that consequently the fundamental traditions at least of the Gospel story go back to and proceed from him' (*E. S.* I. p. 114).

This narrative source, which Loisy further assumes to have had certain accretions (such as the fuller story of the baptism, the story of the temptation, the miraculous feeding, and the transfiguration) added to it before it came into the hands of the author of our Mark, may have been written in Jerusalem or in Judæa, some ten to twenty years before the second Gospel—say between 50 and 60 A.D. Thus for the basis of the Gospel story, the evidence would go back very closely to the events which are recorded.

§ 9. *The 'speech' or 'sayings' document known as Q. The relation of Mark to this source.*

Was the *narrative* source which has here been assumed the only *written* source which the author of our Mark knew and used? Here we come to a disputed and very important question. It is very important for the following reason.

The Gospels of Matthew and Luke, both larger than Mark, are both, as wholes, undoubtedly later than Mark, and both undoubtedly used Mark as one of their sources. That Mark is the oldest of the Gospels, and that Matthew and Luke made use of him, is one of the most certain and assured results of the prolonged, minute and exhaustive investigation by scholars into the Gospel narratives and texts. It may be said that, practically speaking, everybody is agreed upon this subject. Between them, Matthew and Luke take up and use almost the whole of Mark's verses from i. 1 to xvi. 8. But in addition to what they borrow and adapt from Mark, Matthew and Luke have a great deal—especially of discourse by Jesus—which is not found in Mark. Of this extra matter, a considerable part is common (with textual variations) to them both, while some is peculiar to each. As it is unlikely either that Matthew used Luke, or that Luke used Matthew, for this and other reasons it is generally acknowledged that what is common to both Matthew and Luke, together *perhaps* with some of that which is special to each, was taken from some source or sources which they both drew upon and used. The material, at any rate, not in Mark, and common to both Matthew and Luke, is usually supposed to be drawn from one particular source, which is generally known and designated under the title of Q (Q being the first letter of the German word *Quelle*, 'a well, a source'). This common material includes some most important sayings of Jesus; for instance, it includes a large portion of the Sermon on the Mount, and such an immensely important saying as Matt. xi. 25–27 (Luke x. 21, 22). The date and origin of this source become therefore a matter of the first importance. The material common to both Matthew and Luke, which in all probability was drawn from this source, enables us to make some conjectures about its nature. It was mainly a collection of the sayings of Jesus: it doubtless contained a few brief narratives, but these narratives were included as settings and occasions for sayings and discourses rather than for their own sake: it closed apparently before the story of the Passion.

A further observation of great importance about this source is—and here we come to the crucial point—that over and above

material which is common to both Matthew and Luke, and is not found in Mark, it must also have contained material which *is* contained in Mark. We find, for instance, in Luke the same sayings recounted twice over, once, as it is easy to see, from Mark, and once from the extra source (Q).

What, then, is the deduction? There are three alternatives. The passages which are common to Mark and the extra source may be due to both having drawn from the same common oral tradition; or again they may be due to the extra source (Q) having borrowed from (and adapted) Mark; and, lastly, they may be due to Mark having known and borrowed from (and adapted) the extra source (Q). It may be said at once that each of these three hypotheses has its own special difficulties. But if we put the first hypothesis on one side, the difference between the second and third in significance becomes at once apparent. For if Q borrowed from Mark, then Q, including perhaps all those important sections which are common to Matthew and Luke, but are not found in Mark, is later than Mark, *i.e.* it was written down after 70 A.D. But if Mark borrowed from Q, then Q, including presumably the sections which are not found in Mark, but are common to Matthew and Luke, is earlier than Mark; *i.e.* Q was written down before 70 A.D., and may be, so far as Mark is concerned, indefinitely earlier. In that case the authenticity of the words attributed to Jesus by Q becomes the more likely.

The second hypothesis—that Q borrowed from Mark—is maintained by Wellhausen with great brilliancy and force; the third hypothesis, within varying limits, is strongly upheld by Loisy, Bousset, B. Weiss, Bacon and several other scholars.

After considerable hesitation I have come to the conclusion that, within certain limitations (to be shortly alluded to), the third hypothesis is the true one. Q, at any rate in its oldest form or edition, is older than Mark.

More must be said of this source in the paragraphs on Matthew and Luke. Meanwhile let me add that Loisy not unreasonably holds that for this source too—Q, the *Logia, le recueil de sentences*—Peter must also have been an authority. Like the narrative source, the 'sayings' source was not formed without him. The date of both sources may be about the same; their place of origin (Jerusalem), their original language (Aramaic), may also be the same. And the spirit of the two sources, 'so far as one can judge, was about the same. Both expressed the recollections and the faith of the earliest Christian community without any influence of Pauline theology: the Galilæan apostles appeared in both as the authorized witnesses of the life and the teaching of Christ' (*E. S.* I. p. 114).

Loisy suggests that the following bits of Mark may be due to Q:

(1) The summary of the preaching of John.
(2) The stories about the Sabbath (ii. 23–28, iii. 1–6).
(3) The dispute about Beelzebul.
(4) The parables.
(5) The saying about Jesus eating with tax-collectors and sinners (ii. 17).
(6) The saying about fasting (ii. 19, 20).
(7) The saying about that which defiles a man.
(8) The answer to those who asked for a sign (viii. 12).
(9) The saying about the leaven of the Pharisees (viii. 15).
(10) The saying about the renouncement (viii. 35).
(11) The teachings given at the last stay of Jesus at Capernaum (ix. 33–50).
(12) The saying about divorce.
(13) The sayings about service (x. 42–45).
(14) The curt summary which is all that Mark gives of the discourse against the Pharisees (xii. 38–40).
(15) Certain bits in the apocalyptic discourse.

It will be noted in the course of the commentary that with regard to some of these passages the supposed ascription to Q is very doubtful, but to deny this ascription for *all* of them seems to me now more doubtful still. After B. Weiss's two last books I think that the trend of opinion will more and more incline to the hypothesis that, in some form of it or other, Mark knew Q and used it.

§ 10. *Wellhausen, Jülicher, and Harnack on Mark and Q.*

The reasons which induce Wellhausen to hold that Q is everywhere later than Mark are largely, though not exclusively, due to a comparison of the form and the environment of certain passages in Mark, parallels to which are also found in Matthew and Luke and were presumably borrowed from Q, with their environment and form in Luke and Matthew. In every case he finds reasons for thinking that form and environment in Q suggest a later date for Q. Thus there are some nine verses in Mark which are parallel to some nine verses in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount (which occupies 107 verses in all). Wellhausen holds that the originality in the case of each of these nine verses is on the side of Mark. And so on. We shall have occasion to notice some of Wellhausen's arguments about such parallel passages, together with those of his

opponents, in the course of the commentary. But in addition to these comparisons Wellhausen has general reasons as well. He holds, for instance, that the general religious point of view of Q is later than that of Mark. Into this delicate and difficult point I cannot enter here: it will be incidentally alluded to more than once in the commentary upon Matthew. But there is a further argument which more especially concerns Mark. It is this. The Gospel according to Mark is much the shortest of the Synoptics. Luke is a little longer than Matthew, and Mark stands to Matthew in the proportion of two to three. Mark consists of stories and incidents in the life of Jesus, together with some specimens of his oral teaching. But the stories occupy a far bigger space than the words. Of speeches which occupy more than two or three continuous verses, or which do not, as it were, form part of the narratives and stories, there are very few. They certainly do not occupy more than one-fifth of the first twelve chapters. Hence the question arises: Did the author of the Gospel of Mark absorb and reproduce *all* that he had heard, and *all* that he had read (if written sources were known to him), about the life and teaching of Jesus? It is not so much in connection with incidents and stories in Jesus's life that this question is important; its main importance lies in connection with what Jesus *said*, with his speeches, parables, and oral teaching. Of these there is a great deal in Matthew and Luke which is not found in Mark. Did Mark know of the existence of all these extra speeches, or did he not? If many of them existed in Q, and if Mark knew and used Q, why did he omit them from his book? On the fact of this omission, which one must agree with Jülicher in regarding as very remarkable (*im höchsten Grade merkwürdig*), Wellhausen naturally lays stress. For he holds that there is no reason to believe that Mark deliberately omitted from his Gospel many sayings and words of Jesus which nevertheless were known to him.

'Mark indubitably desired to record the *whole* tradition—the words of Jesus as well as the stories about his life and death. It cannot possibly be allowed that he did not include all that was available to him, or that he left out what had already been written down before him. He was in no wise a mere maker of a supplement. If, without and against his intention, a few things escaped his notice, yet the gleaning of old and authentic material which he left over for others cannot have been much richer than his own harvest. The Sermon on the Mount is not only unknown to him, but entirely contradicts his representation of Jesus's Galilæan ministry' (*Einleitung*, p. 86).

It cannot be denied that there is some force in Wellhausen's contentions. Jülicher, who, as I have said, admits that the fact of

the omissions is remarkable, also attempts to explain it. And doubtless his explanations, if we hold that the arguments which go to prove Mark's use of Q are too strong to be rejected, must be accepted for lack of better. He (like other scholars) thinks that we must take into grave account the nature and object of Mark's work and book. Mark's great object was to show that Jesus was the Messiah, the Son of God. Hence, like Paul, he does not care so much for Jesus's sayings as for his person, his Messiahship, his relation to God. He desired to depict the life and Messianic character of Jesus rather than his teaching. His Gospel was intended for the use of missionaries and preachers. To convert the heathen, it was useful for the proof of the Messiahship and the superhuman character of Jesus, with a description of his many miracles, and of his Passion and death, to be in the hands of the preacher. 'On the other hand the precepts which Jesus had given, his teachings about prayer, trust in God, forgiveness of sin and so on—these were reserved for those who had already accepted the new faith' (*Einleitung*, p. 286). In another connection the same author observes that perhaps Mark (in obedience to the maxim contained in Matt. vii. 6) was anxious to entrust only so much of the holy words of the Master to the publicity of a Hellenistic world as it must needs know in order to realize his greatness. We can scarcely attach much cogency to this suggestion: perhaps we may rather accept his other observation that the only tolerable explanation which he can think of for the smallness of space given in Mark to Jesus's words is that a collection of that kind (*i.e.* Q) was already in the hands of believers. The oldest edition of Q is thus known to Mark, but because it exists, he does not think it necessary to make use of it in his own work. So too thought Renan, who further supposed that the spirit of Peter, 'un peu étroit et sec,' was perhaps the cause 'd'une telle suppression.'

But, perhaps, on the whole the least unsatisfactory explanation (for one can hardly call it more) of the difficulty is that the Q which was known to Luke and Matthew was other and bigger than the Q which was known to Mark. In other words, as was implied in the preceding paragraph, Q went through several expansions and editions: it grew, and was added to from time to time. We may perhaps assume, in the words of Jülicher, 'a gradual expansion and growth of Q from some isolated series of sentences to that sort of half-Gospel, in which we can first trace its existence in history' ('Ein allmähliches Anwachsen von Q aus losen Spruchreihen zu dem Halbevangelium als das es dann in der Literaturgeschichte auf uns stösst'). 'Its beginnings would go back to a very early period, long before Mark: while, later on,

under the influence of Mark, it would have become more and more rounded off and completed' (*Einleitung*, p. 322). It is difficult to believe that if Mark had known of such a saying as Matt. xi. 27, he would have not taken care to include it in his book. What more significant evidence and proof of the unique relation of Jesus to God?

It may be added that the great theologian Harnack, who in 1907 published a small and immensely valuable treatise on Q—the apostolic and early character of which he warmly defends—then held that the verbal parallels between Mark and Q were not due to either having borrowed from the other. Both he then held were independent of each other, though Q was older than Mark. The verbal parallels were due to common oral tradition. 'No proof can be given,' said the great Harnack in 1907, 'of any literary relationship between the two works. And this fact is an indication that we must not date Q all too early: for had Q been already long in circulation, we could neither understand that Mark did not know it nor that he did not make use of it, even though he wrote at a distance from Palestine' (*Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, p. 172). Since 1907 Harnack has announced that B. Weiss has converted him. Mark did make use of Q. But, so far as I am aware, Harnack has not given his explanation why the use of Q made by Mark was so exceedingly small.

Whether Mark had any other written sources before him besides the 'Petrine narrative' and some early edition of Q cannot be ascertained. It is not impossible. We may at any rate assume with some certainty a special and probably Jewish source for much of the apocalyptic oration in chapter xiii.

§ 11. *Date and divisions of Mark.*

The author wrote his book, as we have already indicated, in all probability soon after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. The place where the book was written is generally supposed to be Rome, though Wellhausen on this point too mistrusts the tradition. But at any rate, as Loisy observes, it seems impossible that the author of Mark should have written his work in Palestine or in a locality where 'la tradition des premiers apôtres et des disciples immédiats de Jésus aurait été largement représentée.' 'This circumstance does not exclude Rome, but does not decisively recommend it; nevertheless the presentation of Mark by the side of more complete Gospels, or the probability that it was compiled in a country of Latin speech (though its use of Latin words is not a decisive argument seeing that Roman rule had necessarily introduced many

Latin words even in the East), can be invoked in support of the more or less traditional hypothesis. Perhaps even it is due to its character as an old *Roman* Gospel, rather than to the origin of one of its sources, that the book owes its attribution to a disciple of Peter' (*E. S.* I. p. 119).

Mark can be split up into various divisions and sub-divisions. With regard to these divisions and sub-divisions there is room for some diversity of opinion among different scholars. But as to the main breaks and pauses there can be little doubt. After a sort of introduction or prologue extending over the first 13 or 15 verses of his first chapter there comes the first big part, containing the record (brief and fragmentary) of the Galilæan ministry. This extends down to vi. 13. Then from vi. 14 to the end of chapter x. extends a section which Wellhausen divides into two parts, the first of which (vi. 14–viii. 26) he entitles 'Jesus unsettled and wandering' (*Jesus auf unsteter Wanderung*), while the second, from viii. 27 to the end of x., he calls 'Jesus on the way to Jerusalem.' Bacon would prefer to make the section vi. 14–viii. 26 a third division of a big Part I. extending from i. 1 to x. 52. The rest of the book from xi. to the end clearly falls into two parts, of which the first, xi.–xiii., deals with the entry into, and the teaching in Jerusalem, and the second, xiv. to the end, with the Passion and resurrection.

Mark has a very clear idea of the course and issue of the ministry of Jesus and presents us with a clear and reasonable, and, upon the whole, an assuredly historic picture. There can be little doubt that the main historic outlines of the brief public career of Jesus and of the circumstances of his death are to be *really* found in Mark, and are *only* to be found there. Problems indeed there are which the Gospel suggests and raises in plenty. They will meet us in the course of the commentary. But, in spite of them, we are enabled to get from Mark a sure insight into the general course of that last fateful year or eighteen months of Jesus's life, and also into some main elements of his teaching and character. We cannot be grateful enough to the author of this Gospel.

§ 12. *The Gospel of Matthew: its relation to Mark.*

We have now to speak of the Gospel of Matthew.

It has already been said that almost the whole of Mark is incorporated in Matthew, who also to a very considerable extent follows the order of Mark's narrative, both as to the sequence of the stories which Mark relates, as well as naturally in the general

outline of the life. In Matthew, as in Mark, we find Jesus first teaching in Galilee, passing for a brief space northwards, out of Galilee, on to heathen soil, and then turning again southwards and moving towards Jerusalem. But Matthew is much longer than Mark. As regards the last days of Jesus's life, the arrest, the trial, and the crucifixion, there is no great difference between them—136 verses in Matthew and 119 verses in Mark. But Matthew opens his book with a long genealogy and with an account of Jesus's birth and infancy, which are wanting in Mark. These occupy forty-eight verses. From the opening of his book to the beginning of the events of the Passion, Mark has thirteen chapters and 539 verses. From the point where Mark begins to the same place in the narrative, Matthew has twenty-three chapters and 863 verses, that is, 324 verses more than Mark, or just three-fifths as much again. Of this large amount of extra material a very considerable proportion consists of speeches—reports of words said by Jesus rather than of things done by him.

But in reality the extra material of sayings is still larger. For many narratives in Mark are considerably curtailed in Matthew, and there are a few things in Mark which do not appear in Matthew at all. Roughly speaking there are some 410 verses in Matthew which contain sayings of Jesus which are not found in Mark, and of these 410 verses we may take it that some 230 have more or less close parallels in Luke, while some 180 verses are peculiar to Matthew. Thus Matthew (like Luke) is composed of three parts: material common to him and Mark, material common to him and Luke, material found only in him. (It should, of course, be remembered that much of the Mark material which is reproduced in Matthew is also reproduced in Luke.)

§ 13. *The relation of Matthew and Luke to Q.*

Of those portions of Matthew which have no parallel in Mark, and which, as we have seen, as regards the sayings of Jesus, amount to about 180 verses for what is peculiar to Matthew, and about 230 verses for what he shares with Luke, the more important and more interesting portion is that which is common, more or less completely and verbally, to the first and the third Evangelists. This portion, as I have already said, is supposed by most great scholars not to have been borrowed by Matthew from Luke, or by Luke from Matthew, but to have been taken by both Matthew and Luke from a common source, now generally spoken of as Q. It will be convenient to adopt this same nomenclature here.

Some remarks about Q have already been made in the preceding section. We have seen that the original character and range of the document are still in dispute. It probably began with the baptism of Jesus, and thus, like Mark, regarded Jesus as entering upon his Messianic office from that moment. It included the temptation, but most scholars hold that it did not include any account of the Passion or resurrection. It was essentially a collection of the sayings and speeches of Jesus, and where it incorporated any story, it did so in order to give the occasion and background of a saying or a speech. I have already mentioned Harnack's book on the subject of Q, in which the great theologian earnestly and even vehemently pleads for Q's primitive character, authenticity and early date. I have also mentioned how Wellhausen maintains a contrary hypothesis, arguing that Q is later than Mark, and that the words which Q puts into the mouth of Jesus must always be regarded with more suspicion than those which are assigned to him by Mark. Not that Wellhausen would by any means wish to controvert the authenticity of *all* the Q material. But he does hold a much smaller proportion to be genuine than Harnack, who practically accepts the whole.

How much of what we now find in Matthew and Luke may be assigned to Q? This is a still disputed question, and can never be ascertained with certainty. Harnack is very cautious. His estimate of Q comes only to about 202 verses, while some 28 verses more are regarded as doubtful. Loisy assigns to the source a very much larger quantity of verses. For example, many of the parables which are *only* found in Matthew or are *only* found in Luke, Loisy assigns to Q. B. Weiss, again, in his estimate of Q, differs both from Harnack and from Loisy. Nevertheless, all that Harnack allots to Q is also allotted to him by Loisy and Weiss. Wellhausen thinks it doubtful whether all those passages which are common to Luke and Matthew may with assurance be always assigned to one source only. And I am inclined to think that if we are driven to assume that Mark knew Q, we must, at any rate, accept the hypothesis of Jülicher that Q went through many editions, and that while its oldest bits are very old, its latest bits, and the form in which Matthew knew and used it, are as late as, or later than, Mark.

§ 14. *Harnack's estimate of the size and character of Q.*

Harnack, as I have said, is very emphatic on the authenticity and originality of the 202 verses which he thinks may most probably be assigned to Q. These verses comprise the following

passages from Matthew, though Matthew has not by any means always preserved the most original form.

Matthew iii. 5, 7–12.
iv. 1–11.
v. 1–4, 6, 11–13, 15, 18, 25, 26, 32, 39, 40, 42, 44–48.
vi. 9–13, 19–33.
vii. 1–5, 7–14, 16–18, 21, 24–28.
viii. 5–13, 19–22.
ix. 37, 38.
x. 7, 10*b*, 12, 13, 15, 16*a*, 24–40.
xi. 2–13, 16–19, 21–23, 25–27.
xii. 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 30, 32, 33, 38, 39, 41–45.
xiii. 16, 17, 31–33.
xv. 14.
xvii. 20*b*.
xviii. 7, 12, 13, 15, 21, 22.
xix. 28.
xxiii. 4, 12, 13, 23, 25, 27, 29–32, 34–39.
xxiv. 26–28, 37–41, 43–51.
xxv. 29.

All these verses have their parallels in Luke. The scholars are not in agreement as to the question whether Luke or Matthew has better preserved the original text of Q. In some passages doubtless it is Luke who has done so, in other passages Matthew. Reference will be made to this question in several places in the commentary. In some passages the verbal agreement is much closer than in others.

Another question concerns the order. A considerable part of the 202 verses appears in the same order both in Matthew and Luke, and on the basis of this agreement Harnack has drawn up a table of contents for at least a large portion of Q. The combination of sayings into long and formal speeches which we find in Matthew existed already in Q, though not to the same extent. But there was already in Q, much where we find them in Matthew, the Sermon on the Mount (in a shorter form), the oration to the apostles on their being sent upon their missionary journey, the speech about John the Baptist, the diatribe against the Pharisees, and a speech about the Parousia and the 'last things.' On the whole Harnack is of opinion that Matthew has preserved the order of Q better than Luke. B. Weiss, who has a different and more generous estimate of the amount of material to be assigned to Q, also often differs from Harnack as to the question of order and as to the original text and its comparatively better preservation in Matthew or Luke.

Both what we find and what we do not find in Q are in accordance with Harnack's special conception of Jesus and his teaching. One is therefore bound to weigh very carefully his pleadings for Q's authenticity. Nevertheless, an outsider like myself reading Q (as picked out from Matthew and Luke by Harnack) has the impression that the much larger majority of the 202 verses assigned to it contain nothing which Jesus may not have uttered, and that the large majority of them contain very much which he most probably did utter. It seems quite true that Q, when Matthew's editorial additions and settings are peeled off, has no distinctive tendency. It is, as Harnack says, a compilation of discourses and sayings, 'the arrangement of which has no reference to the Passion, with an horizon which is as good as absolutely bounded by Galilee, without any clearly discernible bias, whether apologetic, didactic, ecclesiastical, national, or anti-national' (Harnack, *op. cit.* p. 121, E.T. p. 171).

Whether we could say the same thing if Q included all that Loisy, or even B. Weiss, would make it include, may well be doubted. But as to those sections of Matthew and Luke which are only found in those two Gospels respectively, Harnack says with great caution: 'it is probable *a priori*, and even certain, that much which is peculiar to Matthew and Luke was taken from Q, but I do not venture to mention any part of the material special either to Matthew or Luke, which one is justified in allocating to Q' (*op. cit.* p. 130).

§ 15. *The parallels of Q with Mark.*

It may be convenient to mention here the few parallels in Q to passages in Mark. I have already indicated that some of these will come up for discussion in the commentary. There are three possible explanations: Mark borrowed them from Q; Q borrowed them from Mark; both Mark and Q knew them independently from a common oral tradition. The first and third, or the second and third of these explanations may both be used for different passages.

(1) To four verses in that portion of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount which Harnack assigns to Q there are four isolated parallels in Mark. (I do not here give the parallels in Luke.)

Thus Matt.	v. 13	corresponds with	Mark	ix. 50.
„	v. 15	„	„	iv. 21.
„	v. 32	„	„	x. 11.
„	vii. 1	„	„	iv. 24.

(2) Again, in those verses which Harnack assigns to Q from the long oration in Matthew when Jesus sends out the apostles, there are seven parallels, namely,

Matt. x. 10	corresponds with	Mark	vi. 8.
„ x. 14	„	„	vi. 11.
„ x. 26	„	„	iv. 22.
„ x. 33	„	„	viii. 38.
„ x. 38	„	„	viii. 34.
„ x. 39	„	„	viii. 35.
„ x. 40	„	„	ix. 37.

(As to the inclusion of Matt. x. 40 in Q, Harnack declares himself very dubious.)

(3) Again, in Matthew's chapter about Beelzebul and Jesus's defence against the Pharisees, there are three important parallels:

Matt. xii. 25	corresponds with	Mark	iii. 24.
„ xii. 32	„	„	iii. 29.
„ xii. 39	„	„	viii. 12.

In addition to these we have (4) the parallel between Matt. xvii. 20 and Mark xi. 23, and (5) there is the parable of the mustard seed, which in Matthew and Luke Harnack holds was taken from Q and not from Mark (Matt. xiii. 31, 32; Mark iv. 31, 32).

The deductions and arguments which these parallels have suggested to scholars will be alluded to in the commentary.

§ 16. *Date and origin of Q.*

I have already stated that Q's birthplace was Palestine, that it was probably written originally in Aramaic, and that in its oldest form it goes back to a very early date, say between 50 to 60 A.D. Is anything more known, or to be inferred, as to its author? Here too some weight may be assigned to a statement of Papias. He says (whether on the authority of John the Elder or no is uncertain), 'Matthew wrote the sayings (of Jesus) in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them as he was able' (*Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτά, ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος*). Papias was here alluding to our Gospel of Matthew. It is, however, absolutely certain that the first Gospel was not written by an apostle, and that its date is nearer 90 or 100 than 60. Hence the suggestion has found favour with some scholars that the Logia, or sayings which the apostle Matthew really drew up, was that source of the

first Gospel which is now known as Q. Harnack calls this suggestion 'überwiegend wahrscheinlich'; Loisy, on the other hand, is very much more sceptical. How did Q get lost? Would a book properly guaranteed as an apostolic work, and presented as such to the earliest Christian communities, have so easily disappeared? The matter can never be now ascertained. Loisy, like Jülicher, allows for some growth and expansion of the original Q: 'S'il a été composé en araméen, on n'aura pas tardé à le traduire en grec. Des interpolations judéo-chrétiennes, qui ont leur écho jusque dans Luc, y avaient été bientôt introduites, avec les compléments divers' (*E. S.* I. p. 143). Some of these 'compléments divers' are, I am inclined to believe, later than Mark. But, in spite of these additions, Q remains a most valuable and ancient authority for the utterances of Jesus and for his conceptions of religion and morality, if not also for his conception of his own person and of his relation to God.

§ 17. *Tests for authenticity of sayings attributed to Jesus.*

Let me say, however, here and at once, that the importance of the question of the authenticity of all the words assigned to Jesus in Q (or in the Synoptic Gospels as a whole) must not be exaggerated. Or rather let me put it thus: the importance of the Gospels for modern Judaism does not merely hinge upon the question of authenticity. From one point of view the question of authenticity does not indeed greatly matter.

The excellence of the Sermon on the Mount is neither impaired nor increased if Jesus said all of it or much the greater part of it, or if he did not. Modern Judaism must study the words ascribed to Jesus and take up an attitude towards them, whether Jesus spoke them or no. But historically or biographically the question whether all the Sermon on the Mount, or whether Matt. xi. 25–27, is authentic or not remains very important and interesting. Though these authenticity problems can never be definitely resolved, they are bound to retain their fascination and attractiveness.

One very popular argument may be here mentioned which is combated by Wellhausen. It can only, however, be most briefly alluded to. It is commonly said that the greatest, most striking, most original things in the Gospels must be authentic because only Jesus could have thought of them. It can be shown, it is said, that his disciples or reporters were mediocre men for the most part, who often misunderstood their Master, and were certainly not capable of creative and original thought. On the contrary, we find instances in which a too daring utterance of the Master

has been subjected to compromise and commonplace by addition or qualification. I had never been quite persuaded by this argument. Each case must be dealt with on its merits, and when so dealt with, the argument does not always seem to hold. For instance, one of the noblest sayings in the Gospels is surely: 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do' (Luke xxiii. 34). But this verse is almost certainly not authentic. Hence I was very much interested to find that Wellhausen raises a protest against a too constant use of the argument that the value of the contents is the guarantee of the authenticity. 'Truth,' he says, 'testifies only to itself and not to its author' ('Die Wahrheit bezeugt nur sich selber und nicht ihren Autor'). And then he goes on to make a remark, which Jülicher calls a 'kühnes Wagnis' (*Einleitung*, p. 341), but which seems to me to gain support from the fine and noble things which are occasionally due to the editors and glossators of the Hebrew prophets: 'The spirit of Jesus continued to live in the earliest community, and it was the community which not only created the Gospel about him, but also developed his moral teaching upon the basis which he had laid down. The ethical teaching of the community was therefore the true product of what Jesus had said and been: those words in which his spirit was made manifest seemed (and with good inward reason) to be equal in value to that which in similar circumstances he himself would have said' (*Einleitung*, p. 86).

I do not undervalue the arguments on the other side, of which I will mention some more in a moment; but I do strongly urge that Wellhausen's argument must also be given its proper weight. Take such a passage as Matt. xxv. 35–40. Can anything be imagined more superb? Anything which, given and assuming the point of view of the writer, is more redolent of true inspiration? But is it not certain that this passage was not spoken by Jesus?

Wellhausen perhaps presses too greatly the canon that as the measure for the authenticity of the words assigned to Jesus we have first and foremost to take the degree of literary testimony. Thus in the first degree of value would come what is said by Jesus in Mark, next what is said by him both in Matthew and Luke (Q), and lastly, what is said by him only in Matthew and only in Luke. Wellhausen admits that the oral tradition is older than its written precipitate and not only older but larger. But he urges that in the course of time (and of a comparatively short time) the primary authentic tradition diminished, and the secondary unauthentic tradition increased. And in opposition to the current opinion he holds 'that the oral tradition of the sayings and speeches gradually increased and developed in much greater bulk than the tradition of what Jesus did and what befell him'

('dass die Überlieferung des Redestoffs sich im Lauf der Zeit viel stärker entwickelt und vermehrt hat als die des erzählenden Stoffs') (*Einleitung*, p. 85).

On the other side, we have to remember that Jesus may or even must have repeated some of his sayings, parables and teachings again and again, and that the memories of orientals who write little, and use no notebooks, is very retentive. After his death the words of Jesus will have been constantly recounted to fresh disciples; they will have been treasured up and pondered over. Hence it may be argued that, if there are not definite internal reasons which plead for a later date, we may fairly confidently assign to Jesus the words ascribed to him by Matthew only and by Luke only, if they are words which seem to harmonize with his character and teaching as we can gather and infer them from the pages of Mark and (as most scholars, in spite of Wellhausen, would add) of Q.

It is indeed the words ascribed to Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels which argue for the historical character of the man and of his life. I would like to quote here the measured statement of the great philosopher Wundt, which I happened to come across in turning over the leaves of his huge *Völkerpsychologie* (Zweiter Band, 'Mythus und Religion,' Dritter Teil, 1909, p. 528): 'No unprejudiced person, who is only tolerably familiar with the ways in which myths are formed, and who has also fairly followed the growing discovery and elucidation of the sources of old oriental legends, can to-day any longer doubt that with the exception of a few incidents in the narrative of the Passion, which probably possess an adequate historic attestation, the outward life of Jesus is a tissue of legends. But that which these legends leave untouched, and that which is never found in their mythological counterparts and predecessors, is the series of sayings and speeches of Jesus, as they have been handed down to us in the Synoptic Gospels.'

§ 18. *The theories of Mr Allen and Professor Burton.*

It should perhaps be added that the conceptions about Q, even in the cautious form in which they are enunciated by Harnack and Wellhausen, are not accepted by all scholars. Mr Allen, for instance, has considerably different views about the sources of Matthew, and consequently about Q. He thinks that it is rash and impossible to assign all those sections of Matthew for which there are parallels in Luke, but not in Mark, to one common source. The great varieties of language and context with which we are confronted in respect of these parallel passages

is, as he thinks, a very valid objection to such a hypothesis. [Has the *considerable* agreement in order, which Harnack in his book on Q pointed out, perhaps sufficed to modify this opinion?] Allen remarks that if Wellhausen is right in supposing that some of the variants between Matthew and Luke imply a different Greek translation of an Aramaic original, or that we have to assume that both Evangelists knew and used the Aramaic as well as one and the same Greek translation, then this very supposition is an argument against a common source. For that 'the two Evangelists had access not only to a Greek translation of the supposed common written source, but also to the Aramaic original, is a clumsy theory.' It is 'a complicated and unnecessary conjecture that the two Evangelists sometimes altered their Greek original and sometimes substituted for it a new translation from the original Aramaic.' The 'great amount of disagreement in substance, in setting, in order and in language, between Matthew and Luke in these sayings [of Jesus], is only explicable if they were not directly using a common source.'

Allen's own theory which in one important point coincides with Burton's, seems, however, open to grave objections. He makes a list of all the sayings and speeches attributed to Jesus in Matthew which are peculiar to that Evangelist. He finds that the great majority of these sayings have 'a common character. They are (*a*) parabolic, or (*b*) anti-Pharisaic, or (*c*) strongly Jewish-Christian, or (*d*) couched in Jewish phraseology' (*Gospel according to St Matthew*, p. liv.). Hence he assumes that they came all, or in large part, from a single source. It is this source which was the Logia of Matthew of which Papias speaks. 'If the editor of Matthew borrowed these sayings from the Matthean document, whether it lay before him in its original form or in a Greek translation, we have at once an explanation of the reason why the name Matthew attached itself to the first Gospel of which these sayings form a substantial proportion.' Precisely the same hypothesis is taken up by Professor Burton in his interesting, but unsatisfying, pamphlet, *Principles of Literary Criticism and the Synoptic Problem* (1904). The hypothesis, he argues, 'explains as no theory which makes the Matthean Logia a source of both Matthew and Luke or of all three Synoptists can explain, how the present Gospel of Matthew obtained the name' (p. 41).

But is it not a fatal objection to this theory that it makes the oldest document the home and source of sayings which are so obviously later, such as xiii. 24–30, 36–43, xvi. 17–19, xviii. 15–20, xxiii. 34–38, xxv. 31–46? Some portions of what is peculiar to Matthew may come from Q or from some other ancient source, but surely very far from all.

From this special Matthean source Mr Allen further supposes that the editor of Matthew borrowed also many of the sayings which he has in common with Luke, but in a different form and context. From other Greek translations of the Logia than that which the first Evangelist used, 'excerpts and groups of sayings passed into one or other of the "many" evangelic writings with which Luke was acquainted.' 'When Luke wrote his Gospel, he found these sayings dispersed in many quarters. Some of them, *e.g.* the Beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer, had passed through many stages since they were first extracted from the Logia' (p. lx.). The net result of Mr Allen's hypothesis is, however, that almost all those words of Jesus in Matthew which Harnack assigns to Q, Mr Allen assigns to the Matthean Logia, but this collection contained in addition (according to Mr Allen) all or most of those sayings which are peculiar to Matthew. And Mr Allen is only able at the last to explain satisfactorily the frequent 'remarkably close' agreement between Matthew and Luke on the *very* doubtful hypothesis that Luke 'may well have read the first Gospel, and have been sometimes influenced by it' (p. lx.).

As against the theories of Allen and Burton it may, I think, be said that in spite of certain difficulties, which are not to be denied or slurred over, the ordinary theory of Q, in one or other of its various forms, still holds the field.

§ 19. *Other sources of Matthew besides Q and Mark. The 'doubly attested sayings.'*

That Matthew was not limited to the two sources Mark and Q is tolerably clear. He, like Luke, had more than two sources, and much of that portion of his contents, which is peculiar to himself, may yet not have been written by himself, but be taken from other sources of which we now know nothing. It may also be observed that embedded in those portions of the 'speech' material in Matthew and Luke which was not drawn from Q (according to Harnack's estimate of Q), there are a few more parallels with Mark. These parallels, too, probably imply in many cases that neither the sources of Matthew and Luke borrowed from Mark nor Mark from those sources. Such parallels would form a group of what Professor Burkitt calls 'doubly attested sayings.' He draws up a list of thirty-one such sayings in all, but the independence of the Matthew or Luke source from Mark, and of Mark from the Matthew or Luke source, needs careful testing in each particular case. In many of the thirty-one instances it is, to say the least, doubtful (*Gospel History and its transmission*, pp. 148–166).

§ 20. *Matthew as editor. His point of view. His relation to Judaism and the Old Testament. His date.*

So much then of Matthew's sources. But the writer who borrowed or used all these sources is not an unimportant element or factor in his own book. As he borrows, he sometimes changes; he edits, groups, expands, comments. He has his own point of view. It may be that these editorial additions and settings sometimes obscure the authenticity of the material which Matthew has used, and that even in sayings and parables which are only found in the first Evangelist a greater proportion is authentic than sceptical scholars will allow. Thus Matthew has some seven parables which are peculiar to him (xiii. 24–30, 44–50, xviii. 23–35, xx. 1–16, xxi. 28–31, xxv. 1–13, 31–46). Of these Wellhausen observes: 'They are the elaborately worked out products of careful deliberation; they are not the creations of the particular moment, but (from the standpoint of Jesus) they refer to the future. All of them deal with the Kingdom of Heaven, regarding it as a sown field, or as a vineyard, or as the earthly sphere of labour of the household servants of God; he as king, or master, or landlord, on the one side, is opposed to the slaves or the sons (it comes to the same thing) of his household on the other; they work together on his property, and among each other they are marked off by unimportant outward, and also by important inward, differences. At the last, they receive their reward, in that, distinguished now by the inward worth of their service, some of them are received into the kingdom of glory, while others are rejected' (*Einleitung*, p. 69). But these assertions must be tested in each individual case, and especially as regards the meaning which may have been originally intended, and the meaning which Matthew would have us give to each particular parable of the seven. So regarded Loisy may be right in thinking that the parables of the treasure and the pearl and the net (xiii. 44–50), the parables of the wicked servant and of the workers in the vineyard (xviii. 23–35, xx. 1–16), and the parable of the two sons (xxi. 28–31), may without much hesitation be assigned to Q and be authentic, while we may hesitate more as to the origin of the parable of the wise and foolish virgins (xxv. 1–13), and perhaps still more about the parable of the tares (xiii. 24–30).

The author of the Gospel of Matthew appears to have been of Jewish origin, and to have been specially interested in the Jewish aspect of Christianity. He probably thought that Christianity—for by his time one can speak of the new religion as distinct from the old—was the true development of Judaism,

the fulfilment and consummation of the Law and the Prophets. 'The disciples are a new legitimate Israel, and bound together by a New Law which takes the place of the Old. The keynote of the work is not the opposition of Law and Grace, as in S. Paul, but the opposition of the Old Law and the New' (Burkitt, *op. cit.* p. 188). The author was much interested in showing (according to the usual strained and arbitrary exegesis of his time) that the main incidents of Jesus's career were a fulfilment of Old Testament predictions. Hence it is in Matthew that we have the largest number of Old Testament quotations. 'Matthew' wrote in Greek, and many of his quotations are taken from the Septuagint. But others seem translated direct from the Hebrew—a fact which has been variously explained. It may be that the author understood Hebrew and made these translations himself; it may be that in these instances he is merely borrowing from a source which already contained them.

The date of Matthew is generally supposed to be about 90 to 100 A.D. The commentary will show that his conception of Jesus was more developed than that of Mark. Jesus cannot be allowed to deprecate his being called 'good.' His miracles are heightened. His simple humanity, so clearly reflected in Mark, is obscured. Whether the virgin birth episode existed in the earliest form of Matthew is, however, disputed.

The Christian Church is organized. There are parties in it; good members and bad. It has its own officers and discipline. The indications of all this will be alluded to in the commentary.

The first Gospel contains a curious mixture of 'particularist' and 'universalist' sayings. It is in places intensely anti-Jewish; in others it seems, on the contrary, to ascribe great validity and honour to the Law and even to the official exposition of the Law. These contrasts have been variously explained. It seems safest to assume that, for the most part, the particularist or 'legal' passages are quotations, and that to Matthew they no longer mean what they originally meant. They are spiritually interpreted, or again they are intended to press the authority of the Old Testament as a whole against certain extreme, though Christian, teachers who sought to depress its divinity and excellence. Some have seen in these particularist and legal sayings the opposition of the Jewish-Christian author to the Paulinists. But this view is very much more doubtful. Yet Professor Burkitt is probably quite right in saying that 'no book of the New Testament is so full of thoughts and expressions which have a real parallel in Rabbinical literature. The Evangelist is, so to speak, a Christian Rabbi, though no doubt he would have disclaimed the title. If the Gospel of Mark is most closely in touch with History, the Gospel of Matthew is most

closely in touch with the Talmud. Like the other Gospels it is in form a narrative of the earthly life of Jesus Christ, but it sets forth that life with reference to the questions that most nearly concerned a Church composed of Palestinian Christians. No doubt the Evangelist felt himself and his brethren separated from the mass of his unbelieving fellow-countrymen. The Christians form an Ecclesia, a Society, of their own (xviii. 17), distinct from ordinary Jews....But even so, the unbelieving Jew is nearer than the Gentile and the tax-gatherer; he that is outcast to the Jew is outcast also to the Evangelist' (Burkitt, p. 191).

The relations of the first Gospel to the third are still disputed. It is extremely doubtful whether either knew of the other. A few words more upon the subject will be said in the next paragraph.

§ 21. *Is Matthew 'catholic' or Judæo-Christian?*

The Gospel of Matthew has been called by Renan 'the most important book that has ever been written.' It won for itself immense popularity, and the first place in the list of the four Evangels. It is the catholic Gospel, not merely because of the passage about Peter, but because of its inclusiveness. It does not reconcile differences very successfully, but still it includes them. As a whole it does not, therefore, incline to any one party, but occupies a middle place. 'Conservative towards tradition, it yet stands at some distance from its spirit. It is a catholic Gospel, and its genuinely catholic sentiment and tone have won for it its first place among the four' (Jülicher, *Einleitung*, p. 265). Its grand collection of speeches and parables give it a peculiar character. The Gospel of Matthew is the Gospel of the Sermon on the Mount. This alone may have helped to secure it its place of honour among the books of the New Testament and in the hearts of men.

Wellhausen is inclined to press the Judæo-Christian character of Matthew, and to limit its catholic character much more than Jülicher. 'Matthew has the primitive Christian community of Jerusalem present before him, which, in spite of everything, yet sought to hold fast to Judaism. The Christian hostility to the official representatives of the Law is nowhere expressed more bitterly than by him: only by him are they stigmatized absolutely and without qualification as hypocrites, who in truth are not what they seem, and are called upon to be. But this enmity is at the same time a rivalry for the same goal—for the fulfilment of the Law, for righteousness. The goal for Christians is set on a much greater height than for the Jews, but for

that very reason they claim to be the true representatives of Judaism, and refuse to allow the false representatives (*i.e.* the Jews) to drive them out. They still take part in the Temple service in Jerusalem (v. 23–25); they pay the Temple tax; when no higher duty conflicts, they observe the Sabbath strictly (xxiv. 20). Fasting, praying, and almsgiving remain for them also important exercises in righteousness. Outside Jerusalem they restrict their missionary activity to Jews, they exclude heathen and Samaritans, and refuse to throw their sacred pearls before swine (vii. 6, x. 5). All this is very clearly expressed; it is laid down as a principle; and it has more weight for the fundamental character of Matthew than some real and some apparent contradictions to it, which also occur. In spite of his keen opposition to the official and aristocratic elements in Jewry which were hostile to Christianity, Matthew is still very anxious to maintain the connection of the humble Christian community, who were drawn from the lower strata of the population, with their Jewish roots and soil: in language and manner he is a Rabbi who believes in Jesus the Messiah, and herein he is distinguished and different from Mark' (*Einleitung*, p. 70). The evidence for this view of Matthew will be noticed in the commentary. If the passages on which Wellhausen would rely are merely faithful quotations from the 'source,' it may be that Jülicher's view is the more accurate; the older the Gospel as a whole, the more probable is Wellhausen's view; the later it is as a whole, the more probable is Jülicher's.

§ 22. *'Kingdom of Heaven' in Matthew: authenticity of the parables peculiar to Matthew.*

Wellhausen, as I shall notice in the commentary, presses the view that the Kingdom of Heaven in Matthew means (not as it did originally to Jesus, and as it did to Mark, the 'eschatological' Kingdom of the future), but the present Kingdom as realized, though, so far, more or less imperfectly realized, in the Christian Church. Thus he says: 'The Kingdom as present, especially as it appears in Matthew, was founded by Jesus: he is its necessary condition. It was his purpose to found it, and for that very object does he appear, from the beginning of his ministry, openly as the Messiah. From the beginning too his teaching is specially directed to his disciples, in order to explain to them how his community is to be constituted, and what is to befall it in the future. He no longer (as in Mark) scatters his teaching seed upon the ground, careless of the result, but through his teaching about the Kingdom he sows the Kingdom itself, which is compared with

the sown field or with the plant in the same way as with the vineyard. That by the Kingdom he means the Church (the ἐκκλησία) cannot be mistaken, though from reasons of historic propriety Matthew usually avoids the name. His true meaning is specially clear when he talks of Scribes and stewards, of older and younger elements, of worthy and unworthy members, of the Kingdom of God; or again when he says that John the Baptist, though the greatest Jew, is yet smaller than the lowliest member of the Kingdom. This equivalence of Kingdom and Church is perfectly intelligible; for the community was the product of Jesus's activity, and was regarded as the vestibule of heaven. But nevertheless this identification of Kingdom with Church is entirely Christian; it cannot have been achieved by Jesus, or, still less, have been assumed by him. And yet in Matthew he *does* assume it, without regarding any explanation of it as necessary. He speaks to his disciples as if they were already his community and organized as such: he projects himself into a future situation as if it were already present' (*Einleitung*, p. 106).

In all those sayings of Jesus in Matthew upon the basis of which Wellhausen constructs his opinion, it is, however, necessary to ask how far they may not owe this later aspect to the editor, and how far, divested of setting and editorial modifications, they may not be genuine products (borrowed from some source) of the teaching of Jesus. Professor Burkitt, while admitting that the above passage from Wellhausen contains 'a great deal that is undeniably true,' yet pleads most earnestly for the historical and authentic character of much which Matthew puts into the mouth of Jesus. At the worst the sayings of Jesus in Matthew (peculiar to that Gospel) are to be considered 'rather as adaptations of what the disciples had remembered of their Master's teaching than as new inventions made for the purpose....The greater part of the substance of the teaching, and all that is most fresh and picturesque in its expression, come from historical reminiscence of the Master's words....Nowhere in early Christian literature, except in the three Synoptic Gospels, do we find that picturesque outlook on men and nature that finds expression in the Parables of Jesus' (*op. cit.* pp. 195, 199). There seems to me a good deal of force in these arguments.

Even Wellhausen, in spite of his own scepticism, and though, like other scholars, he holds that Matthew as a whole was written after the fall of Jerusalem, is yet obliged to point out that the background of the early Christian community at Jerusalem is very often clearly discernible even in those passages which are not derived either from Q or Mark. 'Some of them, as for example Matt. xvii. 24–27, must be drawn from a relatively

old tradition. In the case of others we may help ourselves by the hypothesis that a Christian community existed in Jerusalem even after the destruction of the city, and that it continued to move on the old lines. But we must also reckon with the possibility that Matthew kept to the *form* of the tradition of the community of Jerusalem of set purpose, even though he occasionally destroyed it' (*Einleitung*, p. 88). Thus Wellhausen's scepticism leads him to more than one dubious hypothesis.

§ 23. *Loisy on Matthew.*

On the other hand, the *narratives* which are peculiar to Matthew have rarely, if ever, any historical value. As Loisy observes: 'They have rather the character of legendary developments than of truly traditional recollections.' The desire to find fulfilments of O.T. predictions or allusions in the life of Jesus has led to the creation of incidents of which it is 'unnecessary to observe that the historic value is nil.' Especially in the chapters which deal with the birth of Jesus is the influence of O.T. prophecies most noticeable. 'Il ne semble pas que ces récits aient le moindre fondement historique.' Loisy regards it as probable that the wide deflection of the birth and infancy narratives from historic reality and probability makes it likely that they and the Gospel of which they form part, 'acquired their essential traits outside Palestine and the Jewish-Christian communities of that country, in a land where, and at a time when, no eyewitness of, or even well-informed person about, the life of Jesus existed' (*E. S.* I. pp. 140, 141). The author 'knew Hebrew, but had in view readers who did not. He was probably born a Jew, but he was not of Palestine: he wrote in the East, perhaps in Asia Minor, or rather in Syria: by origin Jewish-Christian, he has a universalist spirit, though without polemical *arrière-pensée* in favour of Paul or against the Galilæan apostles: he unifies the apostolic tradition and regards the apostles as a sacred group of whom Peter is in some sort the representative; he neutralizes the effect of the Judaizing sayings he quotes by a symbolic interpretation of them. To those who wished to advocate Jewish observances and live without rules he opposed the perfection of the Christian Law. A man of tradition, one might even say, a man of the Church, he wrote a Gospel truly churchly and catholic: one might be almost tempted to see in him, if not one of the first bishops, at least one of those venerable personages who as elders or overseers governed those communities in which germinated the institution of that monarchic episcopacy which was the heir and successor of its

apostolic forerunner. His book may be ascribed to somewhere near the year 100; it can not be much earlier or much later' (*E. S.* I. p. 143).

§ 24. *Renan on Matthew.*

It is perhaps undesirable or unnecessary to say much more in a brief Introduction such as this about the Gospel of Matthew. Those who do not know them already may be strongly recommended to read Chapters X. and XI. of Renan's *Les Évangiles*, in which there are a number of remarks about Matthew, his relation to Mark, and the comparative authenticity of the sayings which he attributes to Jesus, full of suggestiveness and expressed in the most delightful and exquisite of styles. What can be better than this about the double character of Matthew, his combination of opposites? 'L'Évangile de saint Matthieu, comme presque toutes les compositions fines, a été l'ouvrage d'une conscience en quelque sorte double. L'auteur est à la fois juif et chrétien; sa nouvelle foi n'a pas tué l'ancienne et ne lui a rien ôté de sa poésie. Il aime deux choses en même temps....La Loi subsiste-t-elle? Oui et non. Jésus la détruit et l'accomplit. Le sabbat, il le supprime et le maintient. Les cérémonies juives, il les observe et ne veut pas qu'on y tienne' (pp. 209, 210). Or this about the difficulty of saying which of the speeches and parables were really said by Jesus and which were not. 'La Vie de Jésus et l'histoire de la rédaction des Évangiles sont deux sujets qui se pénètrent de telle sorte qu'il faut laisser entre eux la limite indécise, au risque de paraître se contredire. En réalité cette contradiction est de peu de conséquence. Jésus est le véritable créateur de l'Évangile; Jésus a tout fait, même ce qu'on lui a prêté: sa légende et lui-même sont inséparables: il fut tellement identifié avec son idée, que son idée devint lui-même, l'absorba, fit de sa biographie ce qu'elle devait être' (p. 204). And so on with much more of admirable mingling together of paradox and truth, or rather of truth made more visible by the paradox of its form. Or lastly, what can be more suggestive or thought-provoking than the sentences about the impression made upon us by the book as a whole? 'L'effet général est celui d'un palais de fées, construit tout entier en pierres lumineuses' (p. 198). Loisy is, I think, too depreciative in his estimate of Matthew's style and manner and power of story-telling (*E. S.* I. p. 259), while Burkitt's ascription to him of 'great literary skill and dignity' scarcely seems to hit the nail precisely on the head. Is not Renan perhaps nearer doing so when he calls Matthew's Gospel 'un chef d'œuvre de littérateur populaire?... Un génie aérien qu'on touche, qu'on

embrasse, mais qui ne se heurte jamais aux cailloux du chemin, nous parle, nous ravit. On ne s'arrête pas à se demander s'il sait ce qu'il nous raconte. Il ne doute de rien et ne sait rien. C'est un charme analogue à celui de l'affirmation de la femme, qui nous fait sourire et nous subjugue' (p. 198).

§ 25. *The Gospel of Luke and its sources.*

The Gospel of Luke is the longest of the three Synoptics. It contains some 1146 verses, whereas Matthew contains about 1071. It has also the largest amount of matter peculiar to itself. Among this matter are several of the most beautiful of the parables. Some of these parables seem not merely very worthy of Jesus, which is an unsafe criterion, but on general grounds likely to belong to him. For this and for other reasons we must not be too hasty in assuming that what is peculiar to Luke can not have been said by Jesus.

Luke opens with a short but highly interesting preface, in which the author speaks of his own position and object. He was no eyewitness or apostle; he writes upon the basis, and with the help, of many who have preceded him. Thus he, too, wrote at a period when many written sources existed, though in his case, as in Matthew's, the two most important of those sources were probably Mark and Q. Still, we must assume that his peculiar matter is not mainly his own composition, but usually rests upon sources, the exact number and nature of which can no longer be convincingly ascertained.

The question of the sources which are peculiar to Luke is being much discussed at the present time, but, so far, no generally accepted conclusions have been arrived at. The question is very important for many reasons, not all of which I can mention here. It is, however, obvious, inasmuch as Luke contains a large number of parables (some thirteen) and of sayings which are not found except in his Gospel, that if it could be ascertained or cogently inferred that all or most of them came from one or two early sources, the degree of authenticity to be ascribed to them would be considerably increased. And in addition to the parables and sayings there is the narrative. Here, too, there is a number of extra stories and incidents, while some incidents recorded by Mark are recorded differently and with varying touches by Luke. Especially is this the case in the story of the Passion, where, moreover, these special touches of Luke sometimes seem to show in themselves indications of greater historical probability. If these touches and the extra parables were due to one and the

same source, might not that source be one of the best and earliest documents now embedded or drawn upon in the three Synoptic Gospels? Such, then, is the character and significance of the problems raised by the special sources of Luke.

§ 26. *B. Weiss and Loisy on the sources of Luke.*

A thorough investigation of Luke's sources has recently been carried through by B. Weiss. It is very doubtful whether his conclusions as a whole will stand the test of time. In one sense it may be said that they simplify the problem too much, and that they do not sufficiently allow for the 'many' sources which Luke may not only have known, but also used. According to B. Weiss Luke used three sources only—Mark, Q, and a third source, which Weiss calls L. To this third source B. Weiss assigns a very considerable quantity of the Gospel, beginning from the first chapter and ending with the last. The first two chapters (excluding the prologue) he practically ascribes to L entirely, and the same may be said for the entire story of the Passion and the resurrection contained in the last three chapters (with the exception of some 18 verses in chapter xxii.). Of the intervening chapters from iii. to xxii. inclusive, which contain some 834 verses in all, Weiss assigns 346 to L, or a little more than two-fifths. And this source he regards as very old, of Judæo-Christian origin, and extremely trustworthy and 'authentic.'

Thus Luke would be the most valuable and important of the three Synoptics, containing as it would large portions of three such early and trustworthy sources as Mark, Q, and L.

I fancy that the severe scrutiny of scholars will upset a considerable portion of these conclusions. The naïve and childlike confidence reposed in the accuracy of the narratives of the birth and infancy in chapters i. and ii. has justly aroused the wonder of Harnack, disposed though the great theologian is in other points to allow great importance and value to Weiss's researches. And even putting these chapters aside (and for our purposes they are the least interesting and important portion of the entire book), there is, I think, grave doubt whether Weiss has not ascribed too much to one and the same source. It is doubtful—though the matter can not be gone into here—whether there is sufficient linguistic and other evidence to justify Weiss's amazing confidence and assurance. It is still more doubtful whether the incidents and narratives assigned to L are really due to the same source as the parables and sayings assigned to him. The parables and sayings seem in many cases much older than the incidents and narratives.

Moreover Weiss's theory is extremely complicated. Not all of the material peculiar to Luke does he assign to L. Some of it (including five parables) he assigns to Q (about 60 verses in all). But, on the other hand, he believes that the L material in Luke includes a considerable quantity of parallels to Q. To this extent Weiss, as it were, makes some concession to the arguments of Mr Allen, for he holds that we can discover in Luke the use of the same oral tradition in two distinct sources, Q and L. And not only to Q does he discover parallels, but even, in a few passages, to Mark. The particular cases where these parallels are assumed will mostly be indicated in the commentary.

Quite opposed to the theory of Weiss, on which I will not longer dwell (for the character and peculiarities of the hypothetical source L are as yet, at any rate, too uncertain and hypothetical to discuss in a popular work of this kind), are the analysis and conclusions of Loisy. He also seems to me not to allow enough margin for the *many* sources which Luke may have known and used. His view is that all the parables and almost all the sayings which are peculiar to Luke were taken by that Evangelist from Q. One seems to see in Loisy—though perhaps I am wrong here—an unconscious desire to keep for Jesus as many of the parables and sayings as he possibly can. As Q and the narrative source of Mark are the oldest sources of the Gospels, the more sayings and parables that can be allocated to Q, the more of them are likely to be authentic. It is, however, to be doubted whether Loisy has sufficiently taken into account the peculiar character of many of Luke's special parables which (together with a *few* of the incidents) seems to set them into a special class by themselves, and to suggest for them a special source.

For the *incidents* peculiar to Luke Loisy admits a special source in three or four cases. In others, again, he (rightly, I think) holds that we must look to the inventiveness of the Evangelist. In yet a third class (notably for the story of the Passion) he believes that the special source is none other than the narrative source of Mark which the Evangelist, as it were, occasionally consulted and drew upon as well as Mark.

§ 27. *Date of Luke. The 'great insertion.'*

The date of Luke is assigned by most scholars to about the same period as Matthew, namely, 90–100 A.D. It has been supposed by some that Matthew knew Luke's Gospel, by others that Luke knew Matthew's. It seems more probable that neither knew of the other's. Which is earlier? As to this point, too,

opinions vary, and this is not wonderful, for the evidence is conflicting. For instance, the bits taken by both Evangelists from Q sometimes appear in an earlier form in Luke and sometimes in Matthew. The additions and accretions to them seem sometimes more developed and significant in Luke, and sometimes in Matthew. Loisy's general view is that 'in preserving a larger number of sayings in separate places (*à l'état dispersé*) Luke has doubtless kept to the order of the old Logia better than Matthew, but, like Matthew, he has not refrained from additions, touchings up and curtailments. Sometimes he abbreviates, sometimes he paraphrases, sometimes he separates, sometimes he brings together. On the whole he seems to have respected the text of his source less than Matthew' (*E. S.* I. p. 165). As regards the use which the first and third Evangelists make of the second, we may observe one highly curious and notable feature in Luke. He follows Mark in his order of events fairly closely up to the end of Mark's ninth chapter. In spite of various insertions from Q or other sources he never leaves Mark for long together. But at this point he makes a huge intercalation, and leaves Mark altogether for several chapters, namely from ix. 51 to xviii. 14. Jesus during this intercalation is supposed to be journeying from Galilee to Jerusalem. At xviii. 15 Luke resumes his excerpts from Mark, very nearly where he had left them off. In this huge intercalation he places much of the matter which is peculiar to himself. And he has a peculiar view of how Jesus journeyed to Jerusalem. Mark makes him go through Peræa on the 'other side' of Jordan; Luke makes him pass through Samaria. Some few words about the great intercalation will be read in the commentary. The cause and meaning of it are obscure, and no satisfactory explanation has, so far, been given. It is perhaps the simplest hypothesis to suppose that Luke put in his big insertion the majority of those sayings, parables and anecdotes for which his sources afforded him no indication of place or time. Almost all the sayings and parables peculiar to him are to be found in the insertion, together also with a certain amount of Q material common to him and to Matthew, which Matthew has placed and grouped in other connections. On the other hand, in some passages Luke keeps more closely to the text of Mark than does Matthew. Dr Carpenter writes cautiously: 'Matthew *in its present contents* is presumably the latest of the three.' Wellhausen, on the other hand, takes with his usual confidence the opposite view. In many incidents and conceptions he thinks that Luke shows a later stage of development than Matthew. So, too, Wellhausen also notes a certain 'inwardness' and individualization in Luke, which, with other things, points forward to the still later author of the fourth Gospel. In the story

of the Passion, with certain elements that seem older or more historic than anything in Mark, there are others which point to a later stage than Matthew. So too in the story of the resurrection. These indications of later date will be alluded to in the commentary.

§ 28. *Luke's Gentile point of view: his sympathy for 'sinners' and the poor: the authenticity of his special material: his date.*

If Matthew is perhaps written from a Jewish-Christian point of view, Luke is undoubtedly written from the point of view of the Gentile. Not that there is much or any distinctive Paulinism in this Gospel, or a marked antagonism to the Law. Thus Loisy justly remarks of the author of the third Gospel: 'he is not interested in the essential theology of Paul; one might almost say that he ignores it; he is not anxious, like the redactor of Mark, to defend the person of the great apostle and to make his ideas prevail in the gospel tradition; in certain very characteristic passages (notably in xxii. 24–27) he neglects the Pauline additions of Mark and keeps to the primitive statements' (*E. S.* I. p. 173). 'Really and truly,' says Jülicher, 'Luke did not take over from Paul more than that which the Church as a whole took over from him, to wit, the idea of the universality of salvation, and the conception of the boundlessness of the divine grace' (*Einleitung*, p. 292).

But Luke's universalism has no polemic tinge. He has not to combat any specifically Judæo-Christian view.

He is a 'universalist' in a quite simple sense, as to the manner born. Though Luke preserves from his source sentences which might seem to show the contrary, he himself has apparently little knowledge of, interest in, or sympathy for, specifically Jewish considerations. He is unacquainted with Hebrew, and the geography of Palestine is unfamiliar to him. Jesus sends his seventy disciples directly and emphatically to the Gentiles. The twelve apostles symbolize the twelve tribes of Israel, but the seventy correspond with and symbolize the Jewish idea of the seventy nations of the world. More will be said of this in the notes. A further noticeable feature of Luke's Gospel is his marked sympathy for that side of the teaching and life of Jesus which had to do with sinners and the poor. A 'tinge of asceticism' (Burkitt, p. 214) pervades his Gospel (though this,—at least as regards the source L,—is warmly denied by Weiss). For the repentant sinner he has profound pity. Some of the finest stories, parables, and sayings which illustrate the compassion and love which Jesus showed, and which God feels, for the sinner who repents, are

peculiar to Luke. Peculiar also to him are his sympathy for the poor and needy, and his somewhat accentuated antagonism to the rich. He has, as Loisy observes, 'une certaine note psychologique, un sens profond des choses de l'âme, un ton pénétré, ce je ne sais quoi qui vient du cœur et qui touche le cœur' (*E. S.* I. p. 260). He is fond of contrasts in pairs. Thus we have the contrasts of Martha and Mary, Pharisee and Publican, the rich man and Lazarus, and so on. Wellhausen concisely says: 'The main type and antitype which these pairs provide is that of the self-conscious righteous and the humble sinner, and the favourite theme is that repentance is possible for all, whatever their situation and circumstances, that it is necessary for everyone, and that it is easier for the ne'er-do-well than for the virtuous. Luke has a marked affection not merely for the despised and degraded "crowd," but also for outcast individuals. He presses the saying that the sick, not the healthy, need the doctor' (*Einleitung*, p. 69). Luke, as Renan has said, is pre-eminently the Gospel of forgiveness. Conversion is possible for all. It is also pre-eminently the Gospel of humility. And the greatest of the virtues is almsgiving. Not, however, in a Pauline sense is Renan justified in calling Luke the Gospel of pardon obtained by faith. Harnack points out the grave difference, in spite of his insistence upon the accuracy of the traditional authorship. Luke's 'faith' is less dogmatic and profound, and his philanthropy is less limited and reserved (*Lukas der Arzt*, p. 100). There is a certain family likeness which runs through the stories and parables peculiar to Luke, and Wellhausen is perhaps right in saying: 'may their value be as great as you please, nevertheless these special portions (*diese Novellen*) of Luke cannot be put on the same level (of authenticity) as the products of the old tradition' (*Einleitung*, p. 70).

Naturally a good deal depends upon the question whether the peculiar matter found only in Luke comes from some old and trustworthy source. I am inclined to think that as regards many of the special sayings and parables this is indeed true. Even though these sayings and parables may have been originally said (in a more primitive form) by Jesus, yet we can imagine a collection of sayings and parables in which one particular aspect of Jesus's teaching was specially emphasized. And this seems to have been the case as regards his teaching about forgiveness and humility, the poor and the rich, and the boundlessness of the divine mercy. Such stories, sayings and parables as those contained in vii. 36–50, x. 29–37, xv. 11–32, xvi. 19–31, xii. 15–21, xvii. 9–14, do seem to have a certain character in common, and may be due to a common source. Nevertheless this source would faithfully reflect—as it seems to me—one aspect of the character and

teaching of Jesus. That aspect of the Master in which he appears as the friend of tax-collectors and sinners is prominent in Luke, and this prominence may be due to a special source. This hypothesis is strongly pressed by Bacon. It is the 'special source of Luke' which gives us a 'constant' (yet historic) 'depiction of Jesus as the champion of the "little ones," the unrecognized "sons" or "daughters of Abraham," the spiritually disinherited masses, publicans, women, Samaritans, outcasts from the Synagogue, scattered sheep, lost sons' (*op. cit.* p. xxxvii.). There is, I think, a good deal of truth in this, though whether there existed anything resembling 'spiritually disinherited *masses*' is open to the very gravest doubt. On this point Bacon is still under the spell of the old authorities and the old ideas. But apart from this special point, we may hold to a good deal of what is said by the American professor.

As regards the universalism of Luke, on the other hand, that seems neither to go back to his sources nor to Jesus. B. Weiss observes: 'von einer Heidenmission ist in L so wenig die Rede wie in Q.' The special sayings and parables do not touch the question of universalism one way or the other, and as to the good Samaritan there is much reason to suppose (though no Christian commentator is likely to admit it) that he comes from a verbal alteration of the original story. The universalism of Luke is due to himself. He is ever ready to use or adapt a traditional story for symbolic and universalist purposes.

The third Evangelist, then, is 'a Gentile writing for Gentiles.' Do we know who he was more precisely? From very old times the Gospel has been attributed to Luke, the 'beloved physician' and the friend of Paul mentioned in Colossians iv. 14. If this Epistle is genuine, which is very doubtful, Luke might have written the Gospel about 80 or 90 A.D. This is the opinion of the great theologian Harnack, who has written a book to prove that Luke was the author of both the Gospel and the Acts. In this conclusion Harnack adopts the view of most English conservative theologians, and especially it may be noted that he too maintains that there is linguistic evidence to show that the author was a physician. Harnack's contention is, however, far from being conclusively proved. And it may be gravely questioned whether 80 A.D. is not somewhat too early a date for Acts as well as for Luke. Nevertheless it is possible that if Luke was born about 30, he could have written the Gospel as late as 100. This is the view of Professor Burkitt, who believes in the traditional authorship, but holds that Luke had read and used Josephus, and that his book was written about 100 A.D. As the date is in any case much the same, the question of the authorship is for our purposes

of very secondary importance. The likelihood of the authenticity of its special material is neither increased nor diminished. And the importance and beauty of the third Evangelist's book are largely independent of its *exact* date. A distinguished classical scholar once observed to me that of the three Synoptists Luke seemed to him to have the 'keenest and deepest appreciation of the humanity and divinity of Jesus.' (The speaker did not mean divinity in the sense of deity.) This may be rightly said and finely observed, and even if Luke's *Novellen* are not authentic, they may nevertheless be truly illustrative of the genuine spirit of the Galilæan teacher.

Each of the first three Gospels has thus its own specific interest and importance.

§ 29. *The relation of 'date' to 'authenticity.'*

It may, however, be observed in passing that the authenticity of a given saying of Jesus or of a particular incident about his ministry is not to be merely measured, or always chiefly measured, by the supposed date of the 'source' which records it. Here one must bear in mind those considerations to which Jülicher in his *Neue Linien* has again rightly called attention. It does not follow, he argues, that a given passage is authentic in direct proportion to its age. Even if, for example, Q, or 'the special source' of Luke, were always younger than Mark, it would not necessarily follow that some parts of Q, or of the special source of Luke, might not be more authentic than some parts of Mark. The point is: where would tradition remember truly, and where would it, unconsciously or consciously, add, alter, and embroider? Is not Jülicher right when he says that what must be looked at with most suspicion should be 'those sections of the Gospels which deal with the appraisement of the person of Jesus and with the representation of his self-consciousness'? ('die direkt auf die Schätzung der Person Jesu und die Darstellung seines Selbstbewusstseins bezüglichen Partien') (p. 73). If this be so, we shall be disposed to regard as more presumably authentic those words of Jesus in which he does not speak of his own powers, or of himself, or of his future. We shall be disposed to regard those doings of Jesus as more presumably authentic which are not specially Messianic or specially miraculous or specially in accordance with the later beliefs of the Christian disciples, as they were rapidly formed between 30 and 60 A.D. Over the Messianic consciousness of Jesus, and over those words and deeds of his which betray it, a dark shadow of doubt must continue to hover. We cannot get

beyond the Jesus 'des ältesten Gemeindeglaubens'—the Jesus as the faith of the earliest community conceived him. Old history and new faith are fused together; the picture of Jesus, which the Synoptics show, has not only many painful gaps, but is throughout covered with a varnish which here and there does not allow anything of the original to shine through (*Neue Linien in der Kritik der evangelischen Ueberlieferung*, p. 71). Just where we most want to know, we must always be content to conjecture.

§ 30. *The condition of the Jews during the age of Jesus.*

Jesus was born in the year 4 B.C. or perhaps a year or two earlier. He died probably in 30 A.D. The Gospels of Mark, Matthew, and Luke were compiled, as we have seen, between the years 70 and 100 A.D. It is, therefore, desirable for those who read these books to know something about the history of the Jews during that period of 100 years. Something ought to be known of the external history; something of the internal condition. But this knowledge cannot be given here; it must be sought elsewhere.

Jesus's birth falls in the last years or even year of the reign of Herod the Great. The fortunes and deeds of this remarkable man should be read in Josephus. He exercised, we have to remember, a kind of quasi-independent rule under the overlordship of Rome. When he died his territories were divided. His son Archelaus received, and was confirmed by Augustus in the possession of, Judæa, Idumæa, and Samaria. He was not called king, but ethnarch. A second son, Antipas or Herod Antipas, often merely called Herod in the Gospels, was given Galilee and Peræa. His title was that of tetrarch, 'a title which was often used for rulers of a divided kingdom without reference to its precise etymology.' In the Gospels he is sometimes called king, but this is technically an error. Another son of Herod called Philip received some more north-eastern portions of Palestine, which had been attached to Herod's dominions by Augustus. The town of Cæsarea Philippi was in the territory of Philip.

The reign of Archelaus did not last long. He seems to have ruled with harshness and cruelty, and not to have possessed his father's ability for extricating himself from a difficult situation. So when the Jews complained of him to Augustus, and he had to appear at Rome, his defence was not accepted, and he was deposed and banished (6 A.D.). Henceforth, with one brief interval, Judæa and Samaria were directly administered by Rome. There was a Roman Procurator whose headquarters were usually at Cæsarea.

Above him in rank and authority was the Legate or Governor of the province of Syria; he was of senatorial rank, whereas the Procurator was only a 'knight.' Thus Judæa during the life of Jesus was under the direct authority of Rome, although a certain measure of home rule was still allowed. The Sanhedrin was apparently not only the highest legal court, but the high priest's council of government. The high priest presided; his influence was predominant. But the power to inflict and carry out the death sentence had been removed from this native court by the Romans. The Jews were eager to regain the power, and illegal executions were not unknown. In Galilee, on the other hand, Herod Antipas occupied the place of the Roman administrator in Judæa. His reign continued till after the death of Jesus. Ultimately (39 A.D.) he too was bereft by Caligula of his tetrarchy and banished to Lyons.

§ 31. *The Law and the State: classes of the people: Rabbis and Pharisees.*

It is very difficult to form any adequate or accurate picture of Jewish life in the first half of the first century A.D. A condition of things existed which in many respects was very different from anything which has existed since. Moreover, there was less homogeneity of conditions then than afterwards. There must have been a great diversity of life, of manners, of opinions.

The history of the Jews from the Maccabean revolt till the crucifixion of Jesus and the destruction of the Temple is a curious one. It seems to show that the domination of the Law was unsuited for national independence. On the whole, it must be said, that the supremacy of the Law in political affairs bred a good deal of fanaticism and tended to produce a certain amount of cruelty. On the other hand, it made heroes and martyrs, and taught men how to die unflinchingly for their ancestral religion.

It is hard to think of the Jews as independent or as persecuting; one can but think of them as persecuted. For 1900 years persecutions in one form or another, and in one degree or another, have been their recurring lot. After the fall of their State and the horrors of the Hadrianic war, they formed separate and alien religious communities in a hostile environment; they were despised, ill-treated, mocked at and abused. Intervals and breathing spaces there are, but this is the general story. Their virtues have been those of hidden lives and of obscure communities. But their beloved Law becomes more supreme than ever. It constitutes their manhood. It trains their intellect. It is their recreation,

their joy, and their solace. It is their treasure and their guide. There are practically no parties; who would remain a Jew, if he did not love the Law? And the love of the Law expresses itself on the same lines: he who loves the Law fulfils, or seeks to fulfil, its enactments. Rome and the Church oppress, degrade, torture, and kill; the Law brings poetry, and hope, and idealism, and God.

Under Herod the Great and Antipas and the Procurators too, the Law doubtless to some extent brought these blessings. In Judæa and in Galilee during the years 1–30 A.D. there must have been many retired, quiet men and women who lived pious lives according to the Law and did not concern themselves with politics. But there was also much more. There were many other types and classes.

For though the Romans are the ultimate rulers and arbiters, a Jewish State is in existence. An ecclesiastical State in some measure; for though Herod is anything rather than a servant of priests, and Antipas is not the servant of Rabbis, still the Pentateuch and its developments are yet in large measure the Law of the State. Certainly the connection of Church and State was not a happy one in Judæa, and produced some unpleasing results and characters. We have, then, to do with a State. Even when Archelaus is deposed, and Judæa is under the administration of the Roman Procurator, we may nevertheless still in a certain sense speak of a continuing Jewish State. And, like every other State, this one too has its various parties and classes, many of whom largely disappear after its destruction. It has soldiers and politicians; it has nobles and priests and rulers. It has schemers and agitators. It has all these and more, and all of them either feel religiously—whether according to a pure religion or no, an outward or an inward one, need not here be considered—or use religion for their own purpose. The national and political life was mixed up with religion in a peculiar way, not wholly to the advantage either of the one or of the other.

And with this variety of classes and persons there existed, as I have already indicated, a variety of thought. The distinctions of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes are familiar to most people, yet they hardly represent with accuracy what actually existed. They are not very informing. The ruling priests at Jerusalem seem to have constituted the mainstay and chief element of the Sadducees. They were in a sense conservative. The letter of the Law was enough for them; they did not want the developments of the Rabbis. In doctrine too they were against innovation. Thus we hear that they would have nothing to say to the doctrine of the Resurrection, in which we may nevertheless assert with

confidence that eleven-twelfths of the nation already firmly believed. Many of these priests, and many of the nobles and 'rulers,' possessed, I should think, but a very formal and outward religion. We may compare them with many of the bishops, barons, and rulers of the middle ages.

In spite of the intense devotion of the Jews to the Temple, the religious teachers of the people were not the priests. The Temple was the mark of the national life as well as the public expression of its religion. Unlike any other nation, the Jews offered sacrifices at one spot only, and upon this single Temple were concentrated all the glory and pride which among any other people were distributed over a hundred different fanes. Yet in spite of this adoration of the Temple—to thousands a distant Temple which they rarely saw—the Judaism of the day was not a priestly religion, though priestly ideas of cleanness and uncleanness filled an important part of it. The Synagogue and the Rabbi overshadowed the Temple and the priest.

The Rabbis and their followers constitute the Pharisees. It is probably no exaggeration to say that five-sixths of the nation were Pharisaic more or less, though where and how the limits ran it is hard to say. The Rabbis of 30 A.D. were not quite identical with the Rabbis of 300 A.D. For among them too there must have been many types and kinds. Some combined politics with religion; others kept themselves aloof from the governing and political world.

§ 32. *The Law and the infant Church: persecution and intolerance.*

The rule of the Law had only gradually asserted itself after Ezra. It was growing during the Persian period (450–330 B.C.), and during the Greek period after Alexander. But the stages of its growth can no longer be traced. It was subjected to a counter current and a cross influence by the introduction and development of Hellenism. Then came the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Maccabean revolt, the restored national independence and the heightened national consciousness. The Law begins to rule not merely the actions of private life, but the public working of the State. And, as is so often the case, fanaticism and intolerance go hand in hand with, or follow hard upon, heroism and martyrdom. The same temper which breeds the martyr breeds the fanatic. The Maccabean heroes kill the recusants or the lax to-day; they are ready to be killed themselves to-morrow. And when seated in the saddle of power, they impose the Law upon others by sheer

force. Militant Judaism extends its borders, and whole territories must submit to compulsory circumcision.

This is not the place in which to speak of the history of the infant Church from the death of Jesus to the end of the century. But the readers of the Synoptics must be prepared, both in the words ascribed to Jesus and outside them, to find a reflection of circumstances and moods which fall within those seventy years. And prominent among those circumstances will be this, that the young Christian community suffered persecution from the Synagogue. Even while the early Christians of the Jerusalem community observed the ceremonial enactments of the Law, there was still enough difference to make occasional persecution highly probable. A family quarrel is often the bitterest of quarrels. That the new community believed that the Messiah had already appeared was in itself a serious point of difference. A lax attitude toward the Law was soon to follow. The Christians had their own organization, their own meetings, their own expectations. Worst of all the Christians soon began to assert that the Founder of their faith was a divine being, a very incarnation of God. He became the object of worship. This to the Jews seemed rank idolatry. The dominant Pharisaic religion could not brook or tolerate so marked and serious a dissidence. Renan is possibly right in saying that but for the Roman overlordship, and the difficulties put in the way of Jews exercising the right of life and death, the persecution would have been more grave and more extensive. The historian has to record what he finds. He may interpret the facts, but he cannot conceal or alter them. It can hardly be denied that the secular persecution of the Jews by Christian authorities may be regarded as the abiding and multiplied revenge of the short and occasional persecution of the Christians by the Jews. 'Persecute your enemies even unto the hundredth generation' has been the principle according to which the Church has exercised an awful punishment upon the primary offending of the Synagogue.

Judaism, like Christianity, could in those days be hardly other than intolerant. Like Christianity it was better and more attractive in low places than in high ones. For the Jews, like the Christians, believed in the exclusive rightness of their own faith as well as in the soleness and exclusive sovereignty of their own God. To believe correctly was a virtue; to believe otherwise a moral defect, a social injury. Toleration combined with such a faith was at that time impossible.

Successful fanaticism grows by what it feeds on. Yet it may also be said that it grows by persecution. Still though stimulated by persecution as well as by success, fanaticism, when

persecuted, is generally unable to issue in act. And its effect upon character is partly checked and hindered by other influences and agencies. The men who breathe wild imprecations upon their persecutors are often within their own community models of gentleness, piety, and love. But successful and active fanaticism tends, as it would seem, to harden and dry up man's soul. Hence we notice, from the Maccabean revolt to the destruction of the State, a certain fierce and arid temper of mind and type of religion which are unpleasing to our modern ideas.

On the other hand, it must be said that the political domination of a national religious Law never got a really fair chance. The Maccabean rulers never properly and completely freed themselves from trouble and turmoil with the Hellenistic Syrian power. Under Simon's son, John Hyrkanus (135–104 B.C.), the height of Maccabean power is reached; yet towards the close of his reign Josephus records that the seeds of future trouble were sown by John's quarrelling with the Pharisees, or national party, and 'joining the Sadducees.' His son Alexander Janneus, who succeeded him after a year of bloodshed and confusion, passed much of his reign in wars, both external and civil. The Pharisees are his declared and life-long enemies. He slays, according to Josephus, no fewer than fifty thousand of his own people. Upon his death-bed he recommends his wife Alexandra to be reconciled with and to obey the Pharisees; his advice is followed for nine years (76–67). The violent feud between her two sons, which breaks out after her death, leads to the introduction of Pompey and the overlordship of Rome (63).

There followed twenty-three troubled years till the accession of Herod the Great. It was thus partly due to the native rulers, and partly to the Roman governors and administrators, that the land was never happy and at ease. Intrigue and oppression, corruption and cruelty, often or usually prevailed. In addition to this there was in the Roman period a frequent violation of Jewish susceptibilities. Herod wanted to play the Hellenistic and cultivated king. His baths, gymnasia and temples grossly offended the intense religious feeling of the people. The Roman governors were avaricious and imprudent. The last and the worst of them, Gessius Florus, aimed directly at stirring up insurrection and war. Thus the people were constantly kept in unrest, excitement and wretchedness. There was every opportunity given for hatred and religious bitterness. The 'zealots' and ultra-nationalists, who finally got supreme control, were the natural product of the events and policy pursued by the rulers. Fanaticism was, as it were, artificially fed and stimulated. The religion of the day was exclusive, anti-heathen, and rigorous: the Law breathes a spirit of

hostility and antagonism and ruthless severity to all idolatry, idolaters, and image worship. But the fierce passions of men could have been tolerably easily kept in check and abeyance by scrupulous respect for national and religious susceptibilities: instead of which they were constantly ruffled and violated.

§ 33. *The Messianic hope. Did all classes observe the Law?*

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the Messianic hope should have revived. We do not hear much about it in Josephus, but there were special reasons why he desired to keep it dark. The blacker the actual condition of things was, the more men hoped for the coming of the Golden Age, when Israel should be prosperous, powerful and free, and when righteousness and peace should reign supreme. With the invariable optimism of the Jews—without which they could hardly have survived their age-continued miseries—the final crisis, the breaking of the dawn, were not merely longed for, but expected in the near future. The end would come soon. The old order would soon close for ever: the new order was about to begin. The Kingdom of God was surely at hand. These hopes and beliefs were combined with the now almost universally accepted doctrine of the Resurrection of the dead. They were often, but not necessarily, associated with the figure and expectation of the Deliverer-King, the Messiah-Prince, of whom some of the prophets, and notably Isaiah, had spoken. It is these hopes and expectations which form the background, and explain the appearance, of John the Baptist and his preaching.

It is, however, to be remembered that we are dealing with a society which is not homogeneous. It may be called, with perhaps as much right as any other, transitional. I have spoken of the domination of the Law, and of a certain fanatical temper. But the domination of the Law was not quite complete. The legalism of 300 A.D. embraced the entire body of Jews more equably and with fewer exceptions than the legalism of 30. It was more all-pervading, yet, what to many will seem odd, there is some evidence and reason to think that this more all-penetrating legalism of 300 was sweeter, more spiritual, and more inward than was the legalism of 30. It was more religious, less national. It had become more assimilated with, more part and parcel of, the entire life of every individual Jew. The legalism of 30 seems to have left a certain section of the people outside its influence. It had not absorbed everybody. Some there were who, for one reason or another (and the reasons are obscure), did not live according to the Law. They have either fallen out of the

ranks of the legal army or they have never entered them. There were nobles and rich landowners who were above the Law, there were unfortunates who were below it. There were occupations, such as that of tax-collectors, soldiers, and others, upon which the Rabbis and Pharisees, for one reason or other, looked with suspicion. Either the occupation prevented those who followed it from obeying the ritual enactments of the Law or it made them likely to disobey its ethical commands. Those once outside the legal ranks the Rabbis and Pharisees seem to have made little or no effort to reclaim or convert. They were left severely to themselves. Yet these classes could not have been very large.

It must, however, be frankly stated that the foregoing remarks are really based upon inferences from the Gospel narratives themselves and upon little more. They therefore rest upon dubious evidence. For what the Evangelists say, and what Jesus is made to say, about the Pharisees, the Rabbis and the Jews generally is naturally to be taken with the greatest caution and suspicion. What Catholics say about Protestants, or Protestants about Catholics, or Jews about Christians (I quite admit that this hits me), or Christians about Jews, must always be *very* critically regarded. But the evidence of the Gospels comes very much under this category. It was inevitable that the Pharisees and the Rabbis should be presented as worse than they really were. And similarly it was inevitable, if there existed a small section of persons who were outside the ranks of the 'respectable' classes that observed the Law, that this section should be represented as larger and more important than it really was.

The unfortunate thing is that in the Rabbinical literature we get no clear and undisputed evidence which substantiates the Gospels. To begin with, that literature is almost all of it very much later than the first century after Christ.

And not only was it written later, but the Rabbis whose utterances and stories it reports and chronicles, the circumstances it reflects and tells of, were almost all later than Jesus, later than the fall of the State, later than the Hadrianic revolt. If you cannot argue on the good side from the Talmud, you cannot argue on the evil. The evils and the excellences of the Talmudic periods are not necessarily the same as those of the period of Jesus.

§ 34. *The 'am ha-aretz' and the neglected 'multitudes.'*

The Rabbinic literature does indeed contain various statements and sayings—more especially sayings and statements about certain people, or a certain class of people called 'people of the land,'

am ha-aretz—which have been much used in supposed substantiation of the Gospel narratives about 'sinners' or about what Matthew makes Jesus say respecting the multitude who were harassed and prostrate like sheep without shepherds. It has been freely supposed that the sinners and neglected multitude of the Gospels and the *am ha-aretz* of the Talmud are one and the same.

But this identification is precarious. The Talmudic passages about the *am ha-aretz* are obscure, and their meaning is disputed. They were written down long after the age of Jesus, and many of them seem to refer to a period after his death. The features which characterize the Talmudic *am ha-aretz* do not appear to be the same as those which characterize the Gospel 'sinners' or 'multitudes.' It is therefore unsafe to use the passages in the Talmud in illustration or confirmation of the passages in the Gospels. The researches of Dr Büchler have even made it possible that the Talmudic *am ha-aretz* did not belong to the 'multitude' at all, that they were not poor and unhappy and degraded, but rich and comfortable and prosperous. The Rabbis, at any rate, were drawn from the people, and were emphatically of the people. Many of them were extremely poor; working with their hands in the day-time, studying, discussing and teaching in the evenings and on Sabbaths and festivals. An habitual antagonism between them and the 'multitude' is out of the question. And thus though it would be unsafe to aver that the Gospel narratives are totally inaccurate, it would be equally unsafe to regard them as more than exaggerated representations of the facts. Dr Büchler holds that there is no Rabbinic evidence that any portion of the population, whether in Judæa or in Galilee, consisted of poor, despised persons who did not observe the ritual Law, and had 'fallen out of the legal ranks.' The people who did not observe the Law were the rich rather than the poor: the 'tax-gatherers' were rich, as even the Gospels allow, and so in all probability were the 'sinners.' The *am ha-aretz* are especially held up to reprobation in Rabbinic literature, because they did not carefully tithe their land. Therefore they were possessors of property, with whom a 'submerged tenth' is not usually identified! We thus see how doubtful and obscure all the Gospel allusions to poor, neglected, or spiritually unhappy people really are. (See further Additional Note 43.)

If there really *did* exist a 'submerged tenth,' who neglected the Law, disliked the Rabbinic teachers and were disliked by them in return, we may feel fairly sure that it was a *small* tenth and no more. The mass of the nation at any rate, both women and men, held with keenness and affection to the Rabbinical

religion, and the leaders of the Pharisees were the leaders of the people. Josephus is not likely to be wrong when he emphasizes over and over again that the Pharisees had 'the multitude' on their side. Those who hated the Scribes and Rabbis must have been few. Yet we may perhaps assume that between them and those who followed whole-heartedly the Pharisaic faith and the enactments of the Law, there were probably some who admired, but followed at a distance, or who followed only partially, or who followed with discontent, reluctance, weariness, or dissatisfaction. To a few the Law did perhaps present itself rather as a burden than a grace, as a worry and a bondage rather than as a distinction and a joy. The Law of 30 was not the Law of 300. It had not yet become the solace, poetry, and pride of a hunted and despised people. It produced, we may believe, more failures, less happiness, less spiritual satisfaction and well-being. The degrees between joyful observance and full content on the one hand, and complete neglect or 'outsidedness' on the other, were probably very many. There were many degrees and shades of observance and neglect. Such outsiders, who were perhaps more numerous in Galilee than in Judæa, were attracted by the teaching and personality of Jesus, and to such persons (the 'sick' and ill at ease) did he deliberately and with compassion turn and minister. He cheered them and brought to them a new hope, a new light. He led them to God.

§ 35. *The various classes of people with whom Jesus came in contact: formalists and outcasts; liberals and apocalyptists. The Essenes.*

We may, then, suppose that in Galilee Jesus had come into more or less close personal contact with various classes of persons, before his ministry began. First and foremost there were the Pharisees and the Rabbis,—the great majority of the total population. These we may describe as the conforming members of the established Church with their leaders and teachers. The measure of their conformity or their enthusiasm doubtless varied among the adherents of that 'church,' as it varies among the adherents of any existing 'church' to-day. But yet we may call them roughly and rightly the party of the Pharisees. There can be little doubt that the parents of Jesus belonged to this 'party,' and that he was brought up to obey the enactments both of the Written and of the Oral Law, so far as that second or Oral Law had been yet developed or was generally observed among ordinary persons. Jesus, then, knows the Pharisees; he also knows the prosperous rich, the landowners and nobles, neither whose moral nor whose

ceremonial standard of living comes up in many instances to a high level. And again he knows others such as merchants, shepherds, tax-collectors, soldiers, who are looked upon with grave suspicion by the Pharisees because their occupations and way of life either rendered it difficult for them to observe the ceremonial law, or subjected them to moral temptations from which they were commonly thought not to escape unscathed. And then again he perhaps knew a few others, poor, despised, unfortunate, degraded—not many in number, but in quality and circumstance interesting and important—who also were not supposed to belong to respectable society, and from whom Pharisees and Rabbis kept carefully aloof. For all such outcasts, whether rich or poor, Jesus felt much concern. For sinners and for unfortunate persons, for the spiritually destitute, for the physically afflicted, for the unhappy of all kinds, he had an open ear and a loving heart. He observed that no official teacher or Rabbi sought them out: yet they were children of Israel all, and if the call to repentance arose, surely they should not be left outside. Beneath their wayward and sinful and afflicted lives he could discern hearts which were susceptible to stirring appeal or personal affection.

But in addition to these, there were other classes in Israel as well. The tendency of the Pharisees and Rabbis was to interpret the Law more and more strictly, and to increase the wall of legal severance which separated the Jew from the Gentile. It would be unfair to say that the Rabbis deliberately extended the ceremonial at the expense of the moral Law, but it is true to say that their devotion to the non-moral side of the Law did occasionally produce evil results on the moral and spiritual side both in themselves and in their followers. It is a true paradox that the more universal, everyday and obvious the dominion of the ceremonial Law became, the less also in some important respects grew its moral and spiritual dangers. When everybody strictly observes the Sabbath, and when nobody eats milk and meat together, the fulfilment of such ceremonial enactments gives no distinction. They have almost become customs of propriety, the neglect of which would indeed be outrageous, but the observance of which is nothing to boast of. Distinctions, differences and 'merits' had once more to become concentrated upon the moral laws, which, by the very constitution of human nature, are by some obeyed well, by others feebly, and by yet others transgressed. But in the days of Jesus the domination of the ceremonial Law, as interpreted by the Rabbis, was not yet, as we have seen, coterminous with the whole population.

It may also be observed that Judaism was not wholly wanting in liberal tendencies in those days, and men of such tendencies

were probably not only to be found outside of Palestine. There were those who held and believed that the true circumcision was of the heart rather than of the flesh, and who were willing to argue that, for the proselyte at least, such spiritual circumcision was all that God required or that man should ask. They were anxious to throw the moral laws of the Pentateuch into strong relief, so that the dangerous multiplication of ritual and ceremonial enactments might be counteracted. Ceremonial laws were symbols, perhaps allegories, of spiritual and ethical realities. Whether Jesus was influenced by any such persons it is impossible to say. It is not inconceivable.

About such matters the student should read (with caution) the many works of the Jewish scholar Moritz Friedländer, and the recent admirable book of Dr G. Klein (of Stockholm), *Der älteste christliche Katechismus und die jüdische Propaganda-literatur.*

Others there were who studied deeply the prophets rather than the Law. They fed their hopes upon the Messianic utterances of the book of Daniel, and following in the wake of the writer of that book, they dreamed visions and wrote them down. The apocalyptic writers are by no means to be identified with the liberals, but yet they stand off the line of the regular and orthodox Rabbis. They and their disciples were the most ardent believers in the near coming of the crisis, the *dénouement*, the Judgment. But, on the whole, they were less spiritual than the Rabbis, who, by the way, regarded it as a sin to calculate the advent of the Messiah. The Judgment to the apocalyptists was inclined to become all too exclusively a judgment upon Israel's foes. That Jesus was influenced by them seems likely. At all events we know that he began his short ministry because he believed that the End was at hand, and that he must proclaim its coming. But he markedly differed from the apocalyptic seers in keeping more closely than they to the teaching of the oldest and the greatest of the prophets. Sin would be struck down within Israel as well as without it. John the Baptist struck a similar note: indeed from him it was that Jesus heard it and passed it on.

The religious ferment and variety of the age of Jesus are also illustrated by the brotherhood of the Essenes. It is still a disputed point among scholars whether their customs, doctrines, and rites as described by Josephus and others were due to any extent to foreign influences, and if so what these foreign influences were. In some respects they exaggerated certain rules and habits which prevailed among the stricter Pharisees. Thus they laid great stress upon bodily purifications and purity, and upon the observance of the Sabbath. But in other matters they broke new ground. They formed a communistic brotherhood, and for the most part remained

through life unmarried. Those who read Josephus' account of them in the eighth chapter of the Second Book of the *War* will be reminded of some things in the Gospels and in the teaching of Jesus. Such points are the stress laid upon continence, the objection to money, the habits in travel, the dislike to oaths, perhaps, too, the communistic brotherhood. But in other respects there is the strongest unlikeness. Jesus, as we shall see, laid no stress upon outward purity, he was probably not over particular about dietary laws, he was not intensely strict in Sabbath observance; above all he did not 'keep himself to himself'; he moved freely among 'unclean' and outcast persons; he sought these out and did not avoid them. In the Pharisaic and Essenic sense he did not 'hate the wicked and help the righteous.' Thus Jesus was certainly not an Essene, though he may have been attracted and influenced by certain points of their doctrine. Whether John the Baptist had closer relations with them is not so clear, but it is not very likely.

§ 36. *The contradictions of Judaism: the one God and the national cult.*

The existence of these various types and classes shows that the Judaism of the first century was not only full of variety, but that it might also be said to be full of contradictions. To a certain extent these contradictions have not been overcome in Judaism even to-day. These contradictions were and are largely due to the fact that a pure monotheistic doctrine was wedded to a national ritual. Tribal customs formed the outer expression of what was, in its fundamental tenet, a universal creed. The result was confusion. It was the more noticeable before the Temple fell because of the incongruous mixture of nationality and religion. The laws of the nation were also its religious doctrines and its ceremonial rites. Politics and religion were closely blended. The greatest religious hope was also the greatest political hope, the greatest national hope. This tended to obscure the purity of religion. It is one of the remarkable points about Jesus that he is apparently interested only in the individual and in religion. He does not concern himself with politics or with the national life. An apparent effect of this peculiarity upon his conception of the Messiah and his office will be often alluded to in the notes. Paul consciously freed himself and his religion from national contradictions and confusion by means of a theory. Jesus freed himself of them unconsciously by his pure religious genius. They dropped away from him, neglected and unnoticed.

One contradiction to which I have referred would not have arisen in an ordinary heathen religion, or even in one where only one god was worshipped, but that god merely and solely the god of the nation. For a national cult and national religious laws would harmoniously fit a national god. But though the God whom the Jews worshipped was in a special sense *their* God, their national God, he was also much more. He was the only God; the one and unique God; the God of the whole world. But such a universal God required a universal cult. A national worship does not fit him. Hence the contradictions and confusions to which I have alluded. They are illustrated in the attitude of the Jews towards proselytism. I have already referred to the existence of a liberal school of thought among the Jews, and to the view, expressed by one Rabbi (and probably shared by many), that circumcision of the flesh was unnecessary for the new-comer. There is evidence that outside Palestine, and to some extent also within it, there was a considerable amount of propagandist fervour, crowned with a considerable amount of success. This is not the place in which to speak at length about a most intensely interesting chapter of Jewish history. But that Judaism for various reasons exercised a great fascination upon the heathen in the first century before and after Christ is undoubted. It is also certain that there was, in one way and another, a good deal of effort expended in order to obtain proselytes. (I am not merely alluding to the compulsory proselytization and circumcision of adjacent tribes between the times of Judas Maccabæus and Herod the Great.) Yet there was always a certain difficulty about proselytes, and a school of thought existed which was opposed to them, for the convert had not only to adopt a new religion, but a new nationality.

The Jews were proud of their monotheistic religion. In a sense they were keen to push it and to proclaim its merits, but they were hampered by their nationalist Law. They wanted to stand high in the opinion of outsiders, but their Law to a considerable degree made them hostile to foreigners, and unable and unwilling to associate with them. To this Josephus bears abundant witness. The proselytism which many of them attempted was often, as it would seem, undertaken less for the benefit of the heathen than for the glory of their nation or the glorification of their creed and Law. Jewish proselytes, we may well believe, were readily influenced by the preaching of Paul. For here, amid some blurring of monotheistic purity, and in spite of grave infractions, through alien dogmas, of the ethical and religious teaching of the prophets and of Jesus, is at last reached a religion where doctrine and cult are homogeneous and equally universalist, a

religion a central feature of which is that, before a common allegiance, there is no difference between Jew and Gentile, and no profit in circumcision or uncircumcision.

§ 37. *Were the Jews and the Rabbis of* 30 A.D. *religiously inferior to those of* 300 *and* 600 A.D.?

A theory has been started, to which allusion will be made in the notes, that the religious condition of the Jews in the age of Christ was much inferior to what it became after the awful purgation of the war and the destruction of the State. This theory has been partially accepted in the foregoing remarks, but only in a very modified form. The legalism of 300 and 600 was probably superior to the legalism of 30. There were unpleasing elements in the very varied religious phenomena of 30, from which the more restricted and homogeneous religious phenomena of 300 and 600 were free. The aristocratic priesthood and the political Pharisees, with their externalism and selfish interests, disappear. The outcasts and submerged tenth at the opposite end of the scale disappear also. All become nearer, and conform more closely, to a single type, and find in conformity to that type their satisfaction and highest good. The others disappear or become Christians. Less extremes and less variety existed in 600 than in 30. There was less breadth and less liberalism on the one hand, but also less ignorance, aridity, and political externalism.

It is a different question whether the average and ordinary Rabbi of 30 was inferior in moral and religious worth to the average and ordinary Rabbi of 600, or whether the religion which he taught in 30 was inferior to the religion taught by his successor in 600. The theory of improvement was invented, not as a result of an examination of the evidence, but in order to save the accuracy of Jesus's sweeping indictments against the teachers of his time in certain portions of the Synoptic Gospels. It is more probable that this difference between the average and ordinary Rabbi of 30 and 600 is largely imaginary, and that the denunciations put into Jesus's mouth are too sweeping and generalized. Of this there will be something to say in the notes. Probably Jesus did not condemn so profusely as his reporters—with whom the great conflict between Jew and Christian had begun—make out. Probably they darken the shadows to increase the light. Probably Jesus himself, like Jeremiah and the prophets and every other religious reformer, exaggerated. He too tended to think that those who differed from him must be bad, and he failed to realize

that minute ritual observance may both lead up to God and away from Him. In this failure he is followed by even the most impartial theological historians at the present day, who think that 'legal' and 'spiritual' are necessarily antithetic or opposed to each other. Both in 30 and in 600 there were doubtless good Rabbis and bad Rabbis, and both in 30 and 600 a distinctively legal religion had the defects of its qualities. Formalism and externalism, self-righteousness and hypocrisy, were its faults in 600 as well as in 30, but we may well believe that, especially in middle-class society, these faults were in 30 no less than in 600 the exception and not the rule.

§ 38. *The condition of Galilee in the age of Jesus.*

In any appreciation of the character and teaching of Jesus it would have to be borne in mind that he was a native of Galilee. And it remains to be asked whether the somewhat general and vague conclusions which have been reached as to the religious condition of the Jews in the first century after Christ need special modification or emphasis in any particular direction for the case of Galilee. Its population at that period was predominantly, though not exclusively, Jewish. It was fertile, and thickly populated. It has been supposed that the number of 'outcasts and sinners,' or, in other words, of persons who did not scrupulously observe the ceremonial Law, and were despised and condemned by orthodox Rabbis and Pharisees, was proportionately greater in Galilee than in Judæa. This, however, is by no means certain. Nor does much good evidence exist for what Professor Cheyne has called their imperfect legal orthodoxy. In fact, another scholar observes that 'upon the whole they are said to have been strict in their religious observances.' It has also been supposed that the number of Rabbis who taught and argued in Galilee was far smaller in proportion to its population than in Judæa. From the Gospels it has been inferred that 'the Messianic hope burned more brightly in Galilee than anywhere else in Palestine'; but this inference has not much to back it up outside the Gospel narratives. That the land was far from the capital must count for something. It will have contained many pious families who lived quiet and simple lives, and did not meddle with politics. In such a family it may be that Jesus of Nazareth was born.

§ 39. *The 'prophetic' character and mission of Jesus: the 'lost sheep': the Kingdom of God: Jesus and the Law.*

In the admirable Introduction to his commentary upon the Synoptic Gospels M. Loisy has two luminous chapters upon the career and the teaching of Jesus. I dare not follow him even upon the smallest scale; but I would like to indicate very briefly some of the points or problems as regards the teaching, at any rate, to which the reader's attention must be called.

Jesus is often described (especially in Luke) as a prophet. And it is from the prophetic point of view that his teaching, with the conflicts which it brought about, must primarily be regarded. This does not mean that Jesus was specially a foreteller of future events. It means that Jesus seems in many respects to take up the *rôle*, and to continue the teaching, of the eighth and seventh century prophets, of Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

Like the prophets he announces a doom—a doom upon the unrepentant, upon sinners. It is true that the Judgment, the *dénouement*, the crisis, which is imminent, will affect the Gentile as well as the Jew. But Jesus—so far at least as we may gather from the fragments of his teaching which have been preserved to us—was mainly concerned to emphasize the doctrine that Israel, just because of its 'sonship,' would not be exempt from punishment. There are many sinners in Israel; sinners in high places as well as in low. And many who proudly think themselves secure will, unless their hearts are changed, be swept away in the coming storm. We may conceive that Jesus would have heartily concurred in the famous words of Amos: 'You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities.' It is not improbable, therefore, that Jesus may have predicted the fall of the Temple, even as we find it stated in Mark (xiii. 1, 2).

But Jesus was not merely the prophet of collective or general doom. He is much more the teacher of the individual than was Amos or Isaiah. By his time religion was individualized: the process which had begun with Ezekiel was completed—or shall we say completed by him? Jesus, like Ezekiel, is the watchman: he is to warn the wicked and to turn him from his evil way.

He is sent, as he himself says, to the lost sheep, to the sinners. But to them, as we have seen and shall abundantly see, his message is not merely one of denouncement. He goes among them and eats with them. He will touch their heart in a number of different ways: he will touch it by arousing admiration, hope, and love, by encouragement, and consolation, by powerful suggestion that the bonds of sin can be, and have been broken, and

that a new life can be, and has been begun. Like the God of whom Ezekiel teaches, Jesus has 'no pleasure in the death of the wicked,' he is desirous 'that the wicked turn from his evil way and live'; and so he goes about, intentionally and directly, 'to seek that which was lost and to bring again that which was driven away' (perhaps driven away by the false severity, or pride, or carelessness of man). He will 'bind up that which is broken and strengthen that which is sick.'

This we may regard as a new, important and historic feature in his teaching. And it is just here that opposition comes in and begins. To call sinners to repentance, to denounce vice generally, is one thing. To have intercourse with sinners and seek their conversion by countenancing them and comforting them—that is quite another thing. Did not all respectable persons pray and resolve 'to keep far from bad companions,' to avoid the dwelling-place of the wicked? How can one keep the Law of God if one associates with sinners?

In the next place Jesus's teaching was prophetic because he announced the coming of the Kingdom of God. The Judgment is to culminate in the Kingdom. Indeed the real importance, so to speak, of the Judgment is that it must herald and usher in the new order. The Kingdom of God is the central feature in the teaching of Jesus, and to his conception of it attention must constantly be directed. To enable as many to enter the Kingdom as the conditions would allow, and to enunciate and explain what these conditions are, occupied much of his time and care. Many who thought that they would infallibly enter it would, he held, be excluded. Many whom others thought would be excluded he, Jesus, would cause to enter. So far as it was supposed that, if the Kingdom were soon to come, all Jews would enter it from the mere fact of their birth, Jesus, we may be sure, like the true prophet that he was, combated a confidence so erroneous and irreligious; whether, however, he went further, and, building upon and developing certain well-known prophetical utterances, declared that the inmates of the Kingdom would be rather Gentiles than Jews, is a point upon which opinion is still divided. Two things, at any rate, seem clear. First, that Jesus himself never dreamed of any preaching outside Israel (either directly or by his disciples). Secondly, that no universalist element in his teaching constituted any part of the conflict between himself and the Jewish authorities, whether Sadducean or Pharisaic.

The Kingdom is the starting-point and the goal of Jesus's teaching. But much lies in between. A large proportion indeed of his entire religious and moral teaching lies in between: most of that for which his teaching is cared for and admired to-day.

And here we once more see in him the prophet. What are the conditions of entry into the divine Kingdom? Like Ezekiel, Jesus represents the entry both as a grace and as a guerdon. 'God will give you a new heart: make you a new heart,' says Ezekiel. And Jesus says: 'God will choose those who are to enter, and he will bring them in; strive to enter the Kingdom, and this is how you should set about it.' The demands of the prophets are the demands of Jesus. Justice and charity towards man, humility and love towards God; the prophets had inculcated these, and Jesus inculcated them again.

But the great point of resemblance was this. The prophets had said outward worship, sacrifices, ceremonial religion, are of little good and little avail. Inwardness, moral goodness—these are the essentials. Jesus took up this teaching. And as sacrifices played a far less important part than heretofore in Jewish life—at any rate outside Jerusalem—as quite other outward forms and ceremonies were now predominant, it is these which he depreciates, and in the heat of argument is even led on to attack. It is the laws about the Sabbath, or about food, the rules about clean and unclean, which he criticizes and arraigns.

Jesus resumes the *rôle* of the prophets, but since Amos and even since Jeremiah spoke, how immeasurably great was the difference! For Amos and Jeremiah spoke when there was no universally accepted code, no Mosaic Law, regarded on all hands as perfect, authoritative, and divine.

Thus Jesus, with his clear prophetic insight, his pure religious spirit, is brought up sharp against a tremendous obstacle. The Law does not indeed say that it is more important to observe the Sabbath than to 'love mercy': it does not indeed say that not to eat rabbits is of greater consequence than to 'walk humbly with God.' But it does say that all its ritual and ceremonial commands are the direct ordainment of the perfect God, and that they were to be perpetually observed throughout all the generations of Israel. Was then the Law not divine? Or had Jesus power to abrogate it? Here comes in the tragedy; here is the great dividing line between the new Master and the old teachers. Here is where the conflict begins. What was the attitude of Jesus towards the Law? How is it that the Law is to be both disobeyed and obeyed? To be honoured in its breach as well as in its observance? We can now see that to the mind of Jesus there was, as it were, set an impossible task. It was impossible for him to be wholly consistent; impossible for him to formulate any consistent theory. Upon the rock of the Law the new prophet was bound to stumble. To this point, then, to the relation of Jesus to the Law, to his criticisms of various legal enactments, to his conflicts with his

opponents, and to their criticisms of him, the attention of the reader will have constantly to be called. Jesus and the Law—this is one of the great problems of his life; and it is a problem in which we have to try our utmost to understand his opponents and our utmost to understand him.

An essential feature of the prophet is the sense of commission and vocation. He is called by God to deliver a message, and thus stands towards God in a certain special relation. What he speaks he speaks in God's name, and he believes that it is the divine spirit which impels him to his work and directs his words. Jesus does not preface his speeches with 'Thus saith the Lord,' but in the conviction of inspiration, in the assurance that he too was called and chosen by God to do a certain work, he entirely resembles Amos, Isaiah and Ezekiel.

§ 40. *Jesus as healer: the forgiveness of sins.*

Different times require different kinds of prophetic manifestation. Jesus not only speaks, but also acts. He heals. And in his healings he sees of necessity the most evident proof of his divine mission. The healings would not of themselves have produced a conflict, but if the healer was suspected and criticized on other grounds, then it was almost necessary to urge that the healings were due not to divine agency, but to the power of evil. Neither friend nor foe had any other explanation than these to offer. If Jesus, because he attacked the Law, was no messenger of God, then his very healings proved him to be the messenger of the Devil. This logic was irresistible, and the conflict was sharpened at this point.

Jesus called men to repentance: and with the call there went not merely denunciation, but comfort, consolation, encouragement. He sought to open the eyes of the blind, to lead the prisoners from the prison. An older prophet had begun his message with the assertion that the iniquity of Jerusalem had been pardoned. Jesus dealt with individuals rather than with the community as a whole, but he too seems to have felt that part of his message was to announce to this person and to that an emancipation from the bondage of sin. Strange results ensued from his activities. Bodily ailments, in which, with the majority of his contemporaries, he often saw a punishment for sin, were healed by him: those who had hitherto led a sinful or dubious life were converted by his word. Had not then God given to him the power to cancel the punishment of sin and to turn the sinner from his iniquity? Was he not, now and again, impelled as God's messenger, to say

to this or that individual on whom the effects of sin lay heavy, and in whom he saw the possibilities of a better life, 'thy sins are forgiven'? Upon this feature of the activity of Jesus we shall have to dwell early in the commentary upon Mark. It may have been emphasized too strongly by the Evangelist, but it was probably historic, and it may also have constituted, as Mark's narrative declares that it did, one cause of the conflict between Jesus and the Rabbis. Did he ascribe to himself a power which belonged only to God? Misconception on such a delicate subject was only too likely to arise.

§ 41. *Jesus and the claim to Messiahship.*

But Jesus did not—so the gospel story would have us believe—merely regard himself as the chosen prophet of God, invested, as the other prophets before him, with a divine message and with God-given powers. At some period of his career the conviction seems to have come to him that he was yet more than a prophet, that he was in fact none other than he of whom prophets had spoken and for whose coming so many generations had yearned, the Anointed One, the Messiah, the King. In what sense did Jesus believe himself (if indeed he did so believe at all) to be the Messiah? Here we touch upon the central problem of the gospel story. Was his Messiahship effective during his life or only latent? Was he only the Messiah to be, and when would he be invested with his kingly office? And what sort of office was it to be? A king, such as Isaiah of Jerusalem conceived him, ruling in righteousness over a liberated people, a powerful monarch, just and good and kind, but yet a real monarch, such as other monarchs are, though ruling for his people's good and not for his own? Or was his kingship merely spiritual? Was he to rule only over men's hearts and minds as the revealer of a new and higher conception of life, of goodness and of love? Was the scene of his kingship to be Palestine? or was there to be a new heaven and a new earth, and was the Kingdom of God, in which he, the Messiah, should rule, to be that semi-material realm to which the quickened dead should rise again? And was this kingship with which he was to be invested to come to him during his lifetime, while he was still clothed with ordinary flesh and blood, or must he first pass through some great change, undergo perchance suffering and death, and only through these attain unto his glory? All these are questions to which various answers can be, and have been, given, some of which, with the arguments on this side and on that, will be submitted to the reader's judgment in the course of the commentary.

If Jesus in any of these senses claimed to be the Messiah, or if his disciples claimed the Messiahship for him, this claim would have been the greatest and the sorest source of conflict with all the Jewish authorities. So far as the Sadducean priesthood is concerned, for the obvious reason that a claimant to the Messiahship meant the displacement of their régime, popular disturbance, and war with Rome. So far as the Pharisees and Rabbis were concerned, for one main reason, and perhaps for another. That a prophet and teacher who had dared to criticize the Law and had denounced the official exposition of it, should then claim to be Messiah, was an insufferable pretension and arrogance. And just possibly, the Messiah whom Jesus claimed to be, or to become, was not, in the opinion of the Rabbis (whatever else he was), the Messiah whom older prophecy had described and foretold. Not so would the Son of David appear to claim his own.

§ 42. *The relation of Jesus to God.*

Lastly, did Jesus just because, or partly because, he felt himself to be Messiah, feel himself to be more than 'a mere man,' feel himself in some special relation to the Divine Father? For was not the Messiah the Son of God? Jewish thought had not remained wholly content with the purely human conception of Messiah contained in Isaiah xi. Some thinkers and dreamers had come to picture the Messiah as a semi-divine being, pre-existent, already and for long ages back living with God in heaven till the fated moment of his descent upon earth should arrive. If Jesus came to the conclusion that he was Messiah, did he therefore also believe that he was nearer and more akin to God than all other men—if not less human, yet certainly more divine? Or was the process just the reverse? Was it his purely religious conception of sonship which led him on to the belief in his Messianic vocation? Did he hold that none had felt God to be their Father with the same intensity that he felt it? Did he believe that, just because he was God's son as no man before him had ever been, therefore he was, or would be, God's anointed? These questions too will be alluded to in the notes. Their immense importance needs no proving. And if Jesus put forward any such personal claim, if he ascribed to himself any semi-divine powers or nature, the opposition of Jewish teachers would be increased tenfold. For even though some thinkers and dreamers might hold that Messiah was, or would be, more than man, such a theory was very different from a regular claim made by a particular living individual, whose 'mere humanity' seemed obvious to every eye. Such a claim from

such a person was almost blasphemy: no man might venture to arrogate unto himself the qualities and the nature of the divine.

Such, then, are some of the main features in the teaching and the position of Jesus which present problems for discussion and for doubt. Such, too, are the main features which seem to have brought about his conflicts with the Rabbis and the priests, and ultimately to have caused his death.

And all these features became exaggerated after the crucifixion and in the later reports of his life and teaching. The question which constantly presents itself to us is: how far did these features actually appear in his lifetime and in his actual, historic ministry?

§ 43. *Changes made in the teaching of Jesus after his death:* (a) *Israel and the Gentiles; the Pharisees and the Law.*

For with his death the whole perspective changed. It really speaks exceedingly well for the accuracy and honesty of the oldest sources that we can discern as much history in the Gospels as (in the opinion of most critics) we actually can—that we can discern through theory, exaggeration, legend and even myth, the true lineaments of the historic Jesus.

If Jesus preached the Kingdom, his followers preached *him*. As Loisy says: 'What the apostles began to preach was not the story of the Christ, still less a system of doctrine, a scheme of teaching drawn up and fixed by him, nor was it the proclamation of the Kingdom of Heaven as Jesus himself had formulated it up to the very day before his death. The unexpected death of the preacher, ignominious and terrifying as it was, had deranged the equilibrium of their faith; and when this faith found once more a firm basis (*assiette*) in the belief of the Resurrection, it had already advanced a large step beyond the limits within which the teaching of Jesus had been confined. For now, in order to diffuse itself, that faith had not to speak directly of the Kingdom, but of the Christ, whose manifestation had to be shown as certain, although retarded (*dont il fallait que la manifestation parût acquise, bien qu'elle fût retardée*). Instead of first of all believing in the Kingdom which had not yet come, one had to believe in the Messiah who *had* come. To prove to the Jews that Jesus, though he died on the cross, was none the less the Messiah,—this was the task which was now imposed upon his disciples. For its fulfilment it was not sufficient for them to use their memories; they had to find new arguments for the support of their faith' (*E. S.* 1. p. 176).

A crucified Messiah, and a Messiah whose history should consist of two parts—the first part an ordinary, human life ending

in a shameful death; the second a later, yet unfulfilled appearance in heavenly glory (both of them conceptions unknown to Judaism)—had now to be championed and maintained. And with this huge change other changes came as well. The breach with the Synagogue gradually widened. The Law was more and more neglected and violated—at least by many of the new-comers and under the influence of Paul. The new religion began to be preached, and to find its warmest and best adherents, among the Gentile world. These very changes brought about an inevitable exaggeration of the original points and features of conflict.

First, as regards doctrine, apart from the personality, nature and office of the Master himself.

Jesus had undoubtedly, prophet-wise, denounced the sinners in Israel, and possibly he had even foretold, like Jeremiah, the destruction of the Temple. These historic sayings become, after his death, unconsciously exaggerated. The privileges of Israel are to be taken away; the holy city is to be destroyed (as the disciples of the disciples themselves witnessed); no longer unbelieving Israel, but the new Israel, the community of Christian believers, is to inherit the ancient promises and to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. For those Israelites who refuse to accept Jesus as the Messiah the doom is Hell, with its everlasting punishment, with its wailing and gnashing of teeth unto the end of time.

Jesus in his lifetime had conflicts and differences of opinion with the Pharisaic champions of the Law, with the Rabbis of Galilee and of Judæa. Though his death was primarily caused by the priests and the Romans, yet doubtless some of the Rabbis in Jerusalem were also privy to his arrest and assented to his condemnation. This conflict becomes exaggerated. From the beginning the Pharisees and Scribes are his enemies; they denounce him; he denounces them. They are all bad; they are full of sins and corruption; they long to compass his destruction and his death.

In respect to the teaching of Jesus about the Law, as in respect to his teaching about the Gentiles, the tendency to emphasize and exaggerate was checked by a cross-current. For one section of the earliest Christians still cared for and observed the Law. Jesus had not attacked and violated the Law to such an extent as to make this legal position untenable for any of his adherents. He had adopted a prophetic attitude towards the Law. The Inward rather than the Outward; love rather than sacrifice; this was his position. Whether he had formulated any more theoretic point of view may well be doubted. Thus we find in the Gospels exaggerations of both kinds. 'Not one jot or tittle

of the Law shall ever pass away till all is fulfilled.' On the other hand we find the conception that at least one Mosaic ordinance was given to the Israelites because of the hardness of their hearts. We find a theory announced that Jesus came to 'complete' the Law, not to 'destroy' it, but this completion in regard to such an important element of the Law as the dietary injunctions comes upon occasion to something not remotely resembling abrogation. Here in each case the question as to historical accuracy needs careful weighing. Have the reporters exaggerated the hostility of Jesus to the Law, have they exaggerated his esteem for it? Have they, rather than *he*, formulated his theoretic attitude towards it?

And so as to the Gentiles. Did Jesus contemplate, again prophet-wise, the inclusion of the Gentile world in the community which he sought to found? Did he bid his disciples preach the gospel to all nations, or did he bid them carefully avoid those who were not of Israelite blood? What was his own attitude towards the heathen? Did he share 'Jewish particularism,' or had he consciously and deliberately overcome it? The double tendency in the Gospels makes the answer the more difficult and uncertain.

§ 44. (b) *The Messiahship and the relation to God.*

But exaggeration was naturally most rampant in all that had to do with the person and office of the Master.

Jesus had undoubtedly performed some striking wonders of 'healing.' These are made more wonderful still. Fresh miracles are invented; ordinary events are turned into miracles. The ministry of Jesus becomes one long exhibition of divine power, fighting the powers of darkness. Jesus is always in the right; his opponents are always in the wrong. He reads men's thoughts and hearts. He, not so much as God's prophet, but in virtue of his own personality and authority, announces and grants the forgiveness of sin. He is the Messiah, and God proclaimed his Messiahship to him at the very beginning of his ministry. If, for certain reasons of his own, he concealed that Messiahship for a while, the powers of darkness at any rate always knew him for what he was. He foreknew and foretold the sequence of his life and death: all was prearranged, foreordained. He predicted his arrest, his Passion, his resurrection 'on the third day.' His life becomes a divine drama; even his teaching becomes a mystery, which was intended to darken the minds of all except the Elect. Jesus foresaw the persecutions of his disciples from the hands of

the Jews. He told them how they were to behave under these persecutions: he gave rules for the new community and its government. The cross upon which he died becomes an emblem of his teaching. Those who would be his disciples must be prepared to die even as he died, nay even to bear their cross daily in a life of hardship, self-denial and renunciation. If Jesus the Messiah suffered at his death, the suffering tends to be regarded as even anticipated in his life: he is, at least, a homeless wanderer who has nowhere to lay his head in safety and repose.

Jesus the Messiah 'rises' after his death to immortal life. This too he predicted and foreknew. Did the historic Jesus foresee his death? Did he go to Jerusalem to conquer or to die? Had he at any rate a vague presentiment—anticipations of disaster to himself, though not to the Kingdom? Did he think that the service he had to render to the coming and imminent Kingdom might even demand his own death? In that case he might also have held that if he had to die before the Kingdom came, he would rise again soon in order to share in it or to become its chief. All these are questions which the Gospel narratives insistently demand of us. The 'line of exaggeration' it is not difficult to see. Jesus knows exactly all that is to happen. First his death, then his resurrection, then (after an interval) his reappearance on the clouds in glory as openly manifested Messiah. To the Death succeeds Resurrection; to the Resurrection succeeds a triumphant Parousia. Then will the drama of Israel and the world conclude: the Messiah will be also the judge—the heavenly judge who shall assign to all then alive and to the risen dead their portions of gladness or of misery for ever and ever. Amid all this development and 'exaggeration' how are we to discover the sense in which the historic Jesus accepted the Messiahship for himself, what he meant by it, and what he anticipated would be the manner of its manifestation?

The Messiah was God's son. Had not the Psalmist made God say of him: 'Thou art my son: this day have I begotten thee'? Both in this Messianic sense, and in a spiritual sense, Jesus may well have felt and held himself to be the Son of God. Here too the Gospel 'exaggerates' upon a historic basis. It pushes the date of his sonship backwards: it hardens the meaning of it, separating Jesus ever more and more from other men, increasing his measure of divinity, magnifying his conception of it, till finally we get the stories of the infancy, the annunciation and the miraculous birth. Jesus becomes the Son of God not merely as the Messiah, but as metaphysically related to the Godhead. He becomes not merely a divine being, but a part of God himself, with powers hardly inferior to those of his Father. And with

these exalted powers there comes an increased and deadly particularism. If Jesus, like all passionate reformers, could not imagine that there could be any right which was not on his own side, his disciples soon came to believe that none could know God and love him well unless they believed in Jesus and his divinity. It was a very early 'exaggeration' of his prophetic impetuosity which made them make Jesus say: 'All things have been delivered unto me by my Father; and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him.' Or is this famous passage authentic? Did Jesus carry his claims so far? Did his conception of God, and of his own sonship, and of their relations to each other, amount even unto this? Here we have the problem of authenticity at its acutest and most important point.

However this special question may be determined, it is at any rate at these very points where conflicts soon arose between the Christian and the Jew, and where the centre of gravity of the new religion lies, that the records of the Gospels are to be most critically examined. And this whether they deal with incident or with teaching. But a large part of the teaching, including the famous paradoxes of the Sermon on the Mount, lies outside. And just as it is quite certain that, however much (if such be our judgment) this teaching transcended or even contradicted the teaching of contemporary Rabbi and Scribe, Jesus could nevertheless have gone on inculcating it for ever without coming to an evil end, so also is it here that we may look for the greatest accuracy in the record and the greatest measure of authenticity. Wellhausen's caution as regards the tradition of the teaching and the sayings may well be borne in mind, but it has, I venture to think, to be checked by this other principle or test which has just been laid down.

§ 45. *The various problems raised by the life of Jesus.*

A commentary upon the Gospels is in any case not also a 'Life of Christ.' Whether the material for such a Life exists may well be doubted. And the Introduction to such a tentative commentary as this is still less the place in which to attempt it. Only incidentally, and as occasion arises, will the commentary discuss questions relating to the character of Jesus, the nature and development of his teaching, the manner of his life and death. It will also occasionally consider how far the Gospel narratives can be regarded as historic, and how far the Jesus of

actual fact must be conjecturally supposed to have differed here and there from Jesus as Mark, Matthew, and Luke portray him.

Perhaps, however, before bringing these few introductory pages to a close it may be desirable to call attention once more in yet another way to those problems to which, in the notes, the reader's attention will more frequently be directed.

The exact years of the birth and death of Jesus may still be in dispute, but that he was born about 4 B.C. and died about 30 A.D. seems fairly certain. And what appears equally sure is that the length of his ministry did not extend over more than a year and a quarter, or a year and a half. Hence it follows that all the problems about Jesus to which any answer is possible are concentrated about the last two years of his life. How he lived, what he did and how he developed, from infancy till he was about thirty-two, we cannot say.

The short last section of his life of which the Synoptic Gospels tell may be roughly divided into two portions of unequal length. The first of these is the Galilæan period; the second the journey to Jerusalem, and its results. It may be said that the main problem of his life is contained in the question, How did he come to die? Or, again, the question may be put thus: To what end did he go to Jerusalem?

Among other difficult matters which this question involves is the fundamental problem as to what Jesus thought of himself. This problem has been touched upon already. Did Jesus suppose himself to be the Messiah, and, if so, in what sense? Did he start the Galilæan ministry with this idea, or did the idea only assume definite shape and conviction towards its close? We shall see that while Jesus from first to last seems to have believed in the imminent end of the world, or of the Existing Order, he did not, probably, for a while, regard himself as the Messiah. He felt himself to be divinely sent, a prophet like the prophets of old, but not at once, or very soon, the Messiah.

Some scholars, we shall hear, think that Jesus never claimed to be the Messiah at all. This we shall consider a less probable hypothesis. But if he claimed to be the Messiah, what sort of Messiah did he conceive himself to be? Was it completely new wine which he poured into that old bottle? Here we shall see that controversy rages, and that no final and satisfactory result has been, or probably can ever be, attained.

Did he call himself the Son of Man, and, if so, with what intention, and with what relation to the Messianic title, to the ordinary Messianic conception, or to his own Messianic claim? Many theories can be drawn up; many varying answers can be given. Some fit some of the facts and statements; others fit

others. None, perhaps, fit all. Hence the difficulty of coming (with such meagre and in parts untrustworthy material) to any confident and certain result.

Among the minor questions which the fundamental question includes are these: What was the view of Jesus concerning the rule and overlordship of the Romans? And upon what charge or charges—whether false or true—was he condemned to die by the Jewish authorities and by the Roman governor? Who is responsible for his death? Even here, too, the answers that may be given, with fair arguments and show of reason, are different, and even here, while we shall see that one answer is more probable than another, definite certainty cannot be arrived at.

The main elements of the teaching of Jesus were laid down and spoken in Galilee. If the question be asked, What was the character or nature of this teaching? the answer is partly dependent upon the answer to that other question, What did Jesus think and teach about himself? But we shall see that it is only partly so dependent. It is, moreover, only partly dependent upon, or connected with, Jesus's belief in the imminent End of the Age. We shall observe that Jesus was not always thinking of that great event. It formed, doubtless, the background for all his teaching, but much of that teaching was spoken as if no such terrific change was at hand; or, at any rate, much of it was applicable to, and was even intended for, ordinary conditions of existence, such as they were when his words were said, and in some respects, at least, such as they are even to-day. Whether there was any change or development in the religious and ethical teaching of Jesus, whether the demands he made upon those who would be his true disciples were increased, whether his teaching was at first less 'apocalyptic' and became more so, are also questions which will be noticed as they arise. This last question is to some extent connected with the meaning to be assigned to that term frequently upon Jesus's lips—the term with which his ministry opens—but of which the precise signification is still often doubtful and disputed—namely, the famous 'Kingdom of God,' or, as Matthew calls it, the 'Kingdom of Heaven.'

§ 46. *The Jewish conception of the Messiah and the conception formed by Jesus.*

The various theories about Jesus and the ultimate objects of his brief career often rest upon fragile bases. Many of them seem to do violence to some part or other of the Gospel evidence or to the evidence of the Rabbinical literature. Or if they do not do

violence to what the Gospels say, they seem, if I may put it thus oddly, to do violence to what they do not say.

Take, for instance, the question as to whether Jesus thought himself to be the Messiah, and if so, what sort of Messiah he thought himself, or wanted, to be. The hypothesis that he never identified himself with the Messiah at all cuts the gordian knot too crudely. It explains some facts, but it leaves others—and more important and crucial ones—unexplained. It is not merely that various stories recorded in the Synoptics must be regarded as unhistorical, but the very career of Jesus, with its crisis and its end, become vague and difficult to understand.

Yet not much less difficult is the conception, repeated in a hundred different forms and shades, that Jesus did indeed claim to be the Messiah, but such a Messiah as had never before been thought of, above all things not a Jewish Messiah. He allowed his disciples to regard him as the Messiah; he had no better name to invent; but it was a mere shell, a mere name, for something totally different from the ordinary Jewish conception. In the course of the commentary this hypothesis will crop up again and again, and we shall see how arbitrary and difficult it is.

What is usually meant by the 'ordinary Jewish conception of the Messiah'? The answer must be: something extremely disagreeable. Indeed the 'ordinary Jewish conception of the Messiah,' created by Christian theologians as a foil to the 'pure spiritual' conception of Jesus, is an eviscerated conception in which all the cheap things are left in (and exaggerated) and all the valuable things are left out.

The 'ordinary Jewish conception of the Messiah' means, so far as I can gather, that of an intensely 'national' and 'legal' king, under whose warlike and bloody rule the Jews avenge themselves upon their enemies, kill the majority, enslave the rest, and live in gorgeous, outward, material prosperity for ever and ever. Now this is a caricature for many reasons. It is a half truth, and we know what half truths are.

The desire for prosperity, for freedom, for 'imperial' rule in the place of cruel subjection, was doubtless strong in the popular mind, and the desire for revenge—after Titus—was not even absent from all the Rabbis. But the essential feature of the ordinary conception of the Messiah was that of a *righteous* king ruling over a righteous people; the Messianic era was indeed one of prosperity, but far more was it one of peace and goodness and the knowledge of God. So far as it was this, why should not Jesus have wished to be the Jewish Messiah? What is there so very dreadful and immoral and unspiritual in the conception of Isaiah xi.—of a righteous king and a God-fearing and righteous nation?

But, then, there comes another difficulty. We talk of the 'ordinary Jewish conception of the Messiah.' But what *was* 'the ordinary Jewish conception of the Messiah' in the age of Jesus? And was there one prevailing conception at all? We do not really and certainly know. The idea of the warlike king seems to have been on the wane. God would accomplish the redemption and establish the Kingdom at his own time and in his own way. The king would rather teach than fight. He might be discovered perchance healing the sick, and only ascend his 'throne' when all 'enemies' had disappeared or been converted.

So although Jesus did not—and this is certain—conceive that the assumption of his throne and the establishment of the Kingdom would involve his own appearance at the head of an army, nevertheless he would not, for *this* reason, have formed a conception which was un-Jewish and unfamiliar.

If he had formed a conception of his Messianic office which was wholly unlike that of most of his contemporaries, why did he choose and allow the name? Why did he not reject it? Why did he not more clearly explain: 'Though I do not object to your thinking me the Messiah, and though I shall die as King of the Jews, yet you must understand that my Messiahship, even after my resurrection, will never remotely resemble the ordinary Jewish conception of the Messiah'? Why was it left to the author of the fourth Gospel to make him say that?

We shall be inclined to believe that most facts (though not necessarily all the facts) will be accounted for if we suppose that Jesus did believe that, either at a *dénouement* before his death or at the Parousia after his death, he would 'rule' over a righteous people. We have no means of deciding what he thought would be the fate of the huge Gentile world. Perhaps he thought (with the best utterances of the older prophets) that they would all be 'converted' and become voluntary subjects of his Kingdom—all of them, at least, who had escaped the Judgment. For Jesus, like his contemporaries, undoubtedly believed in a Judgment, and moreover he seems to have believed that the number who would be 'lost' in the Judgment would be (to our ideas) painfully large. Among those victims of the Judgment there would doubtless be, in his opinion, a number of Gentiles as well as a very large quantity of Jews. Those who remained over, whether Jewish or pagan by birth, would now become pure worshippers of the One God and loyal subjects of the Messianic King.

§ 47. *Jesus and the 'masses'*

It has recently been supposed by Prof. Bacon that Jesus regarded himself as the Messiah, or was willing to let others so regard him, only in so far as he stood forth 'as the leader, champion, and vindicator of the disinherited sons.' The Messiah to Jesus had no 'theocratic connotations'; it meant merely 'He who brings Israel into its predestined relation of sonship to God.' Over and over again does Prof. Bacon speak of the 'masses' and of Jesus as their champion. The 'masses' are apparently put on one side: a few Rabbis, Pharisees, and priests on the other. He speaks of the 'narrow cliques of scribes and Pharisees,' 'the *chaberim* of synagogue orthodoxy on one side, the *am ha-aretz*, the masses of the people on the other.' These masses are 'spiritually disinherited.' This is probably the weakest theory of all, so far as the facts are concerned. Prof. Bacon allows that Jesus '*did* follow a rôle that led to his execution by Pilate as a *political* agitator' (p. 106). Nevertheless all that he will allow as to the Messiahship is this championship of the 'disinherited masses'; only thus may Jesus have 'regarded his calling as in some remote sense Messianic.'

But there is little evidence of disinherited masses, even within the Gospels. Even the Gospels scarcely imply that the *masses* had no religion which they cared for or brought them comfort, or that the Rabbis were not their teachers or their friends. And outside the Gospels the evidence is the other way. The Pharisees, as Josephus tells us, formed the popular party. They have the people on their side. And if ever there was a teaching class drawn from the people, it was the Jewish Rabbis of old—men who took no pay for their studies and services, and in many cases earned their living by their hands. As I have already mentioned the *am ha-aretz* may possibly be not poor folk, but rich folk. In any case they are not the *people*—a more dubious identification was never made. There were doubtless many bad Rabbis in those days as later; the Talmud itself castigates such, but the greater number of Rabbis, even as they sprang from the people, loved the people, taught the people, and had the people at their back. The *masses* were *not* disinherited: the martyr race *par excellence* found, and continued for long ages to find, its best happiness in the practice of its religion. There was no need for Jesus to teach them that God was their Father; they knew it all along. They knew it then; they continued to know it; they know it now. If they *had* not known it, they would not have died in thousands for their faith: if they *did* not know it, they would

not be suffering now. With the leading priests at Jerusalem the case is different, but even there, and in spite of the oppression and dishonesty which undoubtedly were practised by many, we must not suppose that either Rabbi or people was not attached to the Temple and its services. We must not measure the men of ancient time by modern standards.

§ 48. *Jesus as prophet: did he intend to found a new religion?*

It does not, however, follow from what has just been said that the teaching of Jesus was not greater or more original than that of the ordinary teacher of his day. It undoubtedly was. And there is a further point still.

That the teaching of Jesus was in important points opposed to the teaching of the contemporary Rabbis seems certain. I have ventured to say that Jesus, at any rate in his earlier ministry, seems most aptly to be described as a true successor to the old, and especially to the great pre-exilic, prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah. And this is the impression which he made upon his contemporaries. They, too, found his teaching new, inspired, prophetic. The difficulties which such teaching brought to its author, and the honest opposition which it encountered, were due to the profoundly important fact that when Amos and Isaiah spoke there was no authoritative, divine, 'Mosaic' Law in existence, and when Jesus spoke there was. Of the relation, partly conscious and partly, as it were, unconscious, in which Jesus stood to the Law there will be much to say in the notes. Jesus, as I have said, had to hark back from the Law to the prophets. His teaching is a revival of prophetic Judaism, and in some respects points forward to the Liberal Judaism of to-day.

Another gravely important question which may be asked about his teaching is: Did he intend to found a new religion? This question is distinct from the other one as to whether his teaching is sufficiently novel, distinctive, and comprehensive as to justify a separate religion with a separate name being founded upon it, even apart from any doctrine as to his Messiahship or divinity. Such might be the position of much modern Unitarianism, for which doubtless there would be much to say. Whether Jesus himself intended to found, or foresaw the founding, of a new religion apart and distinct from Judaism, is, however, another question. It is clearly in part dependent upon the views which Jesus held as to the end of the world. If he thought that that end was near, he can hardly have also intended to found a new religion and a new

religious community. Taken all in all, it seems probable that Jesus was *not* the conscious founder of the Christian Church. He was and meant to remain a Jew. Or rather the question of separating from the Synagogue never presented itself to his mind. He wanted to purify, to quicken, to amend, but not to break away and make a fresh beginning. He continued the work of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. His Kingdom of God, from one point of view, was a reformed Judaism. And possibly it may come to pass that in his teaching there may be found a reconciliation or meeting-point between a Reformed or Liberal Judaism and a frankly Unitarian Christianity of the distant future. *That* Judaism and *that* Christianity may find that they differ in name, in accent, and in memories rather than essentially or dogmatically. *That* Judaism and *that* Christianity may both claim Jesus as their own.

§ 49. *The Gospels, the New Testament and the Jew.*

It might be asked: What is, or what should be, the Jewish interest in the New Testament, in the Synoptic Gospels, or in the life and character of Jesus? To these questions, too, the commentary will supply some incidental answers. The origin of any great religion which has filled so immense a place in the history of the world must surely be of interest to every cultivated person. To know something about a Book and a Person that have been of such huge importance in the world, and that are of such great importance still, is a right and reasonable thing—a desirable part of knowledge. But the European Jew lives in a Christian environment, a Christian civilization. He has absorbed much of this civilization himself; he breathes it in; it is part of him. He reads the history of the country of which he is a citizen. This civilization and this history are all unintelligible without Christianity. They rest upon the New Testament and the Gospels. The book which has had the greatest influence upon European history and European civilization is the Bible. The Jew does not mind saying and repeating this. But he too often forgets that the Bible which has had this influence is not merely the Old Testament. It is the Old Testament and the New Testament combined. And of the two, it is the New Testament which has undoubtedly had the greater influence and has been of the greater importance. It is the Gospels and the life of Christ which have most markedly determined European history and most influenced for good or evil many millions of lives. If it is an improper ignorance not to have read some portions of Shakespeare or Milton, it is, I am inclined to think, a much more improper ignorance not to have read the Gospels.

The curiosity of the Jew as regards these writings might also be legitimately aroused when he reflects that the Gospel hero was a Jew, and that the books of the New Testament were mainly written by Jews. Jewish ignorance of the Gospels is indeed not unnatural. It has many causes which I will not here enumerate. It needs, even to-day perhaps, some detachment of mind to say: 'I will read and study the book upon which is based the religion which has inflicted upon my ancestors such incalculable cruelty and wrong. I will read and study the book from which comes the religion which vaunts itself to be a religion of love, but which, so far as my race is concerned, has usually been a religion of hate. I will read and study the book from which proceeds a monotheism less pure and lofty than my own, a monotheism, if it can be called such, which has deified a man and invented the Trinity; I will read and study the book from which was evolved the religion which pretends to have superseded and to be superior to my own —to be purer and better than my religion, of which the cardinal doctrines are contained in such words as: Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God the Lord is One. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?'

Yet this detachment of mind must now be demanded. Judaism, and therefore the Jews or some Jews, must answer the questions, and answer them better and more impartially than they have yet been faced and answered: What is the right Jewish attitude towards the New Testament? what are we to think about the Gospels and the Gospels' hero? I cannot believe that the best and final answers will be merely negative. They will not be framed upon the familiar lines that what is new in the Gospels is not true, and what is true is not new. Does Judaism really expect that in the future—even the distant future—the Old Testament will be 'accepted' and the New Testament 'rejected'? Does Judaism really expect that the Bible, for the Europe of the 'Messianic' age, will be a smaller Bible than the European Bible to-day? Will it include the Old Testament only? But if such an idea is inconceivable, if the Bible for Europe has been constituted once and for all—whatever men may think of its theologies—should not Judaism take up some more reasoned and studied attitude towards so permanent a part of the religious literature and religious consciousness of the Western world?

One view which will be incidentally maintained and supported in this commentary is that Judaism has something to gain and absorb from the New Testament. There are teachings in the New Testament, and above all in the Gospels, which supplement and

carry forward some essential teachings in the Old Testament. It seems true to say that for moral and religious value neither the Old Testament can dispense with the New Testament nor the New Testament with the Old Testament. I will not attempt to sum up here the special excellences and values of either. So far as the Gospels are concerned, these excellences will be alluded to in the commentary. But over and above the excellences in detail, there is the spirit or impression of the whole. So too with the Old Testament, the Hebrew Bible. The strong, virile, healthy tone of the Old Testament religious teaching is sometimes contrasted with a certain sentimentality and introspectiveness in the New. Its vigorous social and 'collective' morality—its insistence upon justice and righteousness in society and the State—are also sometimes contrasted with a certain marked individualism in the New. Contrasts proverbially exaggerate, yet there may be something not wholly false in this contrast as in others. Meanwhile we need both the Old Testament's imperative demand for a righteous nation, and the New Testament's insistent emphasis upon the value of the individual soul; we need both the severity of justice and the tenderness of love. As regards the latter pair of apparent opposites they are both present in both Testaments, but in different ways. And these different ways could themselves be made to form one illustration the more for my contention that an Englishman, a German, or a Frenchman, be he Christian or be he Jew, has something to gain, something of moral or religious value to absorb, both from the New Testament and the Old, or, if the collocation be more emphatic, both from the Gospel and the Law.

§ 50. *The Gospels, the Rabbinical literature and Judaism.*

And if it be said that the Jew is not confined to the Old Testament, but that he has also the Rabbinical literature, and that therefore he need not study the New Testament, there are several rejoinders. First, there are things of value in the New Testament which are not to be found in the Rabbinical literature. Secondly, whereas in the Rabbinical literature the great things are scattered around and among a huge mass of third and fourth rate material, in the New Testament they are found knit together in a small compass, emphasized, concentrated, and condensed. Thirdly, the great things in the Rabbinical literature are often the casual utterances of a hundred different authors, whereas, in the New Testament, they to a great extent form an essential part of the teaching of one or two great minds, and they

are strikingly and splendidly expressed. Fourthly, the Rabbinical literature is unwieldy, huge, and suited for the specialist only; whereas the New Testament is small and short, instinct with genius, first-class literature, and, as regards the Gospels, quite suited for modern readers. Being first-class, it bears translation. Being the work of genius, it is a book not for one age, but practically, like Shakespeare or Homer, for all time. Fifthly, the average Jew is not acquainted with the Rabbinical literature even if it could supply the place, which it cannot, of the New Testament and the Gospels. Except the Liturgy, which, as it includes the Sayings of the Fathers, is, I admit, a very important exception, he knows the Old Testament only. Sixthly (and this is perhaps the most important point of all), the religious value of the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels for the modern Jew is not to be measured by the presence or absence of parallels to the various sayings of Jesus in the later Rabbinical literature. I do not merely refer to the fact that almost all the parallels are later in date. I am not thinking of the question, Upon which side is the originality? When Talmud and Gospels are compared, the originality is almost always on the side of the Gospels. But this is not my present point, which is the following. Jewish apologists have a habit of breaking up the Gospels into fragments. They are somewhat inclined to do the same with their own literature. But a great book is more than its own sentences taken singly or disjointedly. A great personality is more than the record of its teaching, and the teaching is more than the bits of it taken one by one. It must be viewed as a whole. It must be judged as a whole—so far, at least, as this is possible. It has a spirit, an aroma, which evaporates when its elements or fragments are looked at separately. This piecemeal way of looking at a book, a teaching, a person, is perhaps partially one of the evil results of Jewish legalism. Virtue, as Plato would say, is cut up into pieces and made into mincemeat. It suffers in this process. Virtue is more than a parcel of virtues; character is more than its elements. A man is more than the sum of this and that and the other. Righteousness is more and other than a number of excellent positive commands and excellent negative ones.

There is a certain spirit and glow about the teaching of Jesus which you either appreciate or fail to appreciate. You cannot recognize or do justice to it by saying, 'The teaching of Jesus comprises the following maxims and injunctions. Of these some are borrowed from the Old Testament, some are paralleled by the Talmud, and a few are impracticable.' The teaching of Jesus, which has had such gigantic effects upon the

world, is more and other than a dissected list of injunctions. It is not merely the sum of its parts: it is a whole, a spirit.

That spirit has the characteristics of genius. It is great, stimulating, heroic. One may not always agree with it, it may not always be 'practical,' but it is always, or nearly always, big and grand. Even if you could find separate close parallels for 970 out of, say, the 1000 verses in the Gospel in which Jesus is the speaker, and even if you put them together and made a nice little book of them, you would not have produced a substitute of equal religious value. The unity, the aroma, the spirit, the genius, would all have fled. Or, rather, you could not infuse *them* into your elegant collection of fragments and tit-bits. *Morceaux choisis* remain just *morceaux choisis.*

This is by no means to say that a good compendium of Rabbinic ethics and religion would not be very valuable and helpful for our religious life. We should be the better for it. We need both the Rabbinic compendium and the Gospels. For the life of every day we need both. The great, heroic teaching, and the detailed and more average teaching. We want them both. The teaching which demands the most complete self-sacrifice, which is inspired by the most thoroughgoing idealism, and the teaching which is not so far removed from, and addresses itself more directly to, the average righteousness and the average wickedness of ordinary and everyday life. As the right condition of the elementary school depends ultimately upon the University, so average, ordinary, humdrum life needs—to keep it as stretched as may be—the idealisms of ethics and religion which are so much above its level. In hours of comfort and peace these idealisms are needed all the more. Persecution and misery supply to a great extent their own idealisms; they transfigure the ordinary into the heroic. The religious and ethical teaching of Rabbinic literature is above the level of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus (and these too have their place and value), but it deals perhaps somewhat too often in rather small coin. I am speaking of the general mass, and of the spirit of the whole. A few individual sentences which will be quoted against me cannot suffice to prove the contrary. Just ordinary people need, in addition to the admirable sayings and exhortations of the Rabbis, the ideal and heroic spirit which inspires the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels. 'A man's reach must exceed his grasp'—just upon earth must it do so, even for the non-angelic beings that we are. We know that 'little deeds of kindness and charity, well within our power,' make the wheels of life run more smoothly. But the little deeds are not enough. We must not be satisfied with them. Or, rather, to keep them sweet and clean, to multiply them and preserve them, one needs

the great deeds too. Or, at least, the desire for them, the appreciation of them. We require the heroic teaching and the example of heroes to stimulate and call out our own poor powers to the full. We require them to make us conscious of our own failures, to destroy conceit and self-righteousness, to purge us of anything like moral Philistinism or religious snobbery. Religious and ethical teaching must produce not merely right and excellent actions, but also (and above all) noble characters. I will not emphasize the distinction between the commands, 'Do this' and 'Be this,' or urge that, upon the whole, the Rabbinic teaching tends to the former type, and the Gospel teaching to the latter. Something too much, perhaps, has been made of this difference, though a philosopher so removed from the orthodox Christian standpoint as Leslie Stephen seems to press it. But it is, at any rate, not *wholly* unimportant and unreal, and its application to Talmudic and Gospel teaching not *wholly* inaccurate. It is in a country like England, where the Jews have full rights and complete liberty, that the large demands and the heroic stature of the Synoptic teaching would be of advantage for the production of noble and ideal personalities, for the production of people who grandly are, as well as of those who only rightly do.

It may be said that there is much in the Gospels and in the other books of the New Testament to which the Jew will always take exception and which he will always regard as false and erroneous. This is so, and therefore at this time of day it is impossible for the Jew to make his Bible include the New Testament. To what I said about this matter in Vol. II. of my *Bible for Home Reading*, pp. 779 and 780, I myself still adhere. But the Liberal Jew at any rate will not be deterred from gaining all the good he can from the Gospels (or from the rest of the New Testament) because there are many things in it which he holds to be erroneous. The Pentateuch also contains things which he holds to be erroneous, it also contains a lower and a higher. So too the Prophets. But he does not therefore reject them. He regards them historically, and gratefully accepts and ardently treasures whatever there is in them which is true and good and great. He perceives that each section of the Old Testament has in it something special, invaluable, unique. He would not dispense with the Law because he has the Prophets, or with the Wisdom literature because he has the Prophets and the Law. Even within the Prophets themselves, he would not dispense with Jeremiah because he has Isaiah, or with the 'minor' prophets because he has Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. In the same way, he will, I believe, be glad to study and absorb (even though they are not a portion of his 'Bible') the Gospels and the other books

of the New Testament. They too are *sui generis*; they too can add something of value and power, something fresh and distinguished, to his total religious store.

These remarks are general and tentative. They make no attempt to estimate the teaching of Jesus as a whole, or its right place in modern Judaism, or its measure of novelty and truth. And if they do not attempt this, the commentary will not do so either. It will give a few suggestions and incidental appreciations; nothing more. The same limitation holds for the question as to the attitude which Judaism is to take up towards the Gospel hero himself. For the teaching of Jesus is not put forward in the Gospels as a philosopher puts forward his teaching impersonally in a book. It is bound up with a certain life and character. This question has been also alluded to in the previous section of this Introduction, and a brief hint given as to the sort of solution in which the present writer is himself inclined to believe. Let me add this one further remark. Whether the life and character of Jesus, as they can be inferred from the Synoptic Gospels, or as they are presented to us in those writings, are completely historic or no is undoubtedly a question of the gravest moment. But it does not follow that this life and character are of no value, because we can never determine their precise proportions of truth and error. We can derive some help from the life of Moses as presented to us in the Pentateuch, even though we are aware that that life as thus presented is by no means wholly historic. Such a use of such an 'ideal' biography is not to be deprecated. A similar use has been and can be made of the life of Jesus as presented to us in the Synoptic Gospels. That life, too, is partly 'ideal,' but it may be a great and inspiring ideal none the less. In such a light it may be possible for the Liberal Jew at any rate to regard it, and it may become for him a great and valuable religious asset. Especially for those who feel that Liberal Judaism is largely prophetic Judaism, will the prophet of Nazareth—as his contemporaries with true instinct entitled him—be cherished and admired. Perhaps in the future Christianity and Judaism will be able to shake hands over the Sermon on the Mount and the fundamental elements in the moral and religious doctrine of Jesus. They will perhaps allow the vexed question of originality to slumber. A great Christian scholar has said (Paul Wernle, *The Sources of our Knowledge of the Life of Jesus*, E.T., pp. 162, 163), 'What is crucial' in the words of Jesus is 'trust in God, purity of heart, compassion, humility, forgiveness, aspiration—this and nothing else. This is the will of God, as epitomised in the Sermon on the Mount; he who does it is Jesus' mother and sister and brother.' Assuredly, if this be so, there have been very many Jewish mothers and sisters and brothers of Jesus

all these long years from Jesus until now. For Jewish teachers have never ceased to say that these things were the essential will of God, and many Jews and Jewesses have never ceased to practise them. And, lastly, may I venture to hint at one reason why it is that, in the words of the great scholar, 'what the Master desired first and before all things shines forth upon us out of the Gospel to-day' so brightly and wonderfully, and why it seems to be so much more a discovery to him than to his Jewish reader? Is it not because, to quote his own words again, he and those who feel with him 'have been satiated with Christology even to nausea,' and therefore doubtless 'long for God'? The Jew, on the other hand, has always rejected all Christology, and has ever found his way, direct and without a mediator, to the Divine Father.

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MARK

CHAPTER I

The beginning of the gospel concerning Jesus Christ, the Son of God. As it is written in Isaiah the prophet, 'Behold, I send my messenger before thee, who shall prepare the way for thee. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.' So John the Baptist appeared in the wilderness, proclaiming the baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins. And there went out unto him all the land of Judæa, and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and they were baptized by him in the river of Jordan, confessing their sins. And John's clothing was of camel's hair, and he had a leathern girdle about his loins; and he ate locusts and wild honey. And he proclaimed, saying, 'After me cometh one who is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose. I have baptized you with water: but he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit.'

And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth in Galilee, and was baptized by John in the Jordan. And straightway as he came up out of the water, he saw how the heavens parted, and the Spirit like a dove descended upon him. And a voice from heaven said, 'Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased.'

And immediately the spirit drove him into the wilderness. And he was in the wilderness forty days, being tempted of Satan; and he was with the wild beasts, and the angels ministered unto him.

Now after John was thrown into prison, Jesus came into Galilee, and proclaimed the good tidings of God, saying, 'The

time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God hath drawn nigh; repent ye, and believe in the good tidings.'

Now as he walked along the lake of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew his brother casting a net into the lake: for they were fishermen. And Jesus said unto them, 'Come ye after me, and I will make you become fishers of men.' And straightway they left their nets, and followed him. And when he had gone a little further, he saw James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, who were also in a boat, mending their nets. And straightway he called them: and they left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired servants, and went after him.

And they went into Capernaum; and straightway on the sabbath day he entered into the synagogue, and taught. And they were amazed at his teaching, for he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes.

And straightway there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit; and he cried out, saying, 'What have we to do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God.' And Jesus rebuked it, saying, 'Hold thy peace, and come out of him.' And the unclean spirit tore him, and cried with a loud voice, and came out of him. And they all marvelled, so that they discussed among themselves, saying, 'What is this? a new teaching with authority! And he commands the unclean spirits, and they obey him!' And immediately his fame spread abroad throughout all the region of Galilee.

And forthwith, when they had come out of the synagogue, they entered into the house of Simon and Andrew, with James and John. But Simon's wife's mother lay in bed with a fever, and they told him of her. And he came and took her by the hand, and raised her up; and the fever left her, and she waited on them.

And in the evening, when the sun had set, they brought unto him all that were diseased, and them that were possessed with demons. And all the city was gathered together at the door. And he healed many that were sick with divers diseases, and cast out many demons; and he permitted not the demons to speak, because they knew him.

And in the morning, very early, before the dawn, he rose up, and left the house, and went to a solitary place, and there prayed. And Simon and his companions pursued him. And when they found him, they said unto him, 'All seek for thee.' And he said unto them, 'Let us go elsewhere, into the neighbouring villages, that I may preach there also: for to that end I came out.' And he went and preached in their synagogues throughout all Galilee, and cast out demons.

And there came a leper to him, beseeching him, and kneeling down to him, and saying unto him, 'If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.' And Jesus, moved with compassion, put forth his hand, and touched him, and said unto him, 'I will; be cleansed.' And immediately the leprosy departed from him, and he was cleansed. And he sternly charged him, and forthwith sent him out, and said unto him, 'See thou say nothing to any man: but go, shew thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing what Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them.' But when he went out, he began to publish it much, and to spread the story abroad, so that Jesus could no more openly enter into any city, but he remained outside in lonely places: and they came to him from every quarter.

CHAPTER II

And when after some days he returned to Capernaum, it was reported that he was in the house. And many collected together, so that there was no room to hold them even before the door; and he spoke the Word unto them. And some came unto him, bringing a paralyzed man, who was carried by four. And as they could not bring the man up to Jesus on account of the crowd, they took him on to the roof of the house where Jesus was, and having made a hole through it, they let down the bed whereon the paralyzed man lay. When Jesus saw their faith, he said unto the paralyzed man, 'Son, thy sins are forgiven thee.' But some scribes were sitting there, who argued in their hearts, 'What blasphemy does this man say? who can forgive sins but God alone?' And immediately Jesus perceived in his spirit that they so argued within themselves, and he said unto them, 'Why argue ye thus in your hearts? Which is easier: to say to the

paralyzed man, Thy sins are forgiven thee; or to say, Arise, and take up thy bed and walk? But that ye may see that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins,' (he said to the paralyzed man), 'I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy bed, and go home.' And he arose, and at once took up the bed, and went forth before them all; so that they were all utterly amazed, and glorified God, saying, 'We never saw anything like this before.'

And he went forth again by the lake side; and all the crowd resorted unto him, and he taught them. And as he passed by, he saw Levi the son of Alphæus sitting at the tax house, and he said unto him, 'Follow me.' And he arose and followed him. And it came to pass, that Jesus sat at table in his house, and many tax-collectors and sinners sat also with Jesus and his disciples: for there were many who followed him. And when the scribes of the Pharisees saw him eat with tax-collectors and sinners, they said unto his disciples, 'Why does he eat with tax-collectors and sinners?' And Jesus heard it and said unto them, 'The strong have no need of the physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but the sinners.'

And the disciples of John and the Pharisees used to fast. And some people came and said unto him, 'Why do the disciples of John and of the Pharisees fast, but thy disciples fast not?' And Jesus said unto them, 'Can the wedding guests fast, while the bridegroom is with them? As long as they have the bridegroom with them, they cannot fast. But the days will come, when the bridegroom will be taken away from them, and then they will fast in those days.

'No man seweth a piece of undressed cloth on to an old garment: for, if he do, the patch draggeth away from it, the new from the old, and the rent is made worse. And no man poureth new wine into old wine skins: for, if he do, the wine doth burst the skins, and the wine is lost as well as the skins. [But new wine for new skins!]'

And it came to pass that he went through some corn fields on the sabbath day; and his disciples began, as they went, to pluck the ears of corn. And the Pharisees said unto him, 'See, how they do what is not permitted on the sabbath day!' And he said unto them, 'Have ye never read what David did, when he had need,

and he and they that were with him were hungry? How he went into the house of God, while Abiathar was high priest, and ate the shewbread, which only the priests may eat, and how he gave it also to them who were with him?' And he said unto them, 'The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath: therefore the Son of man is lord also of the sabbath.'

CHAPTER III

And he entered on another occasion into the synagogue; and there was a man there who had a withered hand. And they kept watching him, to see whether he would heal him on the sabbath day; so that they might accuse him. And he said unto the man who had the withered hand, 'Stand up and come forward.' And he said unto them, 'Is it permitted to do good on the sabbath rather than to do evil? to save life rather than to kill it?' But they held their peace. And he looked round on them with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts, and he said unto the man, 'Stretch out thine hand.' And he stretched it out: and his hand was restored. And the Pharisees went out, and straightway took counsel with the Herodians against him, how they might destroy him.

But Jesus with his disciples retired to the lake; and a great multitude from Galilee followed him; and from Judæa, and from Jerusalem, and from Idumæa, and beyond Jordan, and about Tyre and Sidon, a great multitude, who had heard what great things he did, came unto him. And he told his disciples to have a boat ready for him, so that he might not be crushed by the crowd. For he had healed many, so that all who were afflicted pressed upon him in order to touch him. And the unclean spirits, when they saw him, fell down before him, and screamed, saying, 'Thou art the Son of God.' And he rebuked them much that they should not make him known.

And he went up on to the mountain, and called unto him whom he desired; and they came unto him. And he appointed twelve to be with him, and to send them forth to preach, and to have power to cast out demons. So he appointed the Twelve, and Simon he surnamed Peter. And (he appointed) James the son of

Zebedee, and John the brother of James, whom he surnamed Boanerges, which is, sons of thunder, and Andrew, and Philip, and Bartholomew, and Matthew, and Thomas, and James the son of Alphæus, and Thaddeus, and Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot, who betrayed him.

And he went into an house. And a crowd collected together again, so that they could not even eat bread. And when his relatives heard of these things, they set forth to lay hold of him: for they said, 'He is out of his mind.'

And the scribes who came from Jerusalem said, 'He has Beelzebul, and by the ruler of the demons he casts out demons.' And he called them unto him, and said unto them by way of parable, 'How can Satan cast out Satan? And if a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot endure. And if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot endure. And if Satan rise up against himself, and be divided, he cannot endure, but cometh to an end. No man can enter into a strong man's house, and plunder his goods, unless he first bind the strong man; and then he can plunder his house. Verily I say unto you, All the sins and blasphemies wherewith the sons of men blaspheme, shall be forgiven them, but he that blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit hath no forgiveness for ever, but is guilty of eternal sin.' Because they said, 'He has an unclean spirit.'

And his mother and his brothers came, and, standing outside, sent unto him to call him. And a crowd was sitting round him, and they said unto him, 'Behold, thy mother and thy brothers are outside and seek thee.' And he answered them, saying, 'Who is my mother, or my brothers?' And he looked at those who sat around him, and said, 'Behold my mother and my brothers. For whoever doeth the will of God, he is to me brother, and sister, and mother.'

CHAPTER IV

And he began again to teach by the lake side: and there was gathered unto him a great crowd, so that he entered into a boat, and sat therein on the lake; and the whole crowd was by the lake on the land. And he taught them many things in parables, and

said unto them in his teaching: 'Hearken: behold, there went out a sower to sow. And it came to pass, as he sowed, some seed fell on the way side, and the birds of the air came and devoured it up. And some fell on stony ground, where it had not much earth: and it sprang up quickly, because it had no depth of earth. But when the sun rose up, it was scorched; and because it had no root, it withered away. And some fell among thorns, and the thorns grew up, and choked it, and it bore no crop. But some seed fell on good ground, and bore a crop which sprang up and increased, and yielded thirty, and sixty, and even an hundred fold.' And he said unto them, 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.'

And when he was alone, they that were about him, together with the Twelve, asked him concerning the parables. And he said unto them, 'Unto you is given the mystery of the kingdom of God: but unto them that are without, all is said in parables; in order that seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest they should return, and be forgiven.'

And he said unto them, 'Ye understand not this parable? how then will ye understand all the other parables?

'The sower soweth the Word. And these are they by the way side: there the Word is sown, and when they have heard it, Satan cometh immediately, and taketh away the Word which was sown in them. And these are they who are, as it were, sown on stony ground; who, when they have heard the Word, immediately receive it with gladness: but they have no root in themselves, and so endure but for a time: afterward, when affliction or persecution ariseth for the Word's sake, immediately they fall away. And these are they who are sown among thorns; these hear the Word, but the cares of the world, and the deceitfulness of riches, and the other desires enter in, and choke the Word, and it remaineth unfruitful. And these are they who are sown on good ground; who hear the Word and receive it, and bear a crop, thirty, and sixty, and even an hundred fold.'

And he said unto them, 'Is the lamp brought in to be put under the bushel, or under the bed? and not rather to be placed on the stand? For there is nothing hid, which shall not be

revealed; neither was any thing kept secret, but that it should come to light. Who hath ears to hear, let him hear.'

And he said unto them, 'Take heed what ye hear: with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you, and even more shall be added thereto. For he that hath, to him shall be given: and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath.'

And he said, 'The kingdom of God is as if a man should cast seed into the ground; and he sleepeth and ariseth, night and day, and the seed sprouteth and groweth up, he knoweth not how. For of herself the earth bringeth forth her crop; first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. But when the crop is ready, immediately he sendeth forth the sickle, because the harvest hath come.'

And he said, 'Whereunto shall we liken the kingdom of God? or with what parable shall we represent it? It is like a grain of mustard seed, which, when it is sown in the earth, is less than all the seeds that are in the earth. But when it is sown, it groweth up, and becometh greater than all herbs, and throweth out great branches: so that the birds of the air can lodge under the shadow of it.'

And with many such parables spake he the Word unto them, as they were able to understand it. And without a parable spake he not unto them: but when they were alone, he explained everything to his disciples.

And the same day, when the even was come, he said unto them, 'Let us cross over unto the other side.' And when they had dismissed the crowd, they took him, even as he was, in the boat. And there arose a great storm of wind, and the waves beat upon the boat, so that it became full. And he was in the stern of the boat, asleep on a pillow: and they awoke him, and said unto him, 'Master, carest thou not that we perish?' And he arose, and rebuked the wind, and said [unto the sea], 'Peace, be still.' And the wind dropped, and there was a great calm. And he said unto them, 'Why are ye so fearful? have ye still no faith?' And they feared exceedingly, and said one to another, 'Who is this man, that even the wind and the sea obey him?'

CHAPTER V

And they came unto the other side of the lake, to the country of the Gadarenes. And as he landed from the boat, immediately there met him [out of the tombs] a man with an unclean spirit, who dwelt among the tombs. And nobody had been able to bind him even with a chain: for he had been often bound with fetters and chains, but the chains had been torn asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces: and no one was strong enough to subdue him. And always, night and day, he was in the mountains and in the tombs, shrieking, and cutting himself with stones. But when he saw Jesus afar off, he ran and fell down before him, and cried with a loud voice, and said, 'What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the most high God? I adjure thee by God, that thou torment me not.' (For Jesus had said unto him, 'Come out of the man, thou unclean spirit.') And Jesus asked him, 'What is thy name?' And he answered, saying, 'My name is Legion: for we are many.' And he besought him much that he would not send them away out of the land. Now there was there upon the mountain a great herd of swine feeding. And they besought him, saying, 'Send us into the swine, that we may enter into them.' And Jesus gave them leave. And the unclean spirits went out, and entered into the swine: and the herd rushed down the cliff into the lake, (they were about two thousand); and they were drowned in the lake. And the swineherds fled, and told the story in the city and in the country. And the people came out to see what had happened. And they came to Jesus, and saw him that was possessed with the demon, sitting down, clothed and in his right mind: and they were afraid. And the eye-witnesses told them what had happened to him that was possessed with the demon, and also about the swine. And they began to entreat him to depart out of their territory. And as he was getting into the boat, the man who had been possessed with the demon entreated him that he might go with him. Howbeit Jesus permitted him not, but said unto him, 'Go home to thine own people, and tell them what great things the Lord has done for thee, and how he has had compassion upon thee.' And he

departed, and began to proclaim publicly in the Ten Cities what great things Jesus had done for him: and all were amazed.

And when Jesus had crossed over again in the boat unto the other side, a great crowd gathered unto him, and stood by the edge of the lake. And, behold, there came one of the rulers of the synagogue, Jairus by name; and when he saw him, he fell at his feet, and besought him greatly, saying, 'My little daughter lies at the point of death: come and lay thy hands on her, that she may be healed, and may live.'

And Jesus went with him; and a great crowd followed him, and pressed around him. And a woman, who had had an issue of blood twelve years, and had suffered much from many physicians, and had spent all her fortune, and was not benefited, but rather grew worse, having heard the tales about Jesus, came up in the crowd, and touched his garment from behind. For she thought, 'If I only touch his clothes, I shall be cured.' And straightway the source of her issue dried up; and she felt in her body that she was healed of her affliction. And Jesus, realizing immediately that power had gone out of him, turned round in the crowd, and said, 'Who touched my clothes?' And his disciples said unto him, 'Thou seest the crowd pressing around thee, and thou sayest, Who touched me?' And he looked round to see who it was that had done it. But the woman, fearing and trembling—for she knew what had befallen her—came and fell down before him, and told him all the truth. But he said unto her, 'Daughter, thy faith has cured thee; go in peace, and be healed of thy affliction.'

While he yet spake, there came some men from the ruler of the synagogue's house, and said, 'Thy daughter is dead: why troublest thou the Master any further?' But Jesus overheard the word that was spoken, and said unto the ruler of the synagogue, 'Be not afraid; have but faith.' And he allowed no man to go on with him, except Peter, and James, and John the brother of James. And they came to the house of the ruler of the synagogue, and he heard an uproar, for they wept and wailed loudly. And when he had entered in, he said unto them, 'Why make ye this uproar, and weep? the child is not dead, but sleeps.' And they laughed him to scorn. But he drove them all out, and took with him only the father and the mother of the child, and his com-

panions, and entered in where the child was lying. And he took the hand of the child, and said unto her, '*Talitha cumi*'; which is, being interpreted, 'Maiden, I say unto thee, arise.' And straightway the girl arose, and walked; for she was twelve years old. And they were utterly beside themselves with amazement. And he strictly ordered them that no man should know it; and he said that something should be given her to eat.

CHAPTER VI

And he went out from thence, and entered into his native city; and his disciples followed him. And when the sabbath day was come, he began to teach in the synagogue: and many, hearing him, were astonished, saying, 'Whence has this come to him? what wisdom is this which has been given unto him? and have such miracles been wrought by his hands? Is he not the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James, and Joses, and Juda, and Simon? and are not his sisters here with us?' And they took offence at him. But Jesus said unto them, 'A prophet is not without honour, except in his own city, and among his kin, and in his house.' And he could not perform there a single miracle, save that he laid his hands upon a few sick folk, and healed them. And he marvelled because of their unbelief. So he went about the villages around, teaching.

And he called unto him the Twelve, and began to send them forth by two and two; and he gave them power over unclean spirits; and he commanded them that they should take nothing for their journey, save a staff only; no bread, no wallet, no money in their purse. They were only to be shod with sandals; and they were not to put on two coats. And he said unto them, 'Wheresoever ye enter into an house, there abide till ye depart thence. And whatever place will not receive you, nor hear you, depart thence, and shake off the dust under your feet, as a testimony against them.' And they went forth, and preached that men should repent. And they cast out many demons, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them.

And king Herod heard of him: for his name became known.

And some said, 'John the Baptist is risen from the dead, and therefore miraculous powers are active in him.' Others said, 'It is Elijah.' And others said, 'He is a prophet, like one of the prophets.' But when Herod heard of him, he said, 'John, whom I beheaded, is risen from the dead.'

For Herod himself had sent and seized John, and bound him in prison on account of Herodias, his brother Philip's wife: for he had married her. For John had said unto Herod, 'It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife.' Therefore Herodias hated him, and would have killed him, but she could not: for Herod feared John, knowing that he was a righteous and holy man, and he protected him; and when he heard him, he was much perplexed, and yet he heard him gladly. Now on an opportune day, when Herod on his birthday gave a banquet to his lords and high captains, and to the chief men of Galilee, the daughter of Herodias came in, and danced, and pleased Herod and his guests. And the king said unto the damsel, 'Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt, and I will give it thee.' And he sware unto her, 'Whatsoever thou shalt ask of me, I will give it thee, even unto the half of my kingdom.' And she went forth, and said unto her mother, 'What shall I ask?' And she said, 'The head of John the Baptist.' And she went in straightway with haste unto the king, and asked, saying, 'I wish that thou give me forthwith the head of John the Baptist on a dish.' And the king was exceeding sorry; yet on account of his oath, and on account of his guests, he did not like to refuse her. So the king at once sent an executioner, and ordered him to bring John's head: and he went, and beheaded him in the prison, and brought his head on a dish, and gave it to the damsel: and the damsel gave it to her mother. And when his disciples heard of it, they came and took away his corpse, and buried it in a tomb.

And the apostles gathered themselves together unto Jesus, and told him all that they had done and taught. And he said unto them, 'Come ye by yourselves into a lonely place, and rest a while.' For there were many coming and going, and they had no leisure so much as to eat. And they went away by boat to a lonely place by themselves. But many saw them departing, and noticed whither they were going, and they hurried thither

on foot from all the cities, and arrived before them. And Jesus, when he disembarked, saw a great crowd, and he was moved with compassion toward them, because they were as sheep without a shepherd: and he began to teach them many things.

And when the day was now far spent, his disciples came unto him, and said, 'This is a lonely place, and the hour is already late. Send the people away, that they may go into the farms and villages round about, and buy themselves something to eat.' But he answered and said unto them, 'Give ye them to eat.' And they said unto him, 'Shall we go and buy two hundred shillings worth of bread, and give them to eat?' He said unto them, 'How many loaves have ye? go and see.' And when they had found out, they said, 'Five, and two fishes.' And he bade them make them all sit down by companies upon the green grass. And they sat down in rows, by hundreds and by fifties. And he took the five loaves and the two fishes, and looked up to heaven, and said the blessing; and he broke the loaves, and gave them to his disciples to set before them; and the two fishes he divided among them all. And they did all eat, and were satisfied. And they took of the broken pieces twelve baskets full, and also of the fishes. And they that ate of the loaves were about five thousand men.

And straightway he made his disciples get into the boat, and cross over to the other side, unto Bethsaida, while he dismissed the people. And when he had sent them away, he departed unto the mountain to pray. And when evening was come, the boat was in the middle of the lake, and he alone on the land. And he saw them distressed in their rowing; for the wind was against them: and about the fourth watch of the night he came up to them, walking upon the lake, and he meant to have passed by them. But when they saw him walking upon the lake, they supposed it was a ghost, and cried out: for they all saw him, and were troubled. But he immediately spoke to them, and said, 'Take courage; it is I; be not afraid.' And he went up to them into the boat; and the wind dropped. Then were they utterly beside themselves with amazement, for they had not understood about the loaves: for their heart was hardened.

And when they had crossed over, they came unto Gennesaret,

and moored the boat there. And when they got out of the boat, straightway the people recognised him. And they ran through that whole region, and began to bring those that were sick on beds to wherever they heard that he was. And whithersoever he entered, into villages, or cities, or farmyards, they laid the sick in the open places, and besought him that they might touch if it were but the border of his garment: and as many as touched him were healed.

CHAPTER VII

And the Pharisees, and some scribes who came from Jerusalem, gathered round him. For they had seen some of his disciples eat bread with unclean, that is to say, with unwashed hands. For the Pharisees, and all the Jews, observing the tradition of the Elders, do not eat without first washing their hands. And when they come from the market, till they have washed, they eat not. And many other customs there are, which they have received and observe, such as the washing of cups and pots and brazen vessels. So the Pharisees and scribes asked him, 'Why walk not thy disciples according to the tradition of the elders, but eat bread with unclean hands?' He said unto them, 'Well did Isaiah prophesy of you hypocrites, as it is written, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. And vainly do they worship me, teaching as their doctrines the commandments of men. So ye, neglecting the commandment of God, observe the tradition of men.'

And he said unto them, 'Ye do well to reject the commandment of God, in order that ye may keep your tradition! For Moses said, Honour thy father and thy mother; and, Whoso revileth father or mother, let him die the death: but ye—if a man say to his father or mother, That by which thou mightest have been benefited from me is Corban,—(that is, an offering),—ye no longer permit him to do anything for his father or his mother. Thus ye make the word of God void through your tradition, which ye hand down; and many such like things ye do.'

And he called all the people again unto him, and he said unto them, 'Hearken, all of you, unto me, and understand: There is

nothing outside a man, which entering into him can make him unclean; but the things which come out of a man, these are what make him unclean.'

And when he had entered into the house away from the crowd, his disciples asked him concerning the saying. And he said unto them, 'Are ye, too, so unintelligent? Do ye not perceive that whatever entereth into a man from without cannot make him unclean? For it entereth not into his heart, but into the belly, and goeth out into the privy.' [Thus spake he, making all foods clean.] And he said, 'That which cometh out of the man, that maketh the man unclean. For from within, out of the heart of men, come the evil thoughts—unchastity, thefts, murders, adulteries, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, envy, blasphemy, pride, foolishness: all these evil things come out from within, and they make a man unclean.'

And from thence he arose, and went into the district of Tyre. And he entered into an house, and wished that none should know it: but he could not escape notice. For, straightway, a woman, whose young daughter had an unclean spirit, and who had heard of him, came and fell at his feet: (now the woman was a heathen, a Syrophœnician by race); and she besought him that he would expel the demon from her daughter. But Jesus said unto her, 'Let the children first be filled: for it is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it unto the dogs.' And she answered and said unto him, 'Yes, Lord: yet the dogs under the table eat of the children's crumbs.' And he said unto her, 'For this saying go thy way; the demon has gone out of thy daughter.' And when she came to her house, she found her daughter lying upon the bed, and the demon had departed.

Then he left the district of Tyre, and came by way of Sidon unto the lake of Galilee, through the midst of the district of the Ten Cities. And they brought unto him one that was deaf and stammered; and they besought him to put his hand upon him. And he took him aside from the crowd, and put his fingers into his ears, and touched his tongue with his spittle, and looking up to heaven, he sighed, and said unto him, '*Ephphatha*,' that is, 'Be opened.' And straightway his ears were opened, and the fetter of his tongue was loosed, and he spoke plainly. And he enjoined

them to tell no one; but the more he enjoined them, the more did they proclaim it. And they were exceedingly astonished, saying, 'He has done all things well: he makes the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak.'

CHAPTER VIII

In those days there was again a great crowd, and they had nothing to eat. And Jesus called his disciples unto him, and said unto them, 'I feel pity for the people because they have now tarried with me three days, and have nothing to eat: and if I send them away fasting to their own homes, they will faint by the way: moreover some of them came from far.' And his disciples answered him, 'Whence can one satisfy these men with bread here in the wilderness?' And he asked them, 'How many loaves have ye?' And they said, 'Seven.' And he bade the people to sit down on the ground: and he took the seven loaves, and spoke the blessing, and broke them, and gave them to his disciples to set before the people; and they did so. And they had a few small fishes: and he spoke the blessing, and told them to set these also before the people. So they did eat, and were satisfied: and they took up of the broken bits that were left, seven baskets full. And they who had eaten were about four thousand.

And when he had sent them away, straightway he entered into a boat with his disciples, and came into the district of Dalmanutha. And the Pharisees came forth, and began to dispute with him, demanding from him a sign from heaven, in order to tempt him. And he sighed deeply in his spirit, and said, 'Wherefore doth this generation demand a sign? verily I say unto you, There shall no sign be given unto this generation.'

And he left them, and entering into the boat again, crossed over to the other side. Now they had forgotten to take bread with them, and they had not in the boat more than one loaf. And he enjoined them, saying, 'Take heed, beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, and of the leaven of Herod.' And they argued with one another, 'We have no bread.' And Jesus perceived it,

and said unto them, 'Why do ye argue that ye have no bread? do ye not yet perceive or understand? is your heart hardened? Having eyes, see ye not? and having ears, hear ye not? and do ye not remember? When I broke the five loaves among the five thousand, how many baskets full of fragments took ye up?' And they said, 'Twelve.' 'And when the seven loaves among the four thousand, how many baskets full of fragments took ye up?' And they said, 'Seven.' And he said unto them, 'Do ye still not understand?'

And they came to Bethsaida; and they brought a blind man unto him, and besought him to touch him. And he took the blind man by the hand, and led him out of the village; and he spat into his eyes, and put his hands upon him, and asked him if he saw anything. And he looked up, and said, 'I perceive men, for I see them like trees, walking.' Then Jesus put his hands again upon his eyes, and he looked steadfastly, and was restored, and saw everything clearly. And he sent him away to his house, saying, 'Go not into the village.'

And from there Jesus went, with his disciples, into the villages of Cæsarea Philippi: and on the way he asked his disciples, saying unto them, 'Whom do men say that I am?' And they answered, 'John the Baptist; and others, Elijah; and others, One of the prophets.' And he asked them, 'But ye—whom say ye that I am?' And Peter answered and said unto him, 'Thou art the Messiah.' And he sternly admonished them that they should tell no man of him.

And he began to teach them that the Son of man must suffer much, and be rejected by the Elders and the chief priests and the scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again. And he spoke the word quite openly.

And Peter took him aside, and began to rebuke him. But he turned round, and looking on his disciples, he rebuked Peter, saying, 'Get thee behind me, Satan: for thou thinkest not the thoughts of God, but of men.' And he called the people unto him together with his disciples, and said unto them, 'Whoever would follow after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whoever would save his life shall lose it; but whoever would lose his life for my sake and the

gospel's, he shall save it. For what can it profit a man to gain the whole world, and to forfeit his life? For what can a man give as the price of his life? For whoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.' And he said unto them, 'Verily I say unto you, There are some of those who stand here who shall not taste death till they see the kingdom of God come with power.'

CHAPTER IX

And after six days Jesus took with him Peter and James and John, and led them up on to an high mountain, apart by themselves. And he was transfigured before them, and his raiment became shining, exceeding white, so as no fuller on earth could whiten it. And there appeared unto them Elijah with Moses: and they talked with Jesus. And Peter said to Jesus, 'Master, it is good for us to be here: let us make three tents; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah.' For he knew not what he should say; for they were sore afraid. And a cloud arose and overshadowed them: and a voice came out of the cloud, saying, 'This is my beloved Son: hearken unto him.' And suddenly, when they looked round, they saw no one any more, except Jesus only with themselves.

And as they came down from the mountain, he commanded them that they should tell no man what they had seen, till the Son of man had risen from the dead.

And they kept the command, but among themselves they disputed what 'rising from the dead' might mean. And they asked him, saying, 'How is it, then, that the scribes say that Elijah must come first?' And he answered and told them, 'Elijah verily cometh first, and putteth all things in order; yet how then is it written of the Son of man, that he must suffer much and be despised? But I say unto you that Elijah hath come already, and they have done unto him whatsoever they wished, as it is written of him.'

And when they came to the disciples, they saw a great crowd around them, and some scribes disputing with them. And straightway all the crowd, when they beheld him, were greatly amazed, and running to him, welcomed him. And he asked them, 'What are ye disputing with one another?' And one of the crowd answered and said, 'Master, I brought unto thee my son, who is possessed by a dumb spirit; and wherever the spirit seizes him, it tears him: and he foams, and gnashes his teeth, and wastes away: and I asked thy disciples to cast it out, but they could not.' Then Jesus answered and said to them, 'O unbelieving generation, how long shall I be with you? how long shall I bear with you? bring him unto me.' And they brought him unto him: and when he saw Jesus, straightway the spirit convulsed him; and he fell on the ground, and rolled about, foaming. And Jesus asked his father, 'How long ago is it since this has happened to him?' And he said, 'From childhood. And ofttimes it has thrown him into the fire, and into the water, to destroy him: but if thou canst do anything, have compassion on us, and help us.' Jesus said unto him, 'If thou canst, sayest thou? All things are possible to him that believeth.' And straightway the father of the child cried out, and said, 'I believe; help thou mine unbelief.' When Jesus saw that more people kept running up to him, he rebuked the unclean spirit, saying unto it, 'Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I command thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him.' And the spirit shrieked, and rent him sore, and came out of him: and he was as one dead; insomuch that many said, 'He is dead.' But Jesus took him by the hand, and lifted him up; and he arose.

And when Jesus had gone into the house, his disciples asked him privately, 'Why could not we cast it out?' And he said unto them, 'This kind goes not out except by prayer [and fasting].' And they departed thence, and passed through Galilee; and he desired that none should know it. For he taught his disciples, and said unto them, 'The Son of man will be delivered into the hands of men, and they will kill him; and after he has been killed, he will rise after three days.' But they understood not the saying, and were afraid to ask him.

And they came to Capernaum: and when he was in the

house, he asked them, 'What did ye discuss among yourselves on the way?' But they held their peace: for on the way they had argued among themselves who was the greatest. And he sat down, and called the Twelve, and said unto them, 'If any man desire to be first, let him be last of all, and servant of all.' And he took a child, and set him in the midst of them: and he embraced him, and said unto them, 'Whoever shall receive one of these children in my name, receiveth me: and whoever receiveth me, receiveth not me, but Him that sent me.'

And John said to him, 'Master, we saw one casting out demons in thy name, and he does not follow us: and we sought to prevent him, because he did not follow us.' But Jesus said, 'Prevent him not: for no man who doeth a miracle in my name, will readily speak evil of me. For he that is not against us is for us. For whoever shall give you a cup of water to drink in my name, because ye belong to Christ, verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward. And whoever shall cause one of these little ones that believe to stumble, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea. And if thy hand cause thee to stumble, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter into Life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into the fire that shall never be quenched. And if thy foot cause thee to stumble, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter lame into Life, than having two feet to be cast into hell. And if thine eye cause thee to stumble, pluck it out: it is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell: where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. For every one shall be salted with fire. Salt is good: but if the salt have lost its saltness, wherewith will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and keep peace with one another.'

CHAPTER X

And he arose from thence, and came into the district of Judæa beyond the Jordan: and crowds collected unto him again; and he taught them again, as he was wont.

And the Pharisees came and asked him, in order to test him:

'May a man divorce his wife?' And he answered and said unto them, 'What did Moses command you?' And they said, 'Moses permitted him to write a bill of divorce, and to send her away.' And Jesus said unto them, 'To suit the hardness of your hearts he wrote you this precept. But from the beginning of the creation: He made them male and female: therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife; and they two shall be one flesh: so then they are no more two, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man separate.'

And in the house his disciples asked him again about this matter. And he said unto them, 'Whoever divorces his wife, and marries another, commits adultery against her. And if a woman divorce her husband, and marry another, she commits adultery.'

And they brought young children to him, for him to touch them: and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was indignant, and he said unto them, 'Let the little children come unto me, and prevent them not: for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall surely not enter therein.' And he embraced them and blessed them, putting his hands upon them.

And as he set forth upon his way, one ran up, and knelt and asked him, 'Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?' And Jesus said unto him, 'Why callest thou me good? no one is good except God alone. Thou knowest the commandments, Do not commit adultery, Do no murder, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, Honour thy father and mother.' And he said unto him, 'Master, all these have I observed from my youth.' Then Jesus looked at him, and felt love for him, and said unto him, 'One thing thou lackest: go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give it to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me.' But he was sad at that saying, and went away grieved: for he had great possessions.

And Jesus looked round about, and said unto his disciples, 'How difficult is it for them who have riches to enter the kingdom of God! It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.' And

the disciples were astonished at his words. But Jesus spoke again and said unto them, 'Children, how difficult it is to enter into the kingdom of God!' And they were appalled beyond measure, saying among themselves, 'Who then can be saved?' But Jesus, looking at them, said, 'For men it is impossible, but not for God: since for God all things are possible.'

Then Peter began to say unto him, 'Lo, *we* have abandoned all, and have followed thee.' And Jesus answered and said, 'Verily I say unto you, there is no man who hath abandoned house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands, for my sake, and the gospel's, who shall not receive back an hundredfold: now in this age, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands, though with persecutions; and in the world to come eternal life. But many that are now first shall be last; and the last first.'

And they were on the way going up to Jerusalem; and Jesus went on in front of them; and they were amazed; and they that followed were afraid. And again he took the Twelve aside, and began to tell them what would happen unto him. 'Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man will be given up unto the chief priests and unto the scribes; and they will condemn him to death, and will give him up to the heathen. And they will mock him, and spit upon him, and scourge him, and kill him: and after three days he will rise again.'

And James and John, the sons of Zebedee, came unto him, saying, 'Master, we wish that thou wouldst do for us whatever we ask thee.' And he said unto them, 'What do ye wish that I should do for you?' They said unto him, 'Grant unto us that we may sit, one on thy right hand, and the other on thy left hand, in thy glory.' But Jesus said unto them, 'Ye know not what ye ask: can ye drink of the cup that I am to drink of? and be baptized with the baptism that I am to be baptized with?' And they said unto him, 'We can.' And Jesus said unto them, 'Ye shall indeed drink of the cup that I am to drink of: and with the baptism that I am to be baptized with shall ye be baptized: but to sit on my right hand and on my left hand is not mine to give; but it shall be for them for whom it is destined.'

And when the ten heard it, they began to be indignant with

James and John. But Jesus called them to him, and said unto them, 'Ye know that they who are supposed to rule over the nations lord it over them; and their great ones play the tyrant over them. But it is not so among you: but whoever wisheth to become great among you, let him be your servant; and whoever of you would be the first, let him be the slave of all. For the Son of man came not to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many.'

And they came to Jericho: and as he went out of Jericho with his disciples and a large crowd, a blind beggar, Bartimæus, the son of Timæus, sat by the way side. And when he heard that it was Jesus of Nazareth, he began to cry out, and say, 'Jesus, son of David, pity me.' And many rebuked him that he should hold his peace: but he kept on crying all the louder, 'Son of David, pity me.' And Jesus stood still, and said: 'Call him.' And they called the blind man, saying unto him, 'Be of good cheer, rise; he calls thee.' And he, casting away his cloak, sprang up and came to Jesus. And Jesus answered and said unto him, 'What wouldst thou that I should do unto thee?' The blind man said unto him, 'Master, I would that I might see again.' And Jesus said unto him, 'Go thy way; thy faith has healed thee.' And immediately he received his sight again, and followed Jesus on the way.

CHAPTER XI

And when they came nigh to Jerusalem, unto Bethphage and Bethany, at the mount of Olives, he sent forth two of his disciples, and said unto them, 'Go to the village before you: and immediately as ye enter it, ye will find an ass's colt tied, whereon no man has yet sat; loose it and bring it here. And if any man say unto you, Why do ye this? say ye, The Lord has need of it, and he will send it back again here very soon.' And they departed, and found the colt tied by the gate outside in the open place; and they loosed it. And some men who stood there said unto them, 'What do ye, loosing the colt?' And they said unto them even as Jesus had commanded: and they permitted them to take it. And they brought the colt to Jesus, and laid their

cloaks upon it; and he sat upon it. And many spread their cloaks upon the way: and others strewed plants which they cut from the fields. And they that went before, and they that followed, kept crying: 'Hosanna; blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord: blessed be the kingdom of our father David that is coming; Hosanna in the heights.'

And Jesus entered into Jerusalem, and into the temple: and when he had looked round at everything there, as the hour was late, he went out unto Bethany with the Twelve.

And on the morrow, when they left Bethany, he was hungry: and seeing a fig tree afar off having leaves, he went up to it to see if he should find anything on it: and when he came to it, he found nothing but leaves; for it was not the season for figs. And Jesus spoke and said unto the tree: 'Let no man eat fruit of thee again for ever.' And his disciples heard it.

And they came to Jerusalem: and Jesus went into the temple, and began to drive out them that sold and bought in the temple, and he overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of them that sold doves; and he would not allow anyone to carry a vessel through the temple.

And he taught, saying unto them, 'Is it not written, My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations? but ye have made it a den of thieves.' And the chief priests and the scribes heard it, and sought how they might destroy him: for they feared him, because all the people were amazed at his teaching. And when evening was come, he went out of the city.

And in the morning, as they passed by, they saw the fig tree dried up from the roots. And Peter remembered, and said unto him, 'Master, behold, the fig tree which thou cursedst is dried up.' And Jesus, answering, said unto them, 'Have faith in God. For verily I say unto you, that whoever should say unto this mountain, Lift thyself up, and hurl thyself into the sea; and did not doubt in his heart, but believed that his word would come to pass: to him it would come to pass. Therefore I say unto you, What things soever ye pray for and ask, believe that ye have received them, and they will be yours. And when ye stand and pray, if ye have aught against any one, forgive him, that your Father who is in heaven may also forgive you your trespasses.'

And they came again to Jerusalem: and as he was walking in the temple, the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders came up to him and said: 'By what authority doest thou these things? and who gave thee this authority to do these things?' And Jesus answered and said unto them, 'I will also ask of you one question; do ye answer me, and I will tell you by what authority I do these things. The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or from men? answer me.' And they deliberated among themselves, saying, 'If we say, From heaven; he will say, Why then did ye not believe him? Or shall we say, From men?' But they feared the people: for all held John to be really a prophet. So they answered and said unto Jesus, 'We do not know.' And Jesus said unto them. 'Neither do I tell you by what authority I do these things.'

CHAPTER XII

And he began to speak unto them in parables. 'A man planted a vineyard, and set an hedge around it, and dug out a wine press, and built a tower. And he let it to husbandmen, and went abroad. And at the proper time he sent to the husbandmen a servant, that he might receive from the husbandmen his share of the fruit of the vineyard. And they seized him, and beat him, and sent him away empty. And again he sent unto them another servant; and him they wounded and reviled. And again he sent another; and him they killed. And he sent many others; and some they beat, and some they killed. But he had still an only and well-beloved son: him he sent last unto them, saying, They will have respect for my son. But those husbandmen said among themselves, This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and the inheritance will be ours. So they seized him, and killed him, and cast him out of the vineyard. What will the lord of the vineyard do? he will come and destroy the husbandmen, and will give the vineyard unto others.

'And have ye not read this passage in the scripture: The stone which the builders rejected is become the corner-stone. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes?'

And they sought to take him prisoner, for they realized that

he had spoken the parable against them: but they feared the people, so they left him, and went their way.

And they sent unto him certain of the Pharisees and of the Herodians, that they might entrap him by his words. And when they were come, they said unto him, 'Master, we know that thou art truthful, and hast regard for no man: for thou respectest not the person of men, but teachest the way of God in truth. Is it lawful to give tribute to the Emperor, or not? Should we give it, or should we not give it?' But he, perceiving their deceitfulness, said unto them, 'Why tempt ye me? bring me a silver coin, that I may see it.' And they brought it. And he said unto them, 'Whose is this image and superscription?' And they said unto him, 'The Emperor's.' And Jesus, answering, said unto them, 'Pay to the Emperor what is the Emperor's, and to God what is God's.' And they marvelled at him greatly.

John vii. 53–viii. 11

And they went, each one, to his own house. And Jesus went to the Mount of Olives. And early in the morning, he returned to the temple, and all the people came unto him, and he sat down, and he taught them. And the scribes and Pharisees brought unto him a woman taken in adultery, and putting her in the midst of them, they said to him, 'Master, this woman was taken in the very act of adultery. Now Moses commanded us in the Law that such women should be stoned; what then sayest thou?' And they said this to try him, that they might have something with which to accuse him. But Jesus stooped forward and wrote with his finger upon the ground. But when they continued asking him, he raised his head, and said unto them, 'He that is without sin amongst you, let him be the first to cast a stone at her.' And again he stooped forward, and wrote upon the ground. And they, having heard that, withdrew one by one, beginning with the eldest; and Jesus was left alone, and the woman, where she was, in the midst. And Jesus lifted his head, and said to her: 'Woman, where are they? Has no one condemned thee?' And she said, 'No one, Lord.' Then Jesus said, 'Neither do I condemn thee. Go, and from henceforth sin no more.'

Then came unto him some Sadducees, who say there is no

resurrection; and they asked him, saying, 'Master, Moses wrote for us, If a man die, and leave a wife and no child, his brother must marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother. Now there were seven brothers: and the first took a wife, and dying left no seed. And the second married her, and died without leaving seed: and the third likewise. And all seven left no seed: last of all the woman died also. In the resurrection, therefore, when they rise, whose wife will she be of them? for all the seven had her to wife.'

And Jesus answering said unto them, 'Does not this prove that ye err, and that ye neither know the scriptures nor the power of God? For when they rise from the dead, they neither marry nor are given in marriage; but are as the angels in heaven. But as regards the dead, that they rise: have ye not read in the book of Moses, in the story of the burning bush, how God spoke unto him, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? He is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living: ye do greatly err.'

Then one of the scribes who had heard them disputing together, and had perceived that Jesus had answered them excellently, came up and asked him, 'Which commandment is the first of all?' And Jesus answered him, 'The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God the Lord is One: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. And the second is this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is no other commandment greater than these.' And the scribe said unto him, 'Excellently, Master, thou hast said the truth, that He is One, and there is none other but He: and to love Him with all one's heart, and with all one's understanding, and with all one's strength, and to love one's neighbour as oneself, is much better than all burnt offerings and sacrifices.' And when Jesus saw that he answered intelligently, he said unto him, 'Thou art not far from the kingdom of God.'

And no man ventured to ask him any more questions. And Jesus went on teaching in the temple, and said: 'How can the scribes say that the Messiah is the son of David? For David himself said in the Holy Spirit, The Lord said to my lord, Sit thou

on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool. David himself calleth him lord; how is he then his son?' And the mass of the people heard him gladly.

And he said unto them in his teaching, 'Beware of the scribes, who love to walk in long robes, and to be saluted in the market-places, and to have the first seats in the synagogues and at feasts: who devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers: these shall receive all the heavier punishment.'

And Jesus sat down opposite the treasury, and watched the people throwing money into the treasury: and many that were rich cast in much. And a poor widow came and threw in two farthings, which make a halfpenny. And he called unto him his disciples, and said unto them, 'Verily I say unto you, this poor widow has thrown in more than all who have thrown into the treasury: for all they threw in from their superfluity; but she from her poverty has thrown in all that she possessed, even all her living.'

CHAPTER XIII

And as he went out of the temple, one of his disciples said unto him, 'Master, see, what grand stones and what grand buildings!' And Jesus, answering, said unto him, 'Seest thou these great buildings? There shall not be left one stone upon another, which shall not be thrown down.'

And as he sat upon the mount of Olives over against the temple, Peter and James and John and Andrew asked him privately, 'Tell us, when shall these things be? and what is the sign when all these things are to be fulfilled?'

And Jesus, answering them, began to say, 'Take heed lest any man lead you astray: for many will come in my name, saying, It is I, and they shall lead many astray. And when ye hear of wars and rumours of wars, be ye not alarmed; for these things must happen; but the End is not yet. For nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there will be earthquakes in divers places, and there will be famines: these are the beginnings of the Pangs.

'But ye—take heed to yourselves: for they will deliver you

up to law courts; and in synagogues ye will be beaten: and ye will be brought before rulers and kings for my sake, to bear witness before them. For the gospel must first be proclaimed unto all nations. But when they take you away, and deliver you up, have no care beforehand what ye shall speak, but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Spirit. And brother will deliver up brother to death, and the father his son; and children will rise up against their parents, and will put them to death. And ye will be hated of all men for my name's sake: but he that endureth unto the end, he shall be saved.

'But when ye shall see the Abomination of Desolation, standing where it ought not (let him that readeth give heed), then let them that be in Judæa flee to the mountains: and let him that is on the roof not go down into the house, neither enter therein, to take anything out of his house: and let him that is in the field not go back to fetch his cloak. But woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days! And pray ye that it may not be in the winter. For in those days there will be affliction, such as hath not been from the beginning of the world which God created until now, and will not be again. And if the Lord had not shortened those days, no flesh would be saved: but for the elect's sake, whom he hath chosen out, he hath shortened the days. And then if any man shall say to you, Lo, here is the Messiah; or, lo, he is there; believe him not. For false Messiahs and false prophets will arise, and will perform signs and wonders, to cause the elect, if it be possible, to go astray. But take ye heed: behold, I have foretold everything unto you.

'But in those days, after that affliction, the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give her light, and the stars will fall from heaven, and the heavenly powers will be shaken. And then will be seen the Son of man coming on the clouds with great power and glory. And then he will send out the angels, and will gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.

'From the fig tree learn a parable: when its branch becometh soft, and it putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is near; so,

too, ye, when ye see these things happening, know that he is nigh, even at the door.

'Verily I say unto you, that this generation shall not pass away, till all these things shall have taken place. Heaven and earth shall pass away: but my words shall not pass away. But as to that day and as to the hour, no man knoweth, not even the angels who are in heaven, and not even the Son, but only the Father.

'Take ye heed, watch: for ye know not when the time is. For it is as if a man went abroad, and left his house, and gave authority to his servants, and to every man his work, and commanded the porter to watch. Watch ye therefore: for ye know not when the master of the house cometh, whether at even, or at midnight, or at the cockcrowing, or in the early morning: lest coming suddenly, he find you sleeping. And what I say unto you, I say unto all: Watch.'

CHAPTER XIV

Now it was two days before the feast of the passover and of the unleavened bread: and the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might capture him by craft, and put him to death. For they said, 'Not on the festival, lest there be an uproar among the people.'

And while he was at Bethany in the house of Simon the leper, as he sat at table, there came a woman having an alabaster cruse of precious ointment of pure balsam; and she broke the cruse, and poured the balsam on his head. And some were angry, saying among themselves, 'Why has this waste of ointment been committed? For it might have been sold for more than three hundred pieces of silver, and have been given to the poor.' And they reproached her. But Jesus said, 'Let her alone; why plague ye her? she has wrought a good deed towards me. For ye have the poor with you always, and whensoever ye will ye may do them good: but me ye have not always. She has done what she could: she has anointed my body beforehand for its burial. Verily I say unto you, Wherever the gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, that which she has done shall also be spoken of in her memory.'

And Judas Iscariot, one of the Twelve, departed unto the chief priests, to betray him unto them. And when they heard it, they were glad, and promised to give him money. And he sought a good opportunity to betray him.

And on the first day of unleavened bread, when they sacrifice the passover, his disciples said unto him, 'Whither wouldst thou that we go and prepare for thee to eat the passover?' And he sent two of his disciples, and said unto them, 'Go ye into the city, and a man will meet you bearing a pitcher of water: follow him. And into whatever house he goes in, say ye to the master thereof, The Master says, Where is my chamber where I may eat the passover with my disciples? And he will shew you a large upper room, furnished with couches and ready; there prepare for us.' And his disciples departed, and came into the city, and found as he had said unto them: and they prepared the passover.

And in the evening he went thither with the Twelve. And as they sat and ate, Jesus said, 'Verily I say unto you, One of you will betray me, who is now eating with me.' And they were grieved, and said unto him, one after the other, 'Surely not I?' And he answered and said unto them, 'One of the Twelve, who dippeth with me into the dish. For the Son of man indeed departeth, as it is written of him: but woe to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed! Better were it for that man if he had never been born.'

And while they were eating, Jesus took bread, and said the blessing, and broke it, and gave it to them, and said, 'Take, this is my body.' And he took a cup, and spake the blessing, and gave it to them: and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, 'This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many. Verily I say unto you, I shall not drink again of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.'

And after they had sung the *Hallel*, they went out to the mount of Olives. And Jesus said unto them, 'Ye will all stumble; for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered. But after I have risen, I will go before you to Galilee.' But Peter said unto him, 'Even if all shall stumble, yet will not I.' And Jesus said unto him, 'Verily I say unto thee, This day, even in this night, before the cock crow twice, thou wilt deny me thrice.'

But he spoke the more vehemently, 'If I must die with thee, I will not deny thee.' So also said they all.

And they came to a place which was named Gethsemane: and he said to his disciples, 'Sit ye here, while I pray.' And he took with him Peter and James and John. And he began to be distressed and troubled, and he said unto them, 'My soul is exceeding sorrowful unto death: tarry ye here, and watch.' And he went forward a little, and threw himself upon the ground, and prayed that, if it were possible, the hour might pass from him. And he said, 'Abba, Father, all things are possible unto thee; take away this cup from me: nevertheless not what I will, but what thou wilt.' And he came and found them sleeping, and said unto Peter, 'Simon, sleepest thou? Couldest not thou watch one hour? Watch ye and pray, that ye come not into temptation. The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.' And again he went away, and prayed, speaking the same words. And he returned, and found them asleep again, for their eyes were heavy; and they knew not what to answer him. And he came the third time, and said unto them, 'Sleep ye still and take your rest? It is enough. The hour is come; behold, the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners. Rise up, let us go; lo, he that betrayeth me is at hand.'

And immediately, while he yet spoke, came Judas, one of the Twelve, and with him a band with swords and bludgeons from the chief priests and the scribes and the Elders. Now the betrayer had given them a token, saying, 'Whomsoever I kiss, that is he; seize him, and lead him away safely.' So as soon as he had come, he went straightway up to Jesus, and said, 'Master'; and kissed him. And they laid their hands on him, and seized him. But one of the bystanders drew his sword, and smote the servant of the high priest, and cut off his ear. And Jesus answered and said unto them, 'Have ye come out to capture me with swords and with bludgeons, as if against a thief? I was daily with you in the temple, teaching, and ye seized me not:—but the scriptures must be fulfilled.' Then they all forsook him, and fled. Yet a young man followed him, clad only in a linen shirt upon his naked body; and they seized him. But he let the linen shirt slip, and fled from them naked.

And they led Jesus away to the high priest: and all the chief priests and the Elders and the scribes assembled together. And Peter followed him at a distance unto the court of the high priest: and he sat with the servants, and warmed himself at the fire. And the chief priests and all the High Court sought for evidence against Jesus, to put him to death; but they found none. For many bore false witness against him, but their evidence did not agree. Then some rose up, and bore false witness against him, saying, 'We heard him say, I will destroy this temple which is made with hands, and after three days I will build another made without hands.' But even in this their evidence did not agree. Then the high priest stood up among them, and asked Jesus, saying, 'Answerest thou nothing to that which these bear witness against thee?' But he held his peace, and answered nothing. Again the high priest asked him, and said unto him, 'Art thou the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed One?' And Jesus said, 'I am: and ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven.' Then the high priest rent his clothes, and said, 'What further need have we of witnesses? Ye have heard the blasphemy: what think ye?' And they all condemned him to be guilty of death.

And some began to spit on him [and to cover his face], and to strike him with their fists, and to say unto him, 'Prophesy': and the servants dealt him blows.

Now Peter was below in the court. And one of the maids of the high priest came, and when she saw Peter warming himself, she looked at him, and said, 'Thou too wast with Jesus the Nazarene.' But he denied it, saying, 'I do not know or understand what thou sayest.' And he went out into the outer courtyard. And the cock crowed. And the maid saw him, and began again to say to the bystanders, 'This is one of them.' And he denied it again. And a little after, the bystanders said again to Peter, 'Verily thou art one of them: for thou art a Galilæan.' But he began to curse and to swear, saying, 'I know not this man of whom ye speak.' And straightway the cock crowed a second time. Then Peter called to mind the word which Jesus had said unto him, 'Before the cock crow twice, thou wilt deny me thrice.' And he wept.

CHAPTER XV

And straightway in the early morning the chief priests, with the Elders and scribes, and the whole council prepared their decision, and having bound Jesus, led him away, and delivered him to Pilate. And Pilate asked him, 'Art thou the King of the Jews?' And he answering said unto him, 'Thou sayest it.' And the chief priests vehemently accused him: but he answered nothing. And Pilate asked him again, saying, 'Answerest thou nothing? see, of how much they accuse thee!' But Jesus answered nothing more; so that Pilate marvelled.

Now at the festival, he used to release unto them one prisoner, whom they chose to beg off. And the so-called Barabbas lay bound with the rioters who had committed a murder in the insurrection. And the crowd came up, and began to demand what Pilate was wont to do for them. But he answered them, saying, 'Do ye wish that I release unto you the King of the Jews?' For he realized that the chief priests had delivered him up out of envy. But the chief priests incited the people, that he should rather release Barabbas unto them. And Pilate answered again and said unto them, 'What then shall I do with him whom ye call the King of the Jews?' And they cried out in answer, 'Crucify him.' Then Pilate said unto them, 'What evil has he done?' But they cried out the more vehemently, 'Crucify him.' And so Pilate, wishing to content the people, released Barabbas unto them, and delivered Jesus, when he had scourged him, to be crucified.

Then the soldiers led him away into the courtyard, which is the Prætorium; and they called together the whole cohort. And they clothed him with purple, and wove a crown of thorns, and put it upon his head, and they began to salute him, 'Hail, King of the Jews!' And they beat him on the head with a cane, and spat upon him, and bent the knee, and did him reverence. And when they had mocked him thus, they took off the purple from him, and put his own clothes on him, and led him out to crucify him.

And they compelled one Simon of Cyrene (the father of Alexander and Rufus), who happened to be passing by from the

country, to carry his cross. And they brought him unto the place Golgotha, which is, being translated, The place of a skull. And they offered him wine mixed with myrrh: but he did not take it. And they crucified him, and they divided his garments, casting lots for them, what each man should take. And it was the third hour when they crucified him. And the inscription of the charge against him was written above him: 'The King of the Jews.' And with him they crucified two thieves; the one on his right hand, and the other on his left.

And the passers-by reviled him, wagging their heads, and saying, 'Ah, thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself, and come down from the cross.' Likewise also the chief priests with the scribes mocked him, saying to one another, 'He saved others; himself he cannot save. The Messiah! The King of Israel! Let him descend now from the cross, that we may see and believe.' And they that were crucified with him scoffed at him.

And at the sixth hour darkness came over the whole land until the ninth hour. And at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, '*Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?*' which is, being translated, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' And some of the bystanders, when they heard it, said, 'Behold, he calls Elijah.' And one ran and filled a sponge full of vinegar, and put it on a cane, and gave him to drink, saying, 'Let alone; let us see whether Elijah will come to take him down.' But Jesus uttered a loud cry, and expired. And the curtain of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom. And when the centurion, who stood by, opposite to him, saw that he so expired, he said, 'Truly this man was a Son of God.'

There were also some women looking on from a distance, among whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the Little and of Joses, and Salome (who already, when he was in Galilee, had followed him, and attended to him); and many other women who came up with him unto Jerusalem.

And as the evening was already at hand, because it was the Preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath, Joseph of Arimathæa, an honourable councillor who himself too was waiting for the kingdom of God, came, and ventured to go to Pilate, and

asked for the body of Jesus. And Pilate marvelled that he should have already died, and he summoned the centurion, and asked him whether he was long dead. And when he was informed by the centurion, he gave the body to Joseph. And he bought fine linen, and took him down, and wrapped him in the linen, and laid him in a sepulchre which was hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone against the door of the sepulchre. And Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses watched where he was laid.

CHAPTER XVI

And when the sabbath was over, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, bought sweet spices, that they might go and anoint him. And very early in the morning of the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre, at the rising of the sun. And they said among themselves, 'Who will roll away for us the stone from the door of the sepulchre?' And when they looked, they saw that the stone had been rolled away: for it was very great. And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment; and they were sore afraid. But he said unto them, 'Be not afraid: ye seek Jesus the crucified Nazarene; he is risen; he is not here: behold the place where they laid him. But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him, as he said unto you.' And they went out, and fled from the sepulchre; for they trembled and were amazed: and they said nothing to any one; for they were afraid.

[Now after he had risen, early on the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven devils. And she went and told them that had been with him, as they mourned and wept. And they, when they heard that he was alive, and had been seen by her, believed it not. After that he appeared in another form unto two of them, as they were walking and going into the country. And they went and told it unto the others, but they did not believe even them.

Afterward he appeared unto the eleven as they sat at table,

and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them who had seen him risen. And he said unto them, 'Go ye throughout all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be condemned. And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they cast out demons; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.'

Now after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was taken up into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of God. But they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord helping them and confirming the Word through the signs which followed it.]

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MARK

CHAPTER I

1–8. John the Baptist

(*Cp.* Matt. iii. 1–6, 11, 12; Luke iii. 1–6, 15–18)

1 The beginning of the gospel concerning Jesus Christ, the
2 Son of God. As it is written in Isaiah the prophet, 'Behold,
I send my messenger before thee, who shall prepare the way for
3 thee. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye
4 the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.' So John the
Baptist appeared in the wilderness, proclaiming the baptism of
5 repentance for the forgiveness of sins. And there went out
unto him all the land of Judæa, and all the inhabitants of Jeru-
salem, and they were baptized by him in the river of Jordan,
6 confessing their sins. And John's clothing was of camel's hair,
and he had a leathern girdle about his loins; and he ate locusts
7 and wild honey. And he proclaimed, saying, 'After me cometh
one who is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not
8 worthy to stoop down and unloose. I have baptized you with
water: but he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit.'

The object of these notes is by no means to make another commentary superfluous even for a Jewish reader. There are many points and difficulties in the Gospels about which my notes will give little explanation or which I shall discuss inadequately—and this partly from lack of space and largely from lack of learning.

My main purpose has been to concentrate attention upon those passages in the Gospels which have religious value or interest for Jewish readers at the present time. Passages which do not possess this interest or value I have sometimes dealt with rather cursorily. It is not implied that such passages do not possess other kinds of interest, historical or theological, even for Jewish readers. They may also be of great importance for the full comprehension of the

Gospels as a whole. They may possess great religious interest for the student of religion, to whatever creed he belongs, and great religious value to the Christian believer. All I mean is that they have comparatively little interest or value to Jewish readers from a purely religious point of view.

Among the inadequately discussed passages are some which have special relation to Christian dogma and belief concerning the person and Messianic consciousness of Jesus. These are treated from a purely historical point of view. No attempt is made to discuss how far Jesus was right or wrong in any claim he may have made, or any consciousness that he may have had, that he stood nearer to God than any other member of the human race. My point of view is frankly that of a Jew, that is of some one who stands outside every form and phase of Christianity. I try to write about Jesus as an impartial but sympathetic, critical but appreciative, Christian believer might write about Mahommed or Buddha. That Jesus did not literally fulfil the Old Testament conditions and characteristics of the 'Messiah' is obvious. Whether he fulfilled them in some higher and spiritual sense it is in these notes unnecessary for me to discuss. Jesus is not 'our Lord' to the Jewish reader, and can never become so. Our interest in him, from the purely religious point of view, is limited to his contributions to religious teaching. That the love of him and the service of him have been, and are, immense motives to Christians of all sorts and shades, no one can deny; such love and service can with Jews be felt and rendered only to God. Thus, whether Jesus claimed to be the Messiah, and in what sense and at what stage of his life; whether he thought himself nearer to God than all other men; whether, and in what sense, he believed himself to be the Son of God—all these to Jewish readers are questions of a purely historical and scientific interest. We shall not admire his moral and religious teaching either more or less because he believed himself, or did not believe himself, to be the Messiah; we shall certainly not admire his character more if he thought himself the 'Son of God' in a special sense; we shall assuredly not admire it less if he did not.

Mark has a very brief introduction before coming to close grips with his subject—the life and the death of the Messiah. A few necessary lines about John the Baptist lead on to the baptism of Jesus, and then to the beginnings of his ministry. Mark presumably knows no details of his ancestry, or of his childhood or birth. Indeed he passes over the baptism and the return to Galilee and the first preaching there with a few short and rapid strokes, so that one can regard the introduction as extending to

15 (so W.) with as much justification as confining it to 1–8. Mark starts the details of his story with the coming of the new Preacher to the Lake of Galilee and to Capernaum. Of what happened before that he seems to know no more than the barest outline as regards the baptism (9–11), the temptation (12, 13) and the earliest preaching in Galilee (14, 15). It may be argued that Peter's recollections, of which, it is believed, Mark made use, could naturally go no further back than the incidents which come before us in i. 16 and after.

1. It seems best, with W., to put a full stop at the end of the verse after the words 'Son of God,' and to translate 'Beginning of the gospel about Jesus Christ, the Son of God.' The words are the title for the whole book. They mean: The beginning of the story of Jesus Christ.

'In the apostolic age the word gospel does not denote a book, but a spoken proclamation. Only in the second century did the Lives of Christ begin to be called Gospels. The original gospel was a spoken proclamation of the great Christian facts, the Messiahship of Jesus and the fulfilment of the prophecies in Him.' The earthly life of Jesus was only the beginning of this proclamation. The more important part was that which came after his death and was still to come. Hence 'what Mark proposes to tell is how the gospel began in the earthly ministry of Jesus' (Menzies).

The origin of the technical meaning of the word evangelion (*εὐαγγέλιον*), 'good tidings' or 'gospel,' is apparently to be found partly in the use of the verb (*εὐαγγελίζω*) in the Greek version of the later chapters of Isaiah, partly in the already current Greek use of the noun to signify 'good tidings.' The noun, *εὐαγγέλιον*, occurs in the Greek translation of the Old Testament (Septuagint) two or three times, and also another form *εὐαγγελία*. The verb *εὐαγγελίζειν* occurs some twenty times. The passages in Isaiah xl. 9, lii. 7, lx. 6, lxi. 1, are worth looking up. So, too, Psalms xl. 9, lxviii. 11, and xcvi. 2. The word has also been found in inscriptions in connection with the worship of the Emperors. It occurs in a now famous inscription found at Priene in a passage about the birthday of the divine Augustus (the date is about 9 B.C.). '[The birthday] of the god was for the world the beginning of good tidings on account of him' (*τῶν δι' αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίων*, cp. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, p. 267). It is a pity that we have not adopted an identical rendering in English (*i.e.* 'evangel' instead of 'gospel'), like the German 'das Evangelium.'

The oldest use of the word in Christian literature is reflected

in Mark. W. holds that in its special Christian sense the word could not have been used by Jesus. For, in Mark, Jesus himself is, almost always, the content of the gospel. He is the good tidings. He is the gospel. In this sense too is the word employed by Paul. Mark's whole book is to be the story of the career and death of Jesus the Messiah. Hence his book is the gospel of Jesus. Jesus in Mark is made to follow and adopt this usage. Out of seven times in which the word is used, five occur in speeches of Jesus. (The other two places are i. 1 and i. 14.) He speaks of *the* gospel, meaning not what he has to say and teach about religion, morality, and the Kingdom, but practically himself. 'For my sake and for the gospel's' are close synonyms. 'For the sake of the gospel' means for the sake of making known the tidings about Jesus. 'The gospel is to be preached unto all the nations' means that Jesus Christ and his life and death are to be preached. The one exception to this usage in Mark seems to be i. 14, 15, where, however, in truth the meaning is still the same, however inappropriately put into the mouth of Jesus. Jesus could only have said 'Repent, for the Kingdom is near'; the words 'Believe in the gospel' would have had no meaning to his contemporaries at the outset of his ministry. Jesus is thus made to use the word in a proleptic or anticipatory sense.

In Matthew, and in Luke (who only employs the verb and not the noun, whereas Mark and Matthew employ only the noun and not the verb, except Matt. xi. 5), the usage is different. To them the gospel is the contents of Jesus's teaching. The gospel of the Kingdom means the tidings and teaching about the Kingdom. Jesus proclaims that with him the Kingdom has appeared upon earth, and this proclamation is the gospel. His teaching is the gospel which he preaches. But this use of the word is not earlier than its use in Mark, but later, just as the Kingdom as present is later than the Kingdom as future.

It is disputed whether the oldest reading had 'Son of God' after the words 'Jesus Christ.' If it had, the phrase must be understood either in the same sense as in iii. 11, or in the higher Pauline sense as a heavenly being, of divine nature, though distinct from and subordinate to God. See i. 11 and iii. 11.

'Jesus Christ.' The wording was originally 'Jesus the Christ'; 'Jesus the Anointed'; 'Jesus the Messiah.' But here 'Christ' has already become a proper name, a surname for Jesus; therefore it has lost the article. This is a rare use. In Mark it is only found again in ix. 41. Merx (*Die Vier kanonischen Evangelien*, II. 2, p. 10) attempts to show that the original wording was probably 'Beginning of the gospel'; then 'Jesus Christ' was added, and to this was appended 'Son of God.' For the

Rabbinic use of the word 'Christ' or 'Messiah,' as a personal name, see Additional Note 1.

2, 3. W. and Loisy regard the quotation as a very early interpolation. Mark never in his own person quotes the Old Testament. There are other difficulties. The quotation is made up of Malachi iii. 1 and Isaiah xl. 3. Was the Malachi passage erroneously supposed to come from Isaiah? Or is the Isaiah quotation original to the writer of verse 1, and was the Malachi passage prefixed later? The latter is more probable. In Matt. xi. 10 (Q) and Luke vii. 27 the Malachi passage is applied to John by Jesus. B. Weiss, on the other hand, regards the whole passage as a reminiscence of Q (the old, extra source of Matthew and Luke), but not as an interpolation (*Die Quellen*, A, pp. 189-192, B, p. 200).

The Malachi quotation follows the Hebrew rather than the Septuagint, which is another reason why it may be regarded as not having been inserted at the same time as the Isaiah quotation, which follows the Septuagint. But the Malachi quotation makes an important change from the Hebrew to render it suitable for the context. The Hebrew has: 'Behold I send my messenger, and he shall prepare a way before *me*.' Whereas Mark has: 'my messenger before *thy* face, who shall prepare *thy* way,' that is before the face of Jesus. The way which John prepared may be taken to mean his preaching of repentance. There is also a notable change in the quotation from Isaiah (which otherwise follows the Septuagint and erroneously adds 'in the wilderness' to 'a voice that cries,' instead of to 'prepare ye': see Revised Version). Septuagint and Hebrew read alike: 'make straight in the desert a highway for our God.' But in lieu of 'a highway for our God' Mark puts 'his paths.' The object of this seemingly small change was to make 'the Lord' of the first clause a synonym, not for God, but for the Messiah—a complete violation of the original. Evangelists and Rabbis were both frequently guilty of forced and strained interpolations of the text. Here we have a misrendering or alteration for religious purposes. It may, however, not be deliberate. It may be unconscious; under the influence of preconceived ideas, writers sometimes misquoted from memory to suit their own views.

4. Without the quotations the order would be clearer. 'Beginning of the gospel. John was in the desert, preaching,' &c. The wording is notable: 'A baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins.'

We need not assume that the baptism is regarded as a sort of magical or sacramental prophylactic or safeguard. Those who did

not repent could not be saved at the Judgment, whether they had been baptized or not.

The baptism is to be the outward sign of an inward repentance, and this repentance is to lead to the forgiveness of sins. It was, as Loisy says, in view of the coming Kingdom that the remission of sins was urgent. The confession is to be understood as a free, public confession and of a general character (*E. S.* I. p. 393).

The great method to obtain forgiveness, according to Rabbinic doctrine, was through repentance. For the Rabbinic doctrine of repentance, see my article on 'Rabbinic Conceptions of Repentance,' *J. Q. R.* Vol. XVI. January 1904.

For the Jewish reference to John and for the Rabbinic practice and theory of baptism, see Additional Notes 2 and 3.

The best translation seems to be: 'John the Baptiser appeared in the wilderness and preached,' &c.

The wilderness is the low country by the Jordan, called the Araba (desert or steppe) in the Old Testament. See 2 Sam. ii. 29, &c.

5. The concourse of people must be exaggerated.

The immersion was the worshipper's own act. 'Baptized by John' would mean 'under his influence and by his instigation and sanction.'

6. His dress is reminiscent of 2 Kings i. 8 and Zech. xiii. 4. His food indicates the ascetic.

7. At once with John's utterances comes up the vexed question as to the relation of Mark and Q. It is pretty certain that Q contained a record of John's baptisms and preaching of which we find pieces in Matthew and Luke. But does Mark depend on Q, or has Q used Mark? W. strongly urges the latter, B. Weiss the former. Mutually independent they can scarcely have been. The detailed arguments do, it must be confessed, plead for Weiss's view, though the Q which Mark knew may have been a shorter and more primitive Q than the Q which Matthew and Luke may have used. And also: 'Il peut y avoir des intermédiaires entre les documents primitifs et nos évangiles.' So Loisy (I. p. 122, n. 3) who is on the whole on Weiss's side, though with reserves and caution. Thus he says: 'The agreement of Matthew and Luke in the Baptist's speech—notably as to the "fire"—has led to the supposition that both borrowed it from a common source, *qui pourrait avoir été abrégée dans Marc lui-même*' (*E. S.* I. p. 401).

John proclaims himself to be the forerunner of one mightier than he. It is notable that Mark, unlike Matthew and Luke, does not represent John as proclaiming that this mightier one will also

hold the Final Judgment. Yet Mark must mean that John is the forerunner of the Messiah. John proclaims the advent of the Messiah, without knowing who he is. If he did announce the Messiah's near advent, he did not refer to Jesus in particular. To the Evangelists, however, Jesus *is* the Messiah, and thus John, as the forerunner of Jesus, is the forerunner of the Messiah. Indeed, the urgency of the call to repentance by John must be (as in the case of Jesus in verse 15) because the time is soon at hand when repentance will be impossible. For repentance belongs to, and is only possible within, the old era. The new era will show the results of repentance or the results of obstinate sin.

'Mightier than I.' In what respect? Either generally more potent, invested by God with greater authority (shown in his healings, teachings, miracles, &c.), or specifically in the higher mode of his baptism.

There is some reason to believe that John did not proclaim the coming of the Messiah. The story in Mark is coloured by later Christian reflection. In any case John did not recognize in Jesus the Messiah: Jesus was to him merely one among the many who sought baptism, and was not in any way distinguished from the rest by a supernatural revelation (*cp.* Loisy, I. p. 185).

8. W. says: 'The baptism with Spirit is a baptism without water; *i.e.* no real baptism, but a substitution for it by means of something better. This higher baptism is the giving of the Spirit, which here appears as the speciality of the mission of Jesus. Water and Spirit are here opposites: they exclude each other. Afterwards the opposition was bridged over by creating a Christian baptism with water *and* Spirit. But in truth the Christian community only adopted the rite of (water) baptism after the Master's death from the disciples of John.'

On this view, 'baptizing with the Spirit' means a baptism in a good sense, the reception of a precious and divine gift. The meaning would be cognate to that of Isaiah xliv. 3, Joel ii. 28. In the Messianic age—in the Kingdom—the Spirit of God was to be poured out over all who were worthy or chosen to enjoy the beatitudes of the new era. The possession of the Spirit meant a higher enlightenment, a fuller knowledge of God, a more perfect accomplishment of His will. On the other hand, the extra source of Matthew and Luke (Q) spoke of a baptism with 'Holy Spirit and fire' (Matt. iii. 12, Luke iii. 16). But some think that 'Holy Spirit' has been inserted from Mark, and that what Q had was only 'with fire.' This would mean a baptism in an evil or ironic sense—a baptism of punishment. It would refer to the consuming fire of the Messianic Judgment. *Cp.* Amos vii. 4,

Mal. iii. 2. And it may be argued that this is the more original version, and that it is more in character with what John is likely to have said. So *e.g.* Loisy. Mark made a 'Christian' change substituting 'spirit' for 'fire'; Matthew and Luke combined his reading with the reading of the source. And originally doubtless what John said was more different still. For He who gives the fire baptism to sinners is not the Messiah but God. 'La tradition chrétienne lui a fait dire du Messie ce qu'il avait dit de Dieu même' (*E. S.* I. p. 402).

9–11. The Baptism of Jesus

(*Cp.* Matt. iii. 13–17; Luke iii. 21, 22)

9 And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth in Galilee, and was baptized by John in the Jordan.
10 And straightway as he came up out of the water, he saw how the heavens parted, and the Spirit like a dove descended upon
11 him. And a voice from heaven said, 'Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased.'

A complete commentary upon the Gospels must devote pages to this tiny section, but I can be exceedingly brief.

The religious value of the Gospels for Jewish readers to-day has nothing to do with the story of the baptism. Nevertheless, that Jesus was baptized by John may be regarded as historic. It was, moreover, in all probability a turning-point in his life—the near antecedent of his taking up John's task and continuing John's message, though on other lines. We cannot tell whether Jesus thought he saw, and fancied he heard, strange sights and sounds on that occasion. No critical reader to-day can believe, I suppose, in the literal truth of 10 and 11. For him the question needs no discussion. Jesus, we may assume, comes, as Matthew says, with the express purpose of being baptized. He wants to hear and see the new prophet. What he has been told of him may fit in with the aspirations and presentiments of his own soul. It may be, and has been, asked: was he conscious of special sins because he sought the baptism? It is not necessary to believe this: M. Loisy is perhaps not too 'prepossessed' when he says, 'The baptism of repentance did not render guilty those who received it without sin; a righteous man could submit to it in order to signify his determination to live purely, without confessing sins which he had not committed; he manifested his resolution to

prepare himself, according to his capacity, for the coming of the Kingdom' (*E. S.* I. p. 405). Perhaps I ought just to notice that B. Weiss, still urging the dependence here of Mark upon Q, considers that the original form of the celestial words is in Matthew (iii. 17). Now there the voice says, not 'Thou art,' but 'This is' &c. Weiss thinks that the original subject of εἶδεν (he saw) was not Jesus, but John (*cp.* John i. 32). But how in this case could John have ever doubted whether Jesus was the Messiah? And how could such an idea of the baptism be primitive? So too if, as Weiss thinks, Matt. iii. 13–15 were in Q, then assuredly Q in such a form is no early document.

10, 11. What may be the historic, or rather the inward, psychological fact at the basis of the stories of the baptism and the temptation it is impossible to say. Yet it is not unlikely that the baptism did mark a decisive epoch in the views and feelings of Jesus as to his mission, and that it was succeeded by no less important developments in some lonely wanderings in the desert. As Loisy says, in asserting that it was only Jesus who heard and saw, Mark is as much a psychologist as it was possible for such a writer to be. Loisy himself is at grave variance with most critical theologians because he holds that in one important point the Evangelists are largely in the right: the baptism *was* the moment when the conviction that he was, or would be, the Messiah definitely and convincingly entered the consciousness of Jesus. This is how Loisy pictures to himself the genesis and growth of that conviction.

'What may be regarded as the solid foundation of the traditional narrative is that Jesus found in his baptism the decisive revelation of his Messianic mission, and that the consciousness of his divine sonship took hold of him with a strength which it had not possessed before and which it would never lose again. But tradition, as a matter of fact, has never held, and criticism cannot admit, that this revelation was strictly the first revelation, that it was not prepared by the whole previous life of Jesus, and that it was not subsequently completed. The revelation of the baptism could have been addressed only to a spirit ready to receive it; on the other hand, the historical meaning of the narrative of the temptation is that Jesus had to learn more of the divine conditions of his mission; and it may be said that this progressive instruction, which was to some extent the result of experience, continued till his death. If it is permissible to hazard a conjecture on such an obscure subject, it might be said that Jesus, in the humble home of Nazareth, had grown up as son of God through piety, through the expansion of his pure soul under the eye of the

heavenly Father, without at first any special thought of the great part which the Son of God, the Messiah, was to play in the world being mingled with the intimate converse of this soul with God; we may suppose that these special thoughts presented themselves to him later on either through the mere influence of the current Messianic ideas, or as the effect of the preaching of John which announced the near coming of the Kingdom of God; however that may be, the meeting with John is a circumstance that is wholly appropriate to a definite revelation; there, by the side of the prophet who was giving himself out as the forerunner of the Messiah, or at least as the herald of the heavenly Kingdom, Jesus, who was already son of God by the inward consciousness of his union with the heavenly Father, had the supreme intuition of his divine mission, and felt himself to be the Son of God, the Messiah promised to Israel. The future would gradually teach him how he would accomplish this mission, and it was the moral conditions of his vocation which at first appeared most clear to him. But it was as Messiah, the agent and the founder of the heavenly Kingdom, that he determined to preach the gospel, and not as a preacher of the goodness of God towards sinners' (*E. S.* I. p. 408). Perhaps it should be added that M. Loisy does not use 'fils de dieu' and 'filiation divine' in the same sense as that in which it is used in the Christian creeds. As regards the term 'Son of God' he especially states in a footnote that W. is right in observing that the Messiah is called Son of God, like Israel, as Israel's representative. It is false, he adds, that the term was coined by Jesus himself as the expression of his 'conscience filiale,' his special 'Kindschaftsbewusstsein.' Jesus was Son of God as the predestined Messiah. 'In the Wisdom of Solomon every truly pious man is a "son of God," just as every Jew calls God his father' (W., *Mark*, p. 6).

Jesus, then, alone sees and hears. The baptism is the equivalent of anointment. The words uttered by the voice from heaven are a reminiscence of Isaiah xlii. 1, 'Behold my servant whom I uphold; my chosen, in whom my soul delighteth,' and Psalm ii. 7, 'Thou art my son; this day I have begotten thee.' *ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός*, 'Thou art my beloved son.' According to W. this would mean to a Semitic writer, not 'my beloved son,' but 'my preferred son,' 'mein bevorzugter Sohn': in other words, 'my best loved son.' It is not, however, intended to compare Jesus with other sons. Jesus, in his own consciousness, knows himself now to be the Messiah. He enters the water as an ordinary individual; he comes out of it as the Son of God, the Messiah. Thus, according to Mark, Jesus *became* the Son of God at his baptism. He is not the Son of God through his birth. At the baptism he receives the

Divine Spirit and becomes thereby, as Pfleiderer (*Urchristentum*, I. p. 338) says, a superhuman being, an instrument of the Spirit, as he shows by his miracles. The immediate effect of the Spirit is that it drives him forth into the wilderness.

The view that, *according to Mark*, the baptism *made* Jesus the Son of God by putting within him the Divine Spirit, is strongly combated by J. Weiss. He holds that, though this was most probably the view of the old tradition, which Mark followed and embodied, Mark himself had advanced beyond it. To him Jesus was Son of God from his birth, as he was to Paul—and this quite independently of any virgin birth. The oldest form of the heavenly voice was probably, 'Thou art my Son, to-day I have begotten thee' (*i.e.* Psalm ii. without Isaiah). This is found in one important reading in the story of the baptism in Luke. This form Mark avoided in order *not* to make the Sonship begin at the baptism. What the baptism did was to make Jesus *realize* his Sonship. He realizes that he is the heavenly commissioned and appointed Messiah, and his earthly work has now to begin. J. Weiss holds that both to the Christian community for whom and among whom Mark was written, and to Mark himself, 'the Christ' and 'the Son of God' are synonymous terms; cp. the various terms in i. 24, iii. 11, v. 7, and xiv. 61. It may here be noted, by the way, that the more advanced the Christology of Mark (and if Paul's main letters are genuine it can hardly have fallen far short of Paul's), the more trustworthy must be the many stories and phrases in his Gospel which imply a purely human conception of Jesus, whether to himself or to others.

Yet even to Mark the Son of God meant something totally different from what later Christian dogma meant by it. It meant something nearer to Jewish conceptions. As Israel is God's son, so the Messiah, the king of Israel, is God's son too. This did not mean that the Messiah was a part of God, or himself God. Even when the Messiah was regarded by certain schools of Jewish thought as a semi-divine being, he was no more God than an angel was God. Yet an angel may be described as a semi-divine being.

It is important that the words of the voice are partly made up from Isaiah xlii. 1. 'The servant of the Lord' was identified with the Messiah. And in Greek *παῖς*, the rendering of the Hebrew *ebed*, means both 'servant' and 'child.' If one could show that Jesus himself thought that he was the 'servant,' and that he fulfilled the servant's *rôle*, if one could show that he believed that the 'servant' was the true Messiah rather than, or as well as, the king predicted in Isaiah xi. (and a far higher and better Messiah too), or that he accepted the one sort of Messiahship and rejected the other, many difficulties would be solved.

But in the Gospels Jesus never makes a really definite pronouncement on the matter. We do not know whether he thought the king Messiah of Isaiah xi. a mistaken conception or not. If the account of his entry into Jerusalem is tolerably accurate, he can hardly have done so wholly. Yet he never alludes to Isaiah xi., and though to him the Messiah was undoubtedly a king in a *certain* sense, he was probably more and other than the righteous ruler of that famous chapter. It is impossible ever to know how Jesus interpreted the great Messianic utterances of the prophets. He may likely enough have formed no consistent theory about them. In the Targum (*i.e.* the Jewish Aramaic translation of the Old Testament) Isaiah xlii. 1 reads: 'Behold my servant, the Messiah.' And the servant of Isaiah lii. 13–liii. is also specifically called the Messiah. Yet the very same writer who thought that the 'servant' was the Messiah probably also thought that the king of Isaiah xi. was also the Messiah! In matters of religion the human consciousness is often unaware of the oddest inconsistencies. The religious mind, guided mainly by feeling and aspiration, makes up its own conceptions and interpretations; it takes and leaves and combines; exegesis, consistency, historic interpretation, are remote and indifferent to it.

Let me, however, attempt thus early to say a few words as regards the vexed question of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus. And first as to the character of the problem, the sources for its solution, and the answers which have been given. The only material available with which to answer the question is contained in the three Synoptic Gospels. Yet here the evidence is so small, so fragmentary, so dubious, and even so contradictory, that learned scholars have disputed over it for generations, and dispute over it still. Some think that Jesus did not believe himself to be the Messiah; others—most others—that he did. Of the second class, some think that he only very gradually came to the conviction that he was the Messiah; others, that he believed himself to be so from the beginning of his ministry. But even if we neglect the view that Jesus did not believe himself to be the Messiah, even then the doubts and divergencies are by no means over. For even supposing that he held himself to be the Messiah, what sort of Messiah did he think that he was? What was his conception of the Messiah? And did that conception change and modify in the course of his ministry? What was his conception of the Messianic office, of the work which the Messiah had to do? What part had the Messiah to play at the end of the existing order and in ushering in the new order?

Now the answers to these questions not only are dependent upon, and suffer from, all the uncertainties due to the fragmentary,

dubious, and often legendary and miraculous character of the Synoptic material, but they also suffer from a further uncertainty, which to an uninformed Jewish reader of the present day is, at first, surprising.

The ordinary uninformed Jew to-day thinks of the Messiah partly in terms of one or two salient passages of Isaiah, and partly in terms of late Jewish theology. To him the Messiah is essentially the figure described in Isaiah xi. A righteous ruler, purely human, who restores the Jews to their own land from their exile, and inaugurates a lasting reign upon earth of peace and goodness and the knowledge of God. The Messiah, in fact, ushers in the earthly Kingdom of God. Nothing is more inaccurate than the assertion that the Jewish conception of the Messiah is merely material, and merely political, and merely national. It is, doubtless, all three. It involves, precisely like the new era in the Gospels, a destruction of enemies, but its most essential feature is the coming of righteousness and peace. When the Messiah has done his work, men 'shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' When the Messiah has done his work God 'will turn to the people a pure language, that they may call upon the name of the Lord, to serve him with one consent.' 'And the Lord shall be king over all the earth; in that day shall the Lord be One, and his name One.' This is what the ordinary, uninformed Jewish reader thinks of the Messiah and of Messiah's work and its result.

But it does not follow that what the ordinary Jewish reader thinks to-day is what was thought by all the contemporaries of Jesus 1900 years ago. And this is the further uncertainty alluded to just now. We do not exactly know what was the prevailing conception, or what were the various conceptions, of the Messiah and of his office in the days of Jesus.

We have some evidence which is earlier; we have much evidence which is later. We have little which is contemporary. But we know from the apocalyptic literature that the old conception of the Messiah had been modified considerably. To begin with, the Messiah was not to all Jews of that age so purely human, so merely 'a man,' as he was to the author of Isaiah xi., as he is to the ordinary Jewish reader to-day. He had become to some circles, to some thinkers, a more or less divine or supernatural being. He had, perhaps, been combined with other conceptions, as, for instance, it may be, with the archetypal Man, who was not mere man, but 'superman,' pre-existent and heavenly. This was one change, and that a great one.

Another was that, to some thinkers, the Messiah was not the

warrior who fights against Israel's foes, and then inaugurates an earthly era of righteousness and peace. The doctrine of the resurrection of the dead had profoundly modified and enlarged the conception of the whole Messianic age Doubtless Israel was still to be freed from its oppressors; it was to live in its own land, happy, triumphant, prosperous and peaceful. But the whole *dénouement* and transformation, culminating in the Resurrection of the Dead and the Last Judgment, was to be brought about by the more direct and sudden interposition and intervention of God. The successful and righteous warrior, the virtuous and prosperous ruler, made way, among some groups and persons, for a more mysterious, semi-divine, semi-human Figure, who should preside over the rapidly changing scenes of a vaster and grander drama.

Men's conceptions of the nature and office of the Messiah may perhaps, in the age of Jesus, have ranged from the old conception (which is also the modern Jewish conception) to the other conception which has just been sketched. Between the two extremes there would be room for many combinations and degrees, which might be held by different persons, more or less distinctly, at the same period. What, however, was the Messianic conception in Nazareth and Capernaum, what in Jericho and Jerusalem, in the age of Jesus it is scarcely possible to say with precision. Did Galilee differ from Judæa? Do the more supernatural and enlarged conceptions of the apocalyptic writers imply that such conceptions were widely spread among the common people, or were they rather the possession and the dream of but a few? Did the ordinary Rabbi, the official teacher, as well as the populace, ignore them and pass them by? Or was the entire conception of the Messiah little thought of and little prominent in those days? All these questions are only to be conjecturally answered. Adequate material for an adequate answer is, unfortunately, lacking.

One therefore comes back to the question, What sort of Messiah did Jesus suppose himself to be—if he supposed himself to be the Messiah at all—with added uncertainty. Still a few points emerge. It would seem that Jesus was affected to a considerable extent by the great developments of the Messianic conception to which allusion has been made. The dreams of the apocalyptic writers can hardly have escaped his notice entirely. He was not unfamiliar with them. Hence we may assume that the Messiah to him was something more and other than the Messiah of Isaiah xi. He was a being who was to take a leading part in a greater drama. (Yet that greater drama, the coming of the Kingdom, with all that this involved, including, perhaps, the Final Judgment, at first overshadowed the personal or individual element. Jesus starts by preaching the Kingdom; not the Messiah or himself.)

God was going to make an end of the old order: there was no need for man to fight: the Roman dominion would presumably fall to pieces of itself, or through divine agency, when the new order and the divine Kingdom were established. In this sense, then, the Messiah to Jesus was not a 'political' personage; not a warrior; not an 'earthly' prince; not a 'merely Jewish' monarch. In this sense he was to Jesus probably more like the Messiah of apocalyptic dreamers. Nor is it improbable that many Rabbis and Pharisees, who were not apocalyptists, shared these opinions. To many of them it was only God, and not the Messiah, who would destroy the power of Rome.

But this newer Messiah, because a bigger, less purely human—if you will, less purely Jewish personage, was not, therefore, *necessarily*, more virtuous, more spiritual, less prejudiced. What is Jewish and national may yet be ethical; what is superhuman and mysterious may be unethical. To Isaiah and to those Jews who thought on these political and 'national' lines, the Messiah meant the triumph of righteousness and the destruction of wickedness; to the apocalyptic dreamers he did not mean anything better; perhaps the stress upon righteousness was, indeed, lessened. It is even doubtful whether the nationalism of the apocalyptic dreamers was less intense than the nationalism of those who rejected these apocalyptic visions and stuck to the prophets and to Isaiah xi. Wrede in his excellent essay on the teaching of Jesus about the Kingdom of God is rather inclined to overestimate the spirituality of later Jewish teaching and to underestimate the spirituality of such old passages as Isaiah xi. He exalts the 17th Psalm of Solomon, for instance. It is indeed fine and spiritual, but I hardly call it less political or more spiritual than Isaiah xi. or ii. 1–4. And, on the other hand, we have no clear evidence that Jesus thought of the Kingdom, and of the Messiah's work in connection with that Kingdom, upon *deliberately unnational* lines. There is no clear evidence that he rejected the primacy of Israel, or its continuance as a nation, in the new order and in the Kingdom. There is no special advance to be noted here, *just because*, or *as a result*, of the fact that, the Kingdom was to be established by direct divine intervention, and the Messiah was not to be a successful warrior and mere earthly king. It is not here that the advance of Jesus, if indeed in *this* province of thought he made an advance, can be found to lie. But it does seem as if *other* elements of his teaching and character had their reflex influence upon his conception of the Messiah.

For we may reasonably argue that Jesus, as a great and original religious and ethical teacher and thinker, could hardly not have allowed his religious and ethical views to affect his

conception of the Messiah. It is not right to call his ethical doctrine a mere 'Interims-Ethik.' Righteousness was to be the keynote of the new Kingdom, as well as the passport of admission within its gates. Like many another religious teacher, Jesus did not ask himself the question how far the virtues upon which he laid such great stress would be needless, or incapable of being realized and practised, in the renovated world. He was keen about them for their own sake, apart from their immediate effects. He did not consider the difficulty that their effects would (partially, at any rate) hinder their continuance.

And among those virtues upon which he laid stress may we not safely assume that the virtue of self-sacrifice, of service for the sake of others, was undoubtedly one? Is it not reasonable, then, to suppose that he looked upon his own life as a service, and that this thought may even have developed into the idea that he might have to die in order to complete his service? Death would not be the end; death was to no man the end; certainly not to the righteous; least of all to the Messiah. Was the glory and was the triumph perhaps only to come *after* the life of service had been ended by a death of sacrifice? If the principle of non-resistance was adopted by him in his ethics for daily life, it is not unnatural that it should have been adopted by him as regards his own special life and his position as Messiah. Hence we see how it may have come about that his conception of the Messiah may have been modified. The Messiah was no more the conqueror and the warrior-prince: what destruction there was to do would be done by God. The Messiah would, indeed, rule in the perfected Kingdom, but this rule was hardly looked upon in the ordinary way, and the stress was not habitually laid upon it. The stress was rather often laid upon the Messiah's work in the present and the near future, a work of service, even of lowly service, and a work which was, perhaps, to culminate in death. This, then, may have been the special development made by Jesus to the conception of the Messiah; and such a view would fit in with the supposition that Jesus identified the Messiah with the mysterious Man (Daniel vii. 13) who was to be sent by God at the great crisis to superintend the final consummation, and that he believed that this Man was himself—himself as he was to be in his glory, rather than himself as he then was.

Renewed reflection leads me to think that I may not perhaps have sufficiently allowed for the curiously negative attitude of Jesus towards national and political questions. It remains true that, as I have said, there is no clear evidence that Jesus rejected the primacy of Israel, or its continuance as a nation, in the new order and in the Messianic Kingdom. One passage which would

imply this may have been written and composed many years after his death. But it also seems to be true, as Wrede well puts it, that the nation as such never appears to interest him at all. Instead of the nation he is always concerned with individuals. A man's qualifications for the Kingdom are not decided by birth, but rigidly and exclusively by character. 'The hopes of Jesus were absolutely neutral as regards the opposition of Israel and the Roman dominion. Who would give a thought to the fall of the Roman Empire, when he looks forward to the overturning of heaven and earth? It is not as if we found any sympathy with the national enmity to the Romans. But we find rather a clearly expressed indifference. It is just in this point that Jesus plainly stands apart from the most exalted passages in the Psalms of Solomon. His attitude is in extreme opposition to that of the party of the Zealots. So far is he from revolutionary thoughts that the whole question seems to fail to interest him. It is impossible too that he should have adopted this position only in the later period of his life, it was clear from the beginning of his career' (Wrede, 'Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes' in *Studien und Vorträgen*, p. 116). I have elsewhere suggested that the more national aspirations of Jesus may have been neglected or omitted by Mark, but the comparatively early date of this Gospel makes such a supposition less easy. On the other hand Dalman seems to go too far when he says: 'There is no doubt that Jesus developed his thoughts about the Kingdom of God (or Rule of God, as Dalman thinks we ought to call it, *Gottesherrschaft*) in conspicuous opposition to the Zealots. According to the "Give unto Cæsar" saying, he saw in the political rule of the Romans no diminution (*Beeinträchtigung*) of the Kingdom of God. The Rule of God has not to remove the rule of strangers over the nation, but all powers hostile to God within the soul of man' (*Die Worte Jesu*, I. p. 113). This is surely exaggerated. So too it is exaggerated when Mr Gardner says that Jesus's conception of the Kingdom of the Messiah 'was quite consistent with the maintenance of the Roman Empire' (*Growth of Christianity*, p. 51). M. Loisy hits the mark more nearly when he says that though the work of Jesus had nothing in common with that of a Judas Maccabæus, yet 'the chosen of the Kingdom will be dependent on no human power; the servitude under which Israel labours will be destroyed; there will remain no place for the authority of Cæsar in the city of God: but God Himself, and not man, will substitute His rule for that of men. In his reply to the tribute question (Mark xii. 13–17) the respect which Jesus shows for the constituted authorities is quite negative. He in no wise intended to sanction the right of the Emperor as a principle of the Society which was to come.

The Emperor belongs to the providential order of this world, like Sennacherib or Nebuchadnezzar: he does not belong to the definitive order of the Kingdom, and his power will fall, as is befitting, with the power of Satan, of whom he is, in certain respects, the representative' (*E. S.* I. p. 231).

How far Jesus was influenced in his career and thought by the 'servant' passages of Isaiah xlii. and liii. it is impossible to say. But we may note that the references to the servant passages seem to belong to Matthew and Luke rather than to Mark. See Matt. viii. 17, xii. 17–21; Luke iv. 18, xxii. 37. The idea of a suffering Messiah was not, so far as we can gather, suggested to Jesus by Isaiah liii. The idea, as W. says, might have been found in that wonderful chapter, 'aber da *wird* sie in den Evangelien nicht gefunden' (*Einleitung*, p. 91, n. 1). But Dr Carpenter says: 'How far this aspect [*i.e.* the aspect of the Messiah as the servant] of the Messiah's work had been realized by popular imagination at the time of Jesus, it is impossible to estimate. In the stream of apocalyptic literature it has no place at all. It is unconnected with the doctrine of the two ages; it is independent of the royal line of Judah; it seems on a different plane from the visions of the New Jerusalem, or the great Judgment of the Son of man. It lies altogether apart from the expectations of those who hoped that Messiah would 'restore the kingdom to Israel' (Acts i. 6). Yet its presence in the Gospels is palpable. We may not always be able to accept as genuine the incidents or sayings through which it is expressed. But when we try to trace it back to its source, shall we be wrong if we ascribe it, at least provisionally, to Jesus himself?' (*First Three Gospels*, p. 92).

For the Spirit assuming the form of a dove, see Additional Note 4.

12, 13. The Temptation

(*Cp.* Matt. iv. 1–11; Luke iv. 1–13)

12 And immediately the spirit drove him into the wilderness.
13 And he was in the wilderness forty days, being tempted of Satan; and he was with the wild beasts, and the angels ministered unto him.

Though Mark's account may be the older, it will be better to reserve what I have to say on the subject of the temptation for the notes on Matthew. Harnack (*Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, p. 137, English translation, p. 195) thinks that Mark followed a different version of the temptation legend from that given in Q,

the document ('Redenquelle') which is embedded in Luke and Matthew. In it, perhaps, Jesus did not fast, but was fed by the angels. Both in Mark and in Q the temptation is 'Messianic': *i.e.* it is the temptation of the Messiah, not of an ordinary individual. The victory of Jesus over Satan is not mentioned; it is assumed. 'He was with the wild beasts.' The meaning is not quite clear. This touch is found in Mark only. The animals may be mere 'scaffolding' as some think; they heighten the desolateness of the wilderness. *Cp.* Isaiah xiii. 21; 2 Mac. v. 27. They may also be interpreted Messianically. *Cp.* Job v. 23; Ez. xxxiv. 25; Ps. xc. 13. The wild beasts cannot hurt the Son of God. Merx (II. 2, p. 11) says that the temptation in Mark gives him the impression of being an excerpt from a larger account, an extract, not a primary statement enlarged by others. It must be confessed that there is something to be said for this view. Loisy notes that the narrative, brief as it is in Mark, has many striking epithets and traits. He does not think that Luke and Matthew merely enlarged Mark's account, but that all three Evangelists probably drew from a common source, which Mark curtailed and partly changed. To B. Weiss the source is Q. It is perhaps worth noting, even if Weiss makes too much of it, that though, according to Mark i. 4, Jesus is already *in* the 'wilderness,' in i. 12 he is, unnecessarily, said to be impelled *into* it. This '*Widersinn*' is, according to Weiss, explained, because in i. 4 Mark does not depend on Q, but puts forward his own view of the scene of the baptism in order to show the fulfilment of Isaiah xl. 3; in i. 12, on the other hand, Mark is quoting Q, who (Matt. iv. 1) treats the scene of the temptation as in the wilderness. This is only one small instance of the extreme minuteness of Weiss's method and work.

14, 15. The Mission in Galilee

(*Cp.* Matt. iv. 12–17; Luke iv. 14, 15)

14 Now after John was thrown into prison, Jesus came into
15 Galilee, and proclaimed the good tidings of God, saying, 'The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God hath drawn nigh; repent ye, and believe in the good tidings.'

It is implied 'that Jesus did not return to Galilee at once, after the baptism and the temptation, but that a period, the duration of which is not defined, elapsed before he made this journey' (Menzies). Jesus only began his public ministry after the imprisonment of John. We may assume that the fact that

John could not continue his message impelled Jesus to take it up and enlarge it. Loisy, as we have seen, thinks that Jesus now already had the conviction that he was the Messiah, but few critical theologians will agree with him here. 'It may be supposed that Jesus made up his mind to speak in his turn, because the approaching Kingdom was now without a prophet, and because it pertained to him, rather than to anyone else, rather than to John himself, to prepare men for this coming' (*E. S.* 1. p. 429, *cp.* especially pp. 212, 213, 403, 435).

'The time is fulfilled.' Whether Jesus used these exact words or no, there is no reason to doubt that their sentiment was his. For 'the whole activity of Jesus can only be understood from his conviction that the time of preparation (*die Frist*) which God had appointed to the world was now at an end' (J. Weiss).

'Believe in the good tidings or gospel.' For W.'s view of these words see note on i. 1. If he is right, Jesus could not have used the phrase. The words can, however, also be, and have been, interpreted to mean, 'believe in the good news that the Kingdom of God is at hand.' The words are omitted in Matthew. Some find, both in them and in the phrase 'the time is fulfilled,' the influence of Paul. Moreover, 'repent, and believe in the good tidings,' though by no means an inconsistent, would be an unusual, combination. 'Repent, for wrath is at hand,' is what one expects. If that is what Jesus said, he began like John and like Amos. 'The day of the Lord is at hand.' 'The day' implies a judgment. Men must repent in order to avoid condemnation and to secure the good time which is to follow. Jesus says: 'The Messianic era, the Kingdom of God, is at hand. To enjoy its fruits, to escape its terrors, repent. So only can ye enter it.' (For the Rabbinic doctrine of 'the Kingdom,' see Additional Note 5.)

In Matthew the wording of Jesus's message is simpler, and this is one of the cases where Matthew seems to have preserved an earlier and more authentic form of the words of Jesus than Mark (Matt. iv. 17, 'Repent ye, for the Kingdom of heaven is at hand'). Matthew expresses the purport of Jesus's teaching in terms 'plus satisfaisants que ceux de Marc et qui pourraient ainsi venir du recueil de sentences' (*E. S.* 1. p. 122). Dr Carpenter says of Mark's elaboration: 'The fulfilment of the appointed time carries us into the thought of the apostle Paul, *cp.* Gal. iv. 4; and the use of the term "the gospel" as a summary of the teachings of Jesus, coupled with the demand for faith—not in God (xi. 22) but in it—warns us that we have here the language of the apostolic age.' (*Cp.* the addition of 'the gospel' in Mark viii. 35 as contrasted with Matt. xvi. 25, and in Mark x. 29 as contrasted with Matt. xix. 29.) (*First Three Gospels,*

p. 209.) The message which Jesus, like John, spoke at first was not a *good* tidings, not a gospel. It was a message of doom for the unrepentant, of solemnity for all. Apparently people were forgetting that the Great Day of the Lord was not merely a day on which Israel's enemies were to be punished or destroyed. From the prophetic point of view it was a day in which the sinners in Israel should also be punished. Only after Jesus had passed away could the saying 'Repent' be regarded as a *good* tidings. It then came to mean: 'believe in Jesus as the Messiah, join the Christian community.' This could be pretty easily done. Hence in such circumstances 'repent, for the day of the Lord is at hand,' became a tidings not of severity, but of gladness.

Thus it would seem that the earliest message of Jesus was on old, familiar lines. But he does not say that the Messiah has come, or that he himself is the Messiah. Why this reserve? By far the most reasonable view is that he had not as yet come to think that he was the Messiah. This explanation is, however, strongly condemned by Loisy, who takes quite a different line. 'As for the reticence of Jesus about his Messianic character, it is the result of the fact that this character was not part of the subject matter of the gospel; the object of the good news was the near coming of the Kingdom, and the person of the Christ does not become essential to the Kingdom and cannot even be manifested in its true character except at the coming; in a certain sense Jesus was called to become Messiah and was not yet Messiah, because the Messiah, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, was the prince of the great Coming: it pertained to the Father to himself declare his Christ, and therein no doubt lies the principal motive which caused Jesus to behave as the herald of the Kingdom which was coming, without taking advantage of a title which would not have its full significance till the Kingdom had actually come. The Synoptic Gospels do not contain the least sign of any variation in Christ's consciousness of his vocation, and the surprise which has been felt at not finding a greater number of explicit assertions on this subject in his discourses is perhaps due to a failure to understand the historical conditions of his ministry' (*E. S.* 1. p. 435, *cp.* p. 213). However this may be, the real greatness of Jesus consisted in that side of his teaching which was independent of these old watchwords and battle-cries. Though the more original and beautiful parts of his teaching are, as it were, set in the framework of the conception of the coming Messianic era, and were partly produced by this dominant idea, they are yet independent of the framework, and they can be detached from it and can survive it.

Doubtless the teaching of Jesus is partly to be estimated and

described by whatever conclusions we come to about his view of his Messiahship and office. Yet it is an important fact, and one of which we must take adequate note, that there is a good deal of his religious and ethical teaching which was not directly related to or dependent upon any eschatological conceptions, any belief in the nearing end of the world. Or, if this goes too far, it is at least right to urge that there is a good deal in his finest religious and ethical teaching which can survive such conceptions and be easily detached from them. For example, the 'inwardness' of his teaching, his spiritualisation, or screwing up the standard, of human righteousness and human religion. His estimate of ceremonial observances and ritual uncleanness. His heroic paradoxes concerning the love of one's enemies. His looking at morality and religion in the light of a few great illuminating and unifying principles, such as the love of God and the love of man. His doctrine of a needful childlike attitude of mind; his doctrine of faith. His attack upon certain aspects of the doctrine of proportionate retribution and reward. His insistence upon eager service, upon lowliness in service, and upon the nature of true greatness or superiority. His doctrine of actively seeking out the sinner and the outcast in order to redeem them. His doctrine of self-sacrifice. Here are large and important teachings, either quite independent of, or easily detachable from, any eschatological opinions.

A certain difficulty has been pointed out by Brandt ('Jezus en de messiaansche verwachting,' in Teyler's *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1907, pp. 461–518; a very suggestive and interesting article). A teaching Messiah was not, says Brandt, in accordance with Jewish conceptions of him. Moreover he who believes that the Day of Doom and Change is soon at hand will not give general moral teaching. For these reasons Brandt supposes that most of the teaching of Jesus which we find recorded in the Gospels was, where genuine, not only given before Jesus believed that he was the Messiah, but also before he accepted the opinion of John that the Great Day was soon at hand. This would imply a teaching period before the baptism, and before the announcement with which his public career is made to start: 'Repent for the time is fulfilled and the Kingdom is at hand.' But though we may avoid some difficulties by this hypothesis, it seems too venturesome and too unsupported.

A good deal of controversy still continues as to the sense or senses in which Jesus used the expression the Kingdom of God. There is no doubt that he often meant by it the new era, the Messianic age, the earth as it would be when ruled wholly by God and responsive to his rule. The Kingdom of God would exist

upon earth when the dominion of Satan was wholly destroyed, or when sin and iniquity were no more. This Kingdom was future, but at the same time it was near at hand. Only those who, on the one hand, made the utmost sacrifices in the right spirit would enter the Kingdom. And, on the other hand, the Kingdom would come as a gift. It would be given as a gift to those who were by nature and grace fitted to receive it. The childlike in heart alone could enter the Kingdom. So far all is pretty clear and pretty uncontestable. But some think that Jesus did not only use the phrase in this single sense. (1) The Kingdom is not, apparently, on all occasions to be located upon earth. It is, apparently, also used as a synonym for what we call 'heaven': *i.e.* Jesus sometimes speaks as a modern preacher might, who tells us that when the 'righteous' and the 'elect' die, they enter upon a heavenly life, the real and true life of the soul. The Kingdom seems sometimes to mean this heavenly life. (2) The Kingdom is also sometimes, but rarely, said or implied to be already present. This may have several meanings, of which one is easy, the others more hard. The easy meaning (*a*) is that the Kingdom has practically begun with the appearance and preaching of Jesus. The decisive moments are near at hand. J. Weiss says that under these circumstances it was as natural for Jesus sometimes to say the Kingdom is already present, and has begun, and sometimes to say the Kingdom will come, as it is natural for us when dark clouds are rolling up and the lightning flashes on the horizon to say either 'a storm is coming' or 'there is a storm.' But (*b*) the Kingdom as present *seems* also to be used in other senses still. For

(*a*) it seems sometimes to be considered as a process, which would not come suddenly by divine interposition, but gradually by the inward working and ferment of the teaching of Jesus upon and within the hearts of men. And again,

(*β*) it seems sometimes to be used in an ideal way of the true disciples or of the true Church, as if the company of those who had the right faith in God and in the tidings did actually constitute the Kingdom in its present, though not completed, realization.

But (*γ*) it seems also to be used as if the Kingdom were what Dr Carpenter calls a 'spiritual fact,' 'a symbol of living spiritual relations,' as a principle living and working in the hearts of men, as if it were something not visible or concrete, not to be realized by a divine revolution, no Kingdom to be created upon a regenerate earth, but something invisible, spiritual, and inward. You enter this Kingdom, only in so far as this Kingdom enters you. If

you are spiritual, 'righteous' in the higher and newer sense, then you are already in the Kingdom, for the Kingdom is in you, and so far as the Kingdom has a collective signification, it is made up of those spiritual men and women in whose souls the Kingdom already is.

In which sense the Kingdom is used, and whether it is really ever definitely used in any of the last three senses, must be determined on each particular occasion by the context and meaning of each individual passage. We shall often have occasion to refer to the question again.

Meanwhile it may be said that it seems most probable that for both the historic Jesus and the Jesus of Mark the Kingdom had nearly always, at bottom, its eschatological signification. It is the Messianic Kingdom of the near future. In Matthew the Kingdom in the sense of the Church as already existent, the fellowship of believers, comes also to the fore. How far it is ever a 'process' or an 'inward spiritual fact' is very much more doubtful.

16–20. The Call of Simon, Andrew, James, and John

(*Cp.* Matt. iv. 18–22; Luke v. 1–11)

16 Now as he walked along the lake of Galilee, he saw Simon
and Andrew his brother casting a net into the lake: for they
17 were fishermen. And Jesus said unto them, 'Come ye after me,
18 and I will make you become fishers of men.' And straightway
19 they left their nets, and followed him. And when he had gone a
little further, he saw James the son of Zebedee, and John his
20 brother, who were also in a boat, mending their nets. And
straightway he called them: and they left their father Zebedee
in the boat with the hired servants, and went after him.

On returning to Galilee, Jesus either did not go back to his own home in Nazareth, or he went there first and then went on to Capernaum. (So Matthew.) His doings at or near Capernaum occupy Mark i. 16–vi. 13, and form, in W.'s division of Mark, its *first part*. Chapter i. 1–15 forms the *introduction*.

Mark gives us no real biography of Jesus; what we find is a series of tales and sayings only partially arranged from a chronological point of view. The first thing he could discover about Jesus's missionary career in Galilee was the call of the four chief or earliest apostles. Of the effect of the general proclamation given in i. 14, 15, he tells us nothing. In fact, it seems to be forgotten,

or to have no definite result. The reputation which Jesus acquires in Galilee (i. 28) seems to rest on different grounds. But directly one begins to read the Gospel one enters on a land of half-lights and shadows, a land of puzzles and problems, though also a land of beauty and distinction.

17. 'Fishers of men.' Here the individualistic side of the mission of Jesus is indicated. He seeks to convert and save, some here and some there. He would be a shepherd of souls and bring them into the Kingdom. Whether these four men were really 'called' by Jesus in this particularly dramatic way is another matter. It may have been less sudden and absolute. But that there was a call, and even that the story goes back to Peter's own recollections and statements, many commentators and critics believe. To Mark, the Messiah's call could only have seemed absolute, imperative and complete. By the men called, Jesus was not acknowledged or recognized as the Messiah, but as a teacher, or (at most) as a prophet. *Cp.* the sceptical remarks of Brückner in the *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1907, p. 56. The story, he thinks, is not history, but allegoric poetry. The call of Elisha is its ultimate basis. Loisy admits the influence of Elisha upon the redaction, but thinks the sudden call is likely enough. The idea of the Kingdom was not new: the apparition of an inspired preacher was not disconcerting; Jesus may have won them over in a few moments by the charm and authority of his words (*E. S.* i. p. 437). But their abandonment of their nets and boats was less absolute than the Evangelist would have us believe. Luke avoids the difficulty of the abruptness. He places the call after Jesus's entry into Capernaum, and indeed after he had already taught a little while and had become known, among others, to Simon. Merx, on the basis of a minute critical investigation of the text of Mark, thinks that this order is original.

W. is generally dubious about the Petrine reminiscences. 'Is Peter to be the warrant for the sudden calling of the four fishermen? Is it supposed that he witnessed the walking on the sea or the going out of the evil spirits into the swine, the healing of the woman with an issue of blood through the power of a garment, of the dumb man and the blind man by spitting? And why are there not more reports and more trustworthy reports about the intercourse of the master with his disciples? It rather appears that it was not specially by those who were intimate with Jesus that the stories as we find them in Mark were handed down' (Wellhausen, *Einleitung*, p. 52).

21–28. Jesus in the Synagogue at Capernaum—The Unclean Spirit

(*Cp.* Luke iv. 31–37)

21 And they went into Capernaum; and straightway on the
22 sabbath day he entered into the synagogue, and taught. And
they were amazed at his teaching, for he taught them as one
having authority, and not as the scribes.
23 And straightway there was in their synagogue a man with
24 an unclean spirit; and he cried out, saying, 'What have we to
do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us?
25 I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God.' And Jesus
26 rebuked it, saying, 'Hold thy peace, and come out of him.' And
the unclean spirit tore him, and cried with a loud voice, and came
27 out of him. And they all marvelled, so that they discussed among
themselves, saying, 'What is this? a new teaching with authority!
28 And he commands the unclean spirits, and they obey him!' And
immediately his fame spread abroad throughout all the region of
Galilee.

21. Mark's favourite 'straightway' causes difficulty. One way out is to suppose it means 'on the first Sabbath after the fishing.' More probably the two sections are not nearly so closely connected in time.

The Sinaitic Syriac (which may be referred to, for short, as S.S.) omits the *εὐθύς* both here and in 23. It also omits 'and they went into Capernaum.' Is this original or secondary? Merx after an elaborate examination of the textual evidence says that the *εὐθύς* is interpolated. Moreover he says that *τοῖς σάββασιν* means 'on Sabbaths' (in the plural).

On the freedom of teaching in the synagogues at that time, see Additional Note 6.

22. 'As one having authority.' This famous phrase also occurs (borrowed from Mark) at the end of the Sermon on the Mount, Matt. vii. 29. *Cp.* Luke iv. 32. 'He was without outward authority, while the Scribes were the acknowledged teachers of the nation; and yet the impression which his teaching made, and theirs failed to make, was that of authority' (Gould).

His teaching is original. It was not deduced from passages in

the Law. It did not refer to the sayings of older teachers. It seemed charged with power. It was independent. There seemed nothing between it and God, by whom it was inspired. In this it resembled the teaching of the prophets, and seemed different from the method and form of the teaching of the ordinary Rabbi, just as it was often very different in matter. So we may draw out the meaning of the phrase with tolerable accuracy. See, however, Additional Note 6. The main connotation of 'authority' to the Evangelist seems to be that of inspiration. Jesus seemed as one possessed of the divine Spirit. *Cp.* Bergmann, *Jüdische Apologetik im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, p. 33, n. 3. More specifically, the phrase (*ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχων*) has been held to refer to his *Messianic* authority. *Cp.* the use of the word 'authority' in xi. 28.

23. Mark gives no *résumé*, or contents, of Jesus's teaching. He merely describes it in general terms. He now proceeds to illustrate at much greater length (for the miracles prove the Messiahship rather than the teaching) the other side of Jesus's activity—his expulsion of demons and his healings. This takes him to ii. 12.

To Mark, Jesus was the Messiah. That he was the Messiah was known, to himself at least, from his baptism. It must also have been known to supernatural powers all along. Hence the demons must have recognized him for what he was. They recognized their master, the Being who was to put an end to their rule.

On the other hand, Mark has a tradition (which we may assume to be in accordance with actual history) that Jesus did not openly claim to be the Messiah till later in his career. Hence the demons must have been told to hold their tongues upon the subject. The Messiahship was proved by the wonders Jesus performed; it was stupid, hardhearted, obtuse, of people and of disciples not to understand that Jesus was the Messiah; and yet it was intended that they were not for some while to recognize his Messiahship.

Thus Mark is involved in contradictions. The Messiah is, and is not, recognized. He should, and he should not, be acknowledged. His Messiahship is constantly revealing itself and as constantly ignored—both by wicked opponents and even by dull disciples. How much theology and how little history there must be in all this is very apparent.

24. The demon in the man speaks in the name of his class. Hence his use of the plural 'we.' 'The Holy One of God' the demon calls Jesus—*i.e.* the Messiah. Israel is also the Holy One

of God, just as he is God's Son. The epithets of Israel were transferred to the Messiah. But this, with the parallel in Luke iv. 34, is the only place in the Synoptics where Jesus, or the Messiah, is called the Holy One of God. For the demonology of the age, see *Jewish Encyclopædia*, 'Demonology,' and Conybeare, 'Christian Demonology,' in *J. Q. R.* Vol. VIII. 576–608; IX. 59–114, 444–470, 581–603.

25. Jesus bids the demon be silent. He does not wish his secret to be betrayed. Originally, as W. says, the shrieking of the demon was a mere shriek. If Jesus said, 'Be still,' this may have meant, 'Cease to rage, and leave the sufferer.' Doubtless Jesus himself believed that the cause of epilepsy and other nervous disorders was demoniac possession. The shrieking cries were afterwards in some cases supposed to have been intelligible words, or to have included them. The origin of such a tale as that here given may lie in the facts that

(*a*) Jesus did sometimes order the patient (to his mind, the demon) to be quiet;

(*b*) He may sometimes (though hardly when, as in this case, the cure took place in a synagogue) have urged the cured man not to spread abroad the news of his cure, in order that he might not be besieged and importuned by an inordinate number of patients.

I feel rather doubtful about (*b*). First of all, it was very unlikely in the loquacious East that such a command would for a moment be observed; it was *so* unlikely, that Jesus could hardly have thought it worth while to give it. Secondly, as one of the objects of his mission was to heal the afflicted, why should he have wished to hide his powers under a bushel? I think it more likely that all the orders about silence are due to theorising. Even though silence is ordered, the report of the marvels wrought spreads more and more! It may be noted, moreover, that this miracle, like many others, is wrought quite openly before a large number of persons.

That Jesus worked many great cures can hardly be doubted. Whether many of his cures relapsed we are, of course, not told. We must always remember that we are dealing with a biography—if we can call it so—of unmixed eulogy. Only light is allowed to fall upon the hero. Allowance must be made for exaggeration: as the opponents are drawn too black, so Jesus himself is perhaps drawn too white. The lineaments of the true historic Jesus can never be fully known. We only hear of the last year of his life, and that is set in a golden glow, a haze of pious adoration and glory.

The limits of the influence of a pious and lofty mind upon certain kinds of diseases and nervous disorders are, I suppose, scarcely to be fixed. For the Rabbinic cures of this kind, see Additional Note 7.

It has been rightly pointed out that the healings wrought by Jesus were the outflow of his pity. He cared not only for the soul, but also for the body. He was better and greater than a mere exorcist. The diseased people whom he sought to help were doubly and trebly objects of his pity. (1) They were in themselves miserable or unhappy. (2) Many were more or less regarded as outcasts, smitten by the hand of God. (3) Some were 'possessed' by demons; *i.e.* sick spiritually as well as bodily. He did not merely want to show his power; he pitied, and yearned to heal.

Loisy has a fresh explanation of the outcry of the 'demon' and of Jesus' rebuke. The theme of Jesus' discourse was the Kingdom, and he would without doubt mention the coming defeat of Satan and his satellites. The man who thought himself possessed of a demon would have become excited; he sees in the conqueror of Satan his own conqueror, and hence cries out against Jesus, whose name has been mentioned to him. Jesus is not astonished at this. For he believes himself to be the predestined vanquisher of Satan, so he has no hesitation in issuing orders to the demon, whose master he is also to overcome. He bids the demon be silent and leave his victim (*E. S.* 1. p. 450). This explanation does not impress me as very likely.

The belief in demons who dwell in man and exercise a malignant activity from within him was then quite general; it was far more widely prevalent than in the older period. The prophets seem quite free from this belief. In this respect they were more 'modern' than Jesus.

In his interesting pamphlet, *Mehr Licht*, F. Delitzsch has broached the theory that demoniac possession and exorcisms are (so far as the Jews are concerned) of Babylonian origin. It is a distinction (*ein Ruhm*) of old Israelite religion that it is free from a belief in demons. The doctrine of devils or demons was introduced partly in the Exile, and partly by the foreign colonists from Babylonian cities who were settled in Galilee and Samaria in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. 'Auf diese Weise erklärt sich überraschend, warum gerade in der Vorstellungswelt Jesu von Nazareth und seiner galiläischen Schüler der Dämonen- und Teufelglaube solche Bedeutung gewonnen hat' (p. 52).

27. The reading and punctuation are rather doubtful. One can render as the Revised Version, or perhaps better: 'a new

teaching with authority.' In that case the exclamation takes up what was said in 22, and adds on to it the impression produced by the wonderful exorcism.

To J. Weiss, who presses with excessive emphasis the theory that many of Mark's narratives are direct reproductions of stories told him by Peter, the eye-witness (as to the value of this theory Schmiedel's article 'Gospels' in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* is worth consulting), there must be a great deal of historic truth in the details of the incident of the man with the unclean spirit. To squeeze this truth out, or to force it in, he has to assume

(*a*) That Jesus had just spoken of the coming Kingdom of God and of the end of the kingdom of Satan.

(*b*) That the sick man inferred from this that Jesus himself was the Messiah.

(*c*) That Jesus was annoyed that the lips of a 'possessed' man should have proclaimed the secret of his soul, of which he had as yet spoken to no one.

But what a number of assumptions have we here, and what dubious ones! Jesus has already to think himself the Messiah. His Messiahship is announced by the sick man, yet nobody pays any attention. Is it not safer to believe that, though Jesus may early in his career have healed a sick man in the synagogue at Capernaum, the words in 24 and 25 are apocryphal? But if we can put no trust in the accuracy of this 'Petrine' reminiscence, must we not be *somewhat* sceptical as to the accuracy of any other?

29–34. The Mother-in-Law of Simon Peter—Many Healings

(*Cp.* Matt. viii. 14–17; Luke iv. 38–41)

29 And forthwith, when they had come out of the synagogue,
they entered into the house of Simon and Andrew, with James
30 and John. But Simon's wife's mother lay in bed with a fever,
31 and they told him of her. And he came and took her by the
hand, and raised her up; and the fever left her, and she waited
on them.
32 And in the evening, when the sun had set, they brought
unto him all that were diseased, and them that were possessed
33 with demons. And all the city was gathered together at the
34 door. And he healed many that were sick with divers diseases,

and cast out many demons; and he permitted not the demons to speak, because they knew him.

29. It is possible that there has been a transposition of the original order. Perhaps the healing of Simon's mother-in-law took place before the preaching in the synagogue and on the evening of Jesus's arrival at Capernaum.

30. Another kind of healing is now exemplified. Here it is not a case of demoniac possession; it is an ordinary case of sickness.

31. Jesus touches the sick patient. This is the usual procedure in Mark.

32. Two classes of cases are here clearly distinguished: the sick and the possessed. Both are cured. The sick persons are brought to him after the Sabbath is over. Holtzmann observes that it is allowed by Jewish law (*Mishnah Sabbath*, x. 5) to *carry* a living person on a stretcher, if in need, on the Sabbath. The reason why they waited to bring their sick till the sun had set was because they believed that Jesus would perform no exorcism or healing upon the Sabbath day.

This may be so, but it is noticeable that Jesus heals the woman (v. 34) on the Sabbath, and nobody seems to notice the fact. So, too, the man in the synagogue is healed, and no objection is raised. The criticism of Sabbath healings is not made till iii. 1–6. It would seem as if the incidents of 23–26 and 29–31 had not really occurred on a Sabbath at all.

34. The demons are again made to keep silent, for the same reason as in 25.

35–39. Further Activity in Galilee

(*Cp.* Matt. iv. 23–25; Luke iv. 42–44)

35 And in the morning, very early, before the dawn, he rose
up, and left the house, and went to a solitary place, and there
37 prayed. And Simon and his companions pursued him. And when
38 they found him, they said unto him, 'All seek for thee.' And
he said unto them, 'Let us go elsewhere, into the neighbouring
villages, that I may preach there also: for to that end I came
39 out. And he went and preached in their synagogues throughout
all Galilee, and cast out demons.

35. Holtzmann thinks that Jesus wished to avoid the crowd and the 'Jewish' desire for miracles. Is there adequate evidence of this? One object of his leaving the house early was to pray, as his wont was, out of doors in a lonely place. And if he then, instead of returning to the village, goes elsewhere in Galilee, he goes on a preaching tour in the district and expels the demons. There is no sign of any wish to avoid publicity. He does not want to be detained in Capernaum, it is true, but he does want to preach and heal elsewhere. I notice that Klostermann takes the same line. 'Die Vermutung, dass Jesus einer weiteren Heiltätigkeit habe ausweichen wollen, entspricht kaum der Meinung des Mc.' *πρωὶ ἔννυχα λίαν*, 'very early in the morning before daylight.'

Other commentators take other views. Menzies, for instance, draws a sharp distinction between 'healings' and exorcisms. Jesus was always ready to do the latter; they belonged to his mission. 'Healings' hindered it; for preaching was his real work. He therefore takes flight to resume his preaching. Some think (as I have suggested above) that he merely meant that Capernaum must not selfishly monopolise his attention. The commentators forget that we have no stenographic report, and that we cannot put any reliance on casual phrases, all the more as Mark has his theories and his theology. There may be some intention here to indicate that the Messiahship might be prematurely revealed if Jesus remained too long in one place. The most usual explanation is best given by Loisy:

'Mark shows clearly that the attitude of the people ot Capernaum gave Jesus more anxiety than encouragement. He had come to preach repentance, and he found himself a magician. He foresees that the excitement aroused by his miracles will not be calmed on the next day, that people will beg for further acts of healing, and will not turn their thoughts to being converted, so that his undertaking is exposed to the danger of taking a false direction from the beginning. In order to escape from this first difficulty, he decides to go away as soon as possible; he has been hospitably received at Simon's house, but he does not remain there the whole night; he leaves the house and the town before daybreak, without even informing his new disciples, and he goes apart into a desert place to pray. After the emotions and the bustle of the preceding day, he feels the need of calm self-collection in the presence of his Father. But as soon as Simon and the three other disciples have ascertained his absence, they set out in pursuit of him, and join him at the place where he had stopped. All Capernaum had come back in the early morning and had been disappointed by his sudden departure; the disciples

tell him so, thinking to induce him to return for the very reason which made him leave. Instead of going back to those who are asking for him, he resumes his journey in order to escape from the enthusiasm of the people of Capernaum, and carry the gospel elsewhere, into the neighbouring villages; it is indeed for this very reason that he had set out' (*E. S.* I. p. 460).

I do not find this very satisfying.

38. 'I came out'—*i.e.* from the city. But the phrase is odd. Does it mean from 'heaven'? In that case it would be a later 'theological' reading. S.S. and other authorities have merely: 'I came.'

W. points out that the first day at Capernaum, in which this last section may also be included, has a typical significance. We had already heard of (1) the choice of disciples; (2) the exorcisms; (3) the healings; (4) the crowds and the growing reputation. Now come (5 and 6) two further important first examples of customary practice.

'First, the solitary prayer at night or in the early morning, not in a room, but under the open sky, up a mountain or in some secluded spot. Secondly, the itinerant preaching (*das Wanderpredigen*). Hardly has Jesus set foot in Capernaum before he seems forced to leave it. But it should be noted that Capernaum remains his headquarters, and his wanderings are restricted to Galilee. Of the places which he visits, few are named. An itinerary is wanting.'

40–45. The Healing of the Leper

(*Cp.* Matt. viii. 1–4; Luke v. 12–16)

40 And there came a leper to him, beseeching him, and kneeling
down to him, and saying unto him, 'If thou wilt, thou canst make
41 me clean.' And Jesus, moved with compassion, put forth his hand,
42 and touched him, and said unto him, 'I will; be cleansed.' And
immediately the leprosy departed from him, and he was cleansed.
43, 44 And he sternly charged him, and forthwith sent him out, and
said unto him, 'See thou say nothing to any man: but go, shew
thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing what Moses com-
45 manded, for a testimony unto them.' But when he went out, he
began to publish it much, and to spread the story abroad, so that
Jesus could no more openly enter into any city, but he remained
outside in lonely places: and they came to him from every quarter.

Did Mark obtain this story from oral tradition or a written source? According to B. Weiss (*Quellen*, A, pp. 159–162) this story was found in Q. It followed immediately upon the Sermon on the Mount, and was put there in order that the saying in 44 (Matt. viii. 4) might illustrate the principle laid down in Matt. v. 17. All this is highly problematical and doubtful. Loisy will only go so far as cautiously to suggest that Matthew may possibly have known the source of Mark, and that if this source was Q, then the anecdote may have belonged 'to a secondary redaction' of that document, 'où l'on tenait à représenter Jésus comme un fidèle observateur de la Loi' (*E. S.* I. p. 124).

However miraculous the story may be, there is a great air of historical verisimilitude in its human touches. 'Le gros du récit n'a aucunement l'apparence d'une fiction' (*E. S.* I. p. 466). Moreover, the bearing of Jesus, his curious mixture of compassion and severity, his insistence upon the man's obeying and fulfilling the letter of the Law, all seem to indicate that the story has a historic background.

Nevertheless, it is hard to see how there can be *much* history in it, because it can scarcely be interpreted except as a tale of miraculous healing of actual disease. In order to avoid the difficulties of such a miracle, and yet to maintain the historical character of the story, it has been supposed by some commentators that the man was already cured, and that all that he asked Jesus to do was to pronounce him *formally* clean in order that he might not have the trouble of going to Jerusalem. 'Cleanse me' means, according to this theory, 'declare me to be clean.' Jesus does this by touching the man, and thus shows that he regards him as clean. Nevertheless he bids him fulfil the Law and show himself to the priest. This story is then supposed to have been turned in the telling and retelling into a miraculous cure, and in this form it is incorporated in the Gospel. The artificiality of this hypothesis needs no proving. It is more or less accepted, however, by J. Weiss, who holds that, as it stands, the story cannot be regarded as historic or possible. Leprosy is not a nerve-disease, which 'suggestion' or the influence of personality can cure. J. Weiss would not, however, so much mind sacrificing this story, as he does not regard it as forming part of the supposed 'Petrine' reminiscences.

This is the first (or, counting the call of the four disciples, the second) of the many stories in which Jesus does actions which either are like the actions of Elijah and Elisha, or which are in marked contrast to their actions. It is not to be inferred that the stories are, therefore, historically baseless, but it would be equally exaggerated (in my opinion) to declare that the Old Testament

parallels or contrasts have had no influence upon the form of the stories as we now possess them in the Gospels.

If the man was actually a leper it would appear, as Gould says, that 'it was a part of Jesus's disregard of the merely ceremonial part of the Law that he allowed these unclean persons to approach him. It did not accord with his nature to obtrude this disregard, but he had no scruples whenever the Law interfered with higher things.' For the position of the leper in Talmudic law, see Additional Note *7*.

43. *ἐμβριμησάμενος*. Revised Version, margin, has 'sternly charged.' An even more severe expression would be perhaps a more accurate translation. The healing probably took place in a room of a house (not in a synagogue as Weiss supposes), and Jesus rebukes the man for coming into the room and sends him forthwith out of it—not because the cure is not complete, but because he transgressed the Law by entering it. So, too, he bids him offer the customary sacrifice of purification. *εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς* may mean 'that all may know' that you are cured. See Leviticus xiv. Or, again, it may mean that the priests and the people are to perceive that Jesus does not disregard the Law. The former explanation is more likely.

The anger which Jesus seems to display here has not unnaturally caused the commentators great difficulty. The causes assigned to it vary widely. The explanation given above is not particularly satisfactory; for why should Jesus be so indignant at the man breaking an enactment of the ritual law? But other explanations are hardly better. Weiss supposes (in spite of 'straightway' and the plain meaning of 42) that the cure had only begun, and that Jesus drove the man indignantly out of the house (or synagogue as Weiss thinks) lest he should infect others! Menzies, on the other hand, thinks that Jesus, though in his pity he cured the man, was afraid that he would now have endless lepers brought to him for healing, which would interrupt his preaching. Hence he wishes the cure to be kept as dark as possible, and that the regular routine at Jerusalem should not be omitted. Gould supposes that Jesus 'is vexed at the whole situation of which the man makes a part, at the clamour over the mere externals of his work.' And he thinks that Jesus bade the man go to Jerusalem simply because he was, as it would seem, in favour of an observance of the ceremonial law, when its observance did not, on any particular occasion, conflict with a higher principle, with a higher moral law. Perhaps Klostermann gives the simplest and best explanation of the 'sternly charged.' He supposes that it does not really belong to 'sent him out'; that is merely neutral,

'he despatched him.' The participle ἐμβριμησάμενος (sternly charged) is intended to accentuate the order, 'See that thou sayest nothing to any man.' It is interesting, and perhaps more in accordance with the original text, that the S.S. omits 'and he forthwith sent him out.'

45. Jesus is reported here to avoid all cities and villages. This seems unhistoric. The order to keep the cures secret is specially characteristic of Mark. It can hardly be historic. For how could Jesus have possibly imagined that such miraculous healings would remain unknown? The orders for concealment constantly repeated, and as constantly disobeyed, are part of the theory and conception which control the Gospel of Mark. See note on i. 23.

'The statements of Mark,' says Dr Carpenter—*i.e.* the prohibition of publicity—'are an endeavour to harmonise the traditional notion of the teacher as Messiah with the fact that during the first part of his ministry he nowhere assumed that function. ...But the preacher who begins by announcing that the Kingdom of God is at hand is forced by degrees to consider his relation to it. So far from claiming the Messianic function at the opening of his career, he only slowly realizes it; and even when he finally accepts it, he resolutely refuses to make it known, viii. 30....The title which he at length accepted was rather thrust upon him by circumstance than deliberately chosen. It was adopted with reluctance, and an anxious avoidance of publicity; it involved so much which he could not share; it failed to express so much that he desired; yet no other designation spoke in the same way either to his own soul or to the heart of his time' (*First Three Gospels*, pp. 206–208).

One explanation of the command for silence is, as we have seen, that Jesus did not want his healings to interfere with his main work of preaching. He healed because he pitied, but not in order to show his power. The healings hindered his orderly movements. Again, 'the miracles were sure to be treated as external signs, whereas Jesus relied on internal signs. As external exhibitions, moreover, of a supernatural power they confirmed the people in their expectation of a national worldly Messiah, and raised in them just the false hopes which Jesus was seeking to allay. And finally, by the excitement they created, they interfered with the quiet methods of Jesus's spiritual work' (Gould). I cannot help feeling that this explanation (however ingeniously and variously expressed) is somewhat too modern. Menzies is honest enough to see that it will not work as regards the demoniac possession cases, and so he puts them into a class by themselves. And a very big class or proportion of the healings they must have

been! I can understand that Jesus refused to work a 'sign' on command, but I find it more difficult to believe that he did not want his own chosen miracles to be known. He does not ever seem to refuse to heal, when he has the opportunity. The distinction between 'internal' and 'external' signs, drawn by Gould, would hardly have been familiar to him. His healings were, as he believed, miraculous; they were wrought by God's Spirit; he had no modern difficulties about them or dislikes to them. The view of Wrede, though not necessarily pushed to the lengths to which Wrede pushes it, seems to me more likely. It is the view that the command for silence is part of the theory which Mark has elaborated. Jesus was the Messiah from the beginning of his ministry. He knew who he was all along, and so did the demons. But men did not recognize him, partly because they were obtuse, and partly because Jesus consciously veiled and concealed his Messiahship till a late period in his ministry. *Cp.* quotation from Dr Carpenter above and note on i. 23.

The special healing here related is doubtless peculiarly difficult, because while suggestion, influence of personality, faith, and so on, may, and often do, cure epilepsy and nervous disorders, they can hardly be adequate to cure leprosy. It must, therefore, remain quite doubtful what the basis of fact in such a tale actually was. Nevertheless, we shall not be perturbed by the favourite argument (used, for example, by Gould), that 'you cannot separate the miracles from the rest of the story,' and that 'they stand or fall with the historicity of the whole account of Jesus.' Of how many persons and stories might such an argument be used? We shall continue cheerfully to discredit the miracles, but to maintain the historical character of Jesus.

The command of silence in this particular case may conceivably mean that the man was not to conduct himself as cured until he had been to Jerusalem and fulfilled the regulations of the Law (Weiss). But the historic kernel of the story can hardly now be recovered.

CHAPTER II

1–12. Healing of the Paralytic Man

(*Cp.* Matt. ix. 1–8; Luke v. 17–26)

1 And when after some days he returned to Capernaum, it
2 was reported that he was in the house. And many collected
together, so that there was no room to hold them even before
3 the door; and he spoke the Word unto them. And some came

unto him, bringing a paralyzed man, who was carried by four.
4 And as they could not bring the man up to Jesus on account
of the crowd, they took him on to the roof of the house where
Jesus was, and having made a hole through it, they let down the
5 bed whereon the paralyzed man lay. When Jesus saw their faith,
he said unto the paralyzed man, 'Son, thy sins are forgiven thee.'
6 But some scribes were sitting there, who argued in their hearts,
7 'What blasphemy does this man say? who can forgive sins but
8 God alone?' And immediately Jesus perceived in his spirit that
they so argued within themselves, and he said unto them, 'Why
9 argue ye thus in your hearts? Which is easier: to say to the
paralyzed man, Thy sins are forgiven thee; or to say, Arise, and
10 take up thy bed and walk? But that ye may see that the Son of
man hath power on earth to forgive sins' (he said to the paralyzed
11 man), 'I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy bed, and go home.'
12 And he arose, and at once took up the bed, and went forth before
them all; so that they were all utterly amazed, and glorified God,
saying, 'We never saw anything like this before.'

Chapters ii. and iii. 1–6 give a series of stories dealing with the opposition or conflicts between Jesus and the 'Scribes and Pharisees.' It does not follow that these incidents, if historic, really happened in this exact order or in such rapid succession. 'La combinaison est rédactionnelle, et les éléments qui y sont entrés ne semblent pas avoir été puisés directement dans la tradition orale' (*E. S.* 1. p. 87). Are we to assume that this story, like the previous one, was taken by Mark from a written source, and that this written source was Q? So argues B. Weiss, *Quellen*, A, pp. 162–166. Loisy is not quite decided. For the history of the paralytic man Matthew 'pourrait bien dépendre aussi de Marc et de sa source' (*E. S.* 1. p. 125). It is noteworthy that there are odd correspondences as against Mark between Matthew and Luke (Matt. ix. 5, Luke v. 23; Matt. ix. 7, Luke v. 25; the order of words in Matt. ix. 6, Luke v. 24). The question must be left an open one. But if Weiss is right, then Mark ii. 5 *b*–10 must have already stood in Q when Mark was compiled, and Loisy's suggestion that it is a later insertion (see below) could less easily be sustained.

1. The house may have been the house of Peter or not. House, desert, mountain, and lake are the conventional localities for the various scenes of the drama.

2. 'He spoke the Word.' W. would regard the phrase as meaning no more than 'he taught' or 'spoke.' More probably the Word here means the special Word—the specific teaching about the Kingdom: the 'Heilsbotschaft.'

4. The Greek word *ἀπεστέγασαν* would mean literally that they took off or uncovered the roof. They unroofed the roof. W. thinks that the Aramaic original meant only: 'they took him up on to the roof' (by the outside staircase). I have adopted this conjecture in the translation.

5. 'Their faith,' including the faith of the patient himself, for if he had not had faith that Jesus would cure him, he would not have allowed himself to be taken up on to the roof and then dropped down through the opening. The healing was intended from the first to follow rapidly upon the proclamation of forgiveness. For the healing is the visible sign and proof of the reality of the forgiveness. But perhaps the forgiveness was assured him first in order that the man's heart might be encouraged and lightened, and that thus his body as well as his soul might become receptive to the religious and moral power of Jesus. But, as Klostermann says, the reason why Jesus in the case of this one particular patient, so specially calls attention to the forgiveness of sins remains unknown. I cannot believe in the accuracy of Loisy's exegesis here. He thinks that, taking the narrative as it stands, Jesus was not referring to the man's paralysis and that he did not mean to imply that the 'forgiveness' was the prelude to the healing. In the story as it stands now, the healing is only introduced through the criticism of the Scribes, and was not implicit in the forgiveness. I cannot believe this, though it must be admitted that there is nothing in the narrative which implies that the soul of the man was burdened with the consciousness of sin, or that Jesus read his anguish in his eyes, and wanted first of all to secure his inward peace. This is too modern, and reads an added meaning into the text. But surely Loisy goes too far on the other side when he says: 'Que Jésus, par la rémission des péchés veuille faire espérer au paralytique sa guérison corporelle, ou subordonner celle-ci à celle-là, le text ne le fait nullement entendre' (*E. S.* I. pp. 475, 476).

8. Even in Mark, though not to the same extent as in Matthew and Luke, Jesus appears as the reader of men's hearts, capable of discerning their secret thoughts and penetrating their attempted dissimulations. He is conscious of this power, and makes it known, sometimes with a certain irony (W.).

9. The mere *saying* of either is *equally* easy. What is doubtless meant is, that the power to forgive the man's sins is proved by his cure, which is, therefore, the really difficult and important thing. If his disease is cured, this shows that God, *ipso facto*, has forgiven his sin. 'It may be doubted whether Jesus regarded the healing as more difficult, and whether his argument comes to this: he who can do more, can do less. It seems rather to mean: he who can do the one thing, the divine work of healing, must be able to do the other thing, the divine work of forgiveness' (*E. S.* I. p. 478, n. 2). But Loisy is now inclined to hold that the whole passage about pardon, and the Son of man's power, had been added later to the original story of healing. The old story is found by passing from 5 *a* straight on to 11 (*E. S.* I. pp. 479, 88, 107). The insertion is a bit of Christian polemic against the Jews or of the Pauline Christology of Mark.

Jesus adopts the current view that the malady is the result of sin. Nor, however much some theologians would desire it, does he ever really combat the doctrine, false and strange as it seems to us, that disease implies sin. The theologians quote Luke xiii. 1–5 and John ix. 2; but the second passage is not in point, and in fact is the exception which proves the rule, while the first cannot surely be used to prove so large and revolutionary a doctrine. See the note in Luke. Dr Carpenter, however, writes: 'We know too little of the teaching of Jesus to make this negative statement of yours of any use. I do think that the implication of the tower of Siloam story makes against the doctrine; and so does his general view of the divine action in nature.' Personally, even after weighing what Dr Carpenter has written, I venture to remain unconvinced by it.

Were the Scribes right in saying that Jesus blasphemed? On the hypothesis that Jesus was God, or a part of God, they were not. But as they could not know this, and as they would have refused to believe it, whatever miracles Jesus might have performed, I am inclined to think that from their point of view they were justified. The forgiveness of sins in the strict theological sense is God's supreme prerogative, and no man can arrogate it to himself. What, however, we may conceive Jesus to have meant was this: he recognized and perceived in himself this strange power of healing, which he believed God had granted him for special and peculiar ends. He shared the usual belief that special maladies, such as paralysis, implied previous sin. But he was also filled with compassion for these poor sinners, many of whom were, he thought, more sinned against than sinning, while others had perhaps only violated some difficult ordinance of the ritual law. He looked into their souls, and saw, or thought

he saw, characters which were not in themselves essentially wicked; characters which were capable of, as they were supremely worth, a moral and religious regeneration. Combining these factors, we may understand how Jesus came to say, 'Thy sins are forgiven'; he says it as the human messenger of God; he says it because he knows that he can prove it (by his healing), and because he believes that the healing and forgiveness are part of the mission which God has entrusted to him at this supreme moment of the history of his race. (Doubtless *Mark* means more than a sense of mere delegation. 'Mark did not intend that Jesus was a mere announcer of the divine forgiveness, but that Jesus of himself forgave sins' (Klostermann).) But the Scribes could not appreciate this, nor was it unreasonable on their part to disbelieve it. Even miracles were suspicious, and might have other origins than the will of God. Thus their integrity was no less than the integrity of Jesus, though, as with other reformers and apostles, he could not appreciate them, and they could not appreciate him. Each side called the other bad names, and from one point of view each, and from another point of view neither, was justified in doing so. If, of course, Jesus said the words in verse 10, and really meant by the Son of man himself, then the justification of the Scribes would become all the greater. For then it would have to be admitted that Jesus does not speak as if he were the mere mouthpiece of God. He does not even say that God has 'delegated' to him the divine power of forgiveness. He seems to assert it, without qualification or explanation, as a sort of native right, an authority inherent in himself. Such a claim could hardly have failed to have been regarded by the Scribes as blasphemous.

It may perhaps be worth while to note that Menzies is wrong when he thinks the reason why the Scribes were indignant was because they thought sin could only be forgiven by offering a sacrifice and having absolution formally pronounced by the priest. This misrepresents the Rabbinic religion and even the Priestly Code of the Pentateuch. Deliberate sin could not be forgiven by a sacrifice; nor did its forgiveness need sacrifice, whether in Jerusalem or in Galilee. The entire ground of opposition to Jesus was that he claimed to himself the exclusive prerogative of God. It had nothing to do with sacrifice.

An equally large error is made by Pfleiderer, who, in spite of all his splendid learning, is not without his share of the usual German Protestant prejudices about the 'legal,' 'outward' religion of the Pharisees and the Rabbis. Pfleiderer says that, according to the Pharisaic idea, God Himself could not forgive from free grace, 'but allows every sin to be paid off and worked off by good works

and expiatory sufferings.' This sounds almost grotesque to those who know something about the inner reality of the Pharisaic and 'legal' religion from the age of Jesus to the present day. It is a calumny to say that what Jesus said and did was in full accordance with the religion of the prophets and the Psalms, but in full contradiction to the 'legal' religion of the Pharisees (*Urchristentum*, I. p. 636). Nothing can be proved by more abundant and overwhelming evidence than that the conception of God as forgiving from free grace was a fundamental and familiar feature of the Pharisaic religion, just as it still remains so. The only question at issue between Jesus and the Rabbis was whether any *man* had the power to say, 'Thy sins are forgiven.' That God constantly forgave, that forgiveness was His usual, if exclusive *métier*, was universally believed. See further, Additional Note 8.

10. Mark makes Jesus here use the expression Son of man as a synonym for himself. But Jesus does not elsewhere (except in ii. 28) so use the term in Mark before the scene at Cæsarea Philippi, and then only to the Twelve. Yet here, if by Son of man we are to understand Messiah, he suddenly lifts the veil, which still surrounds him, even for his disciples, in the very presence of his adversaries. To avoid this difficulty, and for many other reasons, it is supposed by some theologians, among whom Schmidt and W. are prominent, that what Jesus really said was that men (in this case himself) can have the power and authority (given or delegated by God) to declare the forgiveness of sin. The Scribes hold that such forgiveness is God's exclusive and never delegated prerogative, whereas Jesus avers that men may on occasion be entrusted with the power, and that as a matter of fact he has the power, as he can and will proceed to show by removing the paralysis. Jesus, speaking in Aramaic (so runs the argument), used the customary expression 'son of man,' which, however, in Aramaic merely means 'man.' The translator, however, of an Aramaic original into Greek, translated the phrase too literally, and thereby inaccurately. Moreover, the translator did not appreciate or share the doctrine which Jesus enunciated. He agreed so far with the Scribes in holding that, *with one exception*, there was and could be no man who could forgive sins. That exception was Jesus himself. Hence the translator thought that when Jesus said 'Son of man' he could not have meant simply 'man,' but must have meant himself, Jesus, the Messiah. Hence he must have used the term 'Son of man' as a synonym for himself as the human and yet divine Messiah. This view of the passage is supported by the argument that as in Aramaic 'son of man' habitually means 'man,' the Scribes, if Jesus meant by it something special or mysterious,

could only have inferred by the connection or context in which the term was used that it was intended to bear a quite special signification. But there is no such connection or context here to have enabled them to make such an inference. The context here, it is urged, does not afford the smallest necessity to deviate from the usual meaning, because the words 'man has power on earth to forgive sins' in opposition to the words 'only God in heaven can forgive sins' yield an excellent sense. And since the Scribes could only have understood Jesus's words in this sense, Jesus himself can only have meant them in this sense, if he had not the intention to lead his auditors astray and to conceal his thoughts by his speech. It is urged that the original meaning and intention of the phrase 'son of man' and of the utterance of Jesus in this place are, oddly enough, still preserved in Matt. ix. 8, where we read: 'When the multitudes saw it, they were afraid, and glorified God, who had given such power unto *men*.' The meaning is not that *every* man has the power or authority to announce the forgiveness of sins, but that some men may or can have the power. Thus argue Schmidt and Wellhausen ingeniously in support of their opinion that Jesus did not use the term 'son of man' to mean himself as Messiah. Schmidt seeks to strengthen his argument by quoting Matt. xviii. 18, where Jesus enjoins upon his disciples 'to exercise this blessed privilege of assuring their fellowmen of the pardon of their sins when their disposition should justify them in doing so' (*Prophet of Nazareth*, p. 107). But this passage is found only in Matthew and is of doubtful authenticity, and does not mean exactly what Schmidt supposes.

In spite, however, of the curious words in Matt. ix. 8 (the weight of which must duly be acknowledged), the argument deduced from this particular story does not seem to me convincing. Surely the real point at issue between the Scribes and Jesus was not as to the possible powers of man, but as to the actual powers of Jesus himself. Jesus is not concerned to champion the possible powers and prerogatives of exceptional men as men; he is concerned to champion and prove his own. He wants to prove that *he* has power to forgive sin, and surely not as man (this is too modern an idea), but as the commissioned officer and delegate of God, perhaps even definitely as the Messiah. It is not unreasonable to suppose that, if anything resembling this tale really happened in the early days of his ministry, Jesus should have said, 'To show you that *I* have power to forgive sins, I say to this man,' &c., and that afterwards 'Son of man,' when it became a recognized title for Jesus, was substituted in the written account of the story for 'I.' But it seems to me improbable that Jesus, at such a juncture and moment, wanted and meant to assert that man, or some men, or

specially privileged men, as apart from, or in addition to, himself, possessed the power and the right of forgiveness.

A further consideration of the passage suggests the same conclusion. For the story cannot be regarded as if it were a stenographic report of what actually occurred. The 'Scribes sitting there'—to hand, as part of the stage scenery, whenever wanted—make one a little suspicious, the supernatural knowledge shown by Jesus in verse 8 no less so. The miracle of healing is used as a proof of Jesus's divinely given power to pardon sins. The original historic story may have been limited to such an act of healing. If, indeed, the view were correct that Jesus spoke not of his own special power to forgive sin, but of *man's* power, the talk with the Scribes might be historic. But it should be noted that the miracle of the healing which proves the power of forgiveness can hardly be regarded as within the range of general human capacity. Because Jesus is invested with the divine power of working a miracle, therefore it is reasonable that he should claim and possess the power of forgiveness of sins. Hence it would seem as if Jesus grounded his power and right to forgive sins, not on the fact that such a power was within the range of man's capacity and privileges, but because he had special power, above the power of man. Schmidt, indeed, thinks that we have here one of those startling sayings which, by ascribing to man such unusual prerogatives or powers, helped to bring about the erroneous identification of *Bar nasha* (Son of man) with 'Jesus.' Like W., he argues that to the Scribes *Bar nasha* (Son of man) could only have meant 'man,' but this argument can be met either (with Fiebig) by holding that Jesus purposely used a term of himself (*i.e.* 'the Man') which by others could be misinterpreted (an unsatisfactory explanation), or (with Wrede) by holding that the conversation, in the *exact* words here recorded, did not take place. Matt. ix. 8 doubtless remains a difficulty, but I find it still more difficult to believe that Jesus would have claimed for man, and not for himself alone, in virtue of his special mission and office, the power of forgiving sins. In a magazine article to which I have lost the reference, M. Loisy took the same line. 'Conçoit-on si aisément que Jésus ait revendiqué pour tous les hommes le pouvoir de remettre les péchés? La dispute n'a de sens que s'il parle de lui-même comme Fils de l'homme.' And Holtzmann points out that the power to forgive sins is connected with the power to work miracles. The latter is the greater power in the eyes of those addressed; it is a power exceeding the usual powers of man, a power only belonging to an exceptional man, and as such the Son of man (that is, the Messiah) is regarded. Moreover, Jesus does not say, '*I* forgive you your sins,' but (maintaining the

exclusive rights of God), 'Your sins are forgiven.' He speaks as the confidant (*Vertrauter*) of God, as the proclaimer of His grace and love, as the bearer of His revelation. The old Hebrew prophets also announced forgiveness of sins, speaking in the name of God.

Dr Drummond, however, holds that Jesus on this occasion did make 'this high claim on behalf of mankind.' The authority to forgive is by Jesus 'included among the prerogatives of mankind, which each man must exercise according to the nature and extent of his gift.' Dr Drummond goes on to say, 'The look that pierces the heart, the gentle words of forgiveness, may heal the suffering of a sinful life, even as Christ healed the sinful woman whom the Pharisees, scandalised at this contact with sin and tampering with the rights of God, would have driven to despair and ruin. How many die in their sins because men take upon themselves not to forgive? He who lives with a holy piety in his heart is, wherever he goes, a dispenser of divine grace, and pronounces forgiveness with a God-given authority. Scribes and Pharisees may call this blasphemy if they please; but such, I believe, was the thought of Christ' ('Use and Meaning of the phrase "Son of Man" in the Synoptic Gospels,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1901, pp. 539–571). What are we to say to this doctrine? I am inclined to think it is too modern. 'Forgiveness' to a Jew of the age of Jesus, and even to Jesus himself, had a human and a divine side. One man could forgive the wrong which another had done to him. That side of forgiveness is not here in question. On its divine side forgiveness meant the abrogation of the present or future result of the sin upon the doer. In some cases, therefore, it meant that man was not to be 'punished' or 'annihilated' after death; in others, as in the story before us, it meant that the present consequence of sin (in this case the man's paralysis) would be removed. Either of these meanings lay within the divine sphere.

Nevertheless, Dr Drummond's remarks are not without justification. It is not too modern to suppose that Jesus so profoundly pitied certain kinds of 'sinners,' and that his insight into the recuperative capacities of the soul was so keen, that he was able by his encouragement and sympathy to awaken their sense of the redemptive love of God and of hitherto unsuspected powers of moral regeneration. He hated sin, but he loved the sinner. It is, to some extent, a question of words. If Jesus said: 'Your sin is forgiven, lead a new life from now,' it meant, perhaps, much the same as if a modern disciple of his were to say, 'Do not think yourself an outcast from God's pity or God's love. Do not think yourself an outcast from human pity and human love. You *can* lead a better life: God will *help* you to do so. Forget the evil past, and we will forget too. We will forgive you, so far as our

human action and love are concerned, and if you start afresh, God, I feel sure, will also forgive your past iniquity.' If a man spoke thus to-day—and spoke thus from his heart and not merely from his lips—spoke with all the magic of a strong and loving personality, would there be so much difference between his words and what we may conjecture to have been the meaning of Jesus, if the *kind of* words attributed to him in verse 5 be authentic? If 5 *a*–10 are an interpolation, it is obvious that the interpolator meant Son of man to be interpreted as a synonym of the Messiah. And, on the whole, it does seem as if the intended reasoning of the passage made this view, in any case, more probable. In his Commentary Loisy is still of this opinion. 'The argument supposes that the formula "Son of man" means Jesus, that it is not a mere equivalent for the personal pronoun, that it signifies the character in which the Christ guarantees the remission of sins and that it must have been intelligible to his hearers. The theory of Mark on the pre-ordained obduracy of the Jews makes it unnecessary for him to explain why the Scribes did not understand. The formula is therefore necessary to the plan of the discourse; and it is the whole discourse which appears under suspicious conditions' (*E. S.* I. p. 480). It must be confessed that Jesus does not elsewhere in Mark ascribe to himself the power to forgive sins in the same direct and authoritative form. Apart from the Messianic difficulty which the passage raises there is thus this further one (unless it be interpreted on the lines of Wellhausen). For, as Loisy justly says, 'la rémission des péchés par le Christ rentre plus naturellement dans le cycle des idées chrétiennes que dans l'enseignement de Jésus' (*E. S.* I. p. 476).

11. There is no doubt, as Loisy says, that 11 *b* would hook and fit on well to 5 *a*. 'Jesus seeing their faith says to the paralyzed man: I say to thee, rise, take up thy bed and go home.' The construction of the whole passage is rather awkward. Jesus begins, in addressing the Scribes, a sentence which he ends in addressing the paralyzed man. The commentators say, remarks Loisy, in his ironic manner: '*Trait pris sur le vif!*' But this supposed 'vivacity' of the narrative is more probably a 'gaucherie' of the redactor.

'At the bidding of Jesus, the sick man arises, takes up his bed, and goes out in the presence of the astonished assembly. Everybody is amazed and God is glorified for such a wonder. Mark sums up the general impression in the words "We never saw anything like this before." A very natural expression in such extraordinary circumstances, and the more appropriate here because, in the second Gospel, Jesus has as yet done no such startling miracle at

Capernaum and in public. No one takes notice of the use of the Messianic title or of the claim to forgive sins, a claim which the miracle is considered to have justified. The conclusion of the story has reference only to the beginning, as if the healing alone, and not the Messiah and his prerogatives, had been in question. It would seem, therefore, that the Messianic argument has been added to a narrative which was already fixed in tradition and even in a written account' (*E. S.* I. p. 480).

If Loisy is right, much of the disputations upon the passage would become superfluous. It may be then that Jesus never ascribed to himself the power—even the delegated power—to forgive sins. At any rate, this is the only place in Mark where he asserts or employs this power. Difficult indeed it is to resolve the problems of the Gospels and of the life of Jesus. And much may turn upon the authenticity of a single verse! We have already noticed a reason for supposing that the insertion of 5 *b*–10—if insertion it be—must have been already added to the story in the 'source' whence Mark took his narration. Moreover, as the story is the first of the series in which Mark describes conflicts of Jesus with the Pharisees, he would not have put it in this place unless the insertion which contains the conflict had already been there. But it is to be noted that it is the *first* of the series, and therefore the insertion might conceivably have been interpolated by the redactor.

13–17. The Call of Levi—Jesus eats with Sinners and Tax-collectors

(*Cp.* Matt. ix. 9–13; Luke v. 27–32)

13 And he went forth again by the lake side; and all the crowd
14 resorted unto him, and he taught them. And as he passed by, he saw Levi the son of Alphæus sitting at the tax house, and he said
15 unto him, 'Follow me.' And he arose and followed him. And it came to pass, that Jesus sat at table in his house, and many tax-collectors and sinners sat also with Jesus and his disciples: for
16 there were many who followed him. And when the scribes of the Pharisees saw him eat with tax-collectors and sinners, they said unto his disciples, 'Why does he eat with tax-collectors and
17 sinners?' And Jesus heard it and said unto them, 'The strong have no need of the physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but the sinners.'

13. 'He went forth again by the lake side.' A rather awkward formula of transition. He had 'gone forth' before (i. 25) and he had been 'by the lake side' before (i. 16): he had not gone forth to the lake before. The formula may be intended to show that Mark means us to understand that the incident he is about to tell was not connected in time with what has preceded. He is only about to give another example of conflict (B. Weiss, *Quellen*, B, p. 203). The conflict, perhaps also the call of Levi, which is now (probably only artificially) connected with it, happened at a later period in the ministry, but still at a time when Jesus was teaching publicly and widely popular.

14. 'Because of its situation near the borders of the tetrarchy of Herod Antipas, and its proximity to the road which led from the Mediterranean coast to Damascus, Capernaum possessed several toll stations occupied by numerous tax-collectors' (*E. S.* i. p. 483).

The call of Levi is related on the same lines as the call of the first four apostles. It betrays the same hand, says W., to which observation Loisy adds that this hand is not that of the 'rédacteur évangélique' *i.e.* of Mark. Mark had written sources.

Levi may have heard of Jesus and even been present at some of his teaching, before he was asked to be his disciple. His 'call' is related here (at whatever exact moment of the Galilæan ministry it may have happened) to serve as the introduction and explanation for the second 'conflict' with the Pharisees which is now to follow.

15. 'His house,' that is Levi's house; there is an interval between 14 and 15. Some think it doubtful whether 15 was originally connected with 13, 14, 'Ein Gastmahl im Hause des Levi fügt sich nicht lückenlos an 14 an, und das *οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι* 17 ('I came not to call') würde besonders gut passen, wenn Jesus selbst der Veranstalter des Mahles ist' (Klostermann). On the other hand, Jesus is never represented as having his own house or 'table' at Capernaum, so it remains most probable that the host is Levi. It is perhaps best with Weiss to make *ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοί* refer to the disciples and to put a full stop or colon after *αὐτῷ*. 'For they (the disciples) were many, and they followed him.' Who were the 'sinners'? For this question and its implications, see Additional Note 9.

16. 'Scribes of the Pharisees' is an odd term. Note that Scribes or Pharisees appear and disappear, just as the writer requires them. They are part of the stage property and scenery, like 'the house' and 'the mountain.' Here their presence is

improbable. Did they come unbidden to the banquet and look through the window? The story seems to lead up to the great saying of Jesus at its close. This, rather than the details of its mise-en-scène, must be regarded as 'perfectly authentic' (*E. S.* I. p. 108). And that Jesus did consort and eat with tax-collectors and sinners is, without doubt, quite historic. On the question of 'ceremonial defilement' in eating, see Additional Note 10.

17. The saying of Jesus very aptly describes a most important part of his character and ministry. He sought to bring back into glad communion with God those whom sin, whether real or imaginary, had driven away. For him sinners (at least certain types of sinners) were the subject, not of condemnation and disdain, but of pity. *He did not avoid sinners, but sought them out.* They were still children of God. This was a new and sublime contribution to the development of religion and morality. When tenderly nurtured women work in the streets of London, and seek to rescue the degraded victims of deception or cruelty, they are truly following in the footsteps of their Master. But it should be noted that there is nothing anti-Jewish in the bearing and teaching of Jesus in this matter. It is only a development of the best Old Testament teaching, and it fits in with the Rabbinic teaching upon repentance. But to deny the greatness and originality of Jesus in this connection, to deny that he opened a new chapter in men's attitude towards sin and sinners, is, I think, to beat the head against a wall.

Dr Carpenter is, I think, certainly right in urging that 'if every saying in the Sermon on the Mount could be found in the language of prophet or psalmist, of Rabbi or Scribe, we should still ask what teacher had shown the same passionate sympathy with the poor, the suffering, the sinful; who, before him, had sought them out and shared their meals?...what writer of apocalypses, portraying the great banquet of the Kingdom, had deliberately announced: "I am not come to invite the righteous, but sinners"?' (*First Three Gospels*, p. 363).

Nevertheless, the Rabbis would not have condemned Jesus merely because he cared for the outcast, the poor and the sinner. They too welcomed the *repentant* sinner. And they were intensely eager to relieve distress, to mitigate suffering. Any other description of them is untrue. But the Law of God came first. God came before themselves, and even before their neighbour. As Jesus says that a man for the sake of the Kingdom must on occasion leave his father or hate his mother, so they would have said that all other relationships must be put lower than the Law of God. If your father bids you transgress the Law, do not obey

him. The enactments by which they developed the written Law were not a benefit to themselves; they were honestly intended as a fence and honour to the Law. It is all very well to speak, as even Dr Carpenter does, of 'legal casuistry,' or of 'restraints of the Law' *versus* 'human need and human rights' (*op. cit.* p. 364). But should not God go before man? The Law was perfect, immutable, divine. God must know best; His commands must be perfect, must be divine. Was Jesus to be commended when he said that a man must on occasion hate his father, and are the Rabbis to be *merely* blamed if they say that a sick man whose life is not in danger must be cured on Sunday and not on Saturday, seeing that his cure involved what they, in all honesty and sincerity, believed to be an infraction of the divine Law? It is easy to speak of 'their sanctimonious piety' and of 'long-drawn pretence.' But how far more historic to suppose that Jesus, in his new and passionate enthusiasm, misunderstood his opponents! Jesus would not have been condemned and hated because he cared for the sick and the suffering and the sinful; he was condemned and hated because he violated the letter of the Law and justified the violation.

It is amusing that Holtzmann is careful to point out that Mark does not discuss or raise the question whether any righteous people really existed. Holtzmann, like Matthew, can hardly conceive that a righteous Pharisee or Scribe could have ever walked the earth! Even Jesus, in all the passionate one-sidedness of a religious reformer, hardly went so far as this. There may, however, lie in Jesus's words a certain irony: 'You are the righteous people, as you would fain believe, and therefore I need not call *you* to repentance: *you* need no doctor.' J. Weiss supposes that Jesus only said up to the word 'sick.'

For the current opinion of tax-gatherers and its origin, see Additional Note 11.

18–22. Fasting

(*Cp.* Matt. ix. 14–17; Luke v. 33–39)

18 And the disciples of John and the Pharisees used to fast. And some people came and said unto him, 'Why do the disciples of
19 John and of the Pharisees fast, but thy disciples fast not?' And Jesus said unto them, 'Can the wedding guests fast, while the bridegroom is with them? As long as they have the bridegroom
20 with them, they cannot fast. But the days will come, when the bridegroom will be taken away from them, and then they will fast in those days.

21 'No man seweth a piece of undressed cloth on to an old garment: for, if he do, the patch draggeth away from it, the new
22 from the old, and the rent is made worse. And no man poureth new wine into old wine skins: for, if he do, the wine doth burst the skins, and the wine is lost as well as the skins. [But new wine for new skins!]'

18. The first sentence, as W. notes, was probably added later. It is wanting in Matthew and Luke. The subject of *ἔρχονται* is an indefinite 'they,' 'some persons.' Moreover the Pharisees are not original to the story. They were added to make the story serve as the third 'conflict,' and because of 21 and 22 which concern them and not the 'disciples of John.' The odd phrase 'disciples of the Pharisees,' modelled on 'disciples of John' is also added. A comparison of Mark with Matthew would seem to show that originally the contrast was between the disciples of John and the disciples of Jesus. They who 'came' are to be distinguished from the disciples. They asked Jesus, 'Why do the disciples of John fast, and your disciples not fast?' (in spite of the fact that there was, perhaps, some relation or sympathy between the two leaders).

To what fasting is the writer here alluding? It can only, I presume, be to private and additional fasts, which were voluntarily undergone by individuals. It can scarcely refer to the public fasts of the community, and least of all to the obligatory fast upon the Day of Atonement. On the whole subject of private and public fasts and the Rabbinic attitude towards them, see Additional Note 12.

19, 20. The two verses hang together and are both of them allegorical. The bridegroom is Jesus, the Messiah. While he lives, the companions rejoice. When he is taken from them, they grieve. Fasting is only legitimate—if this application does not draw too much out of the words—when the heart is sorrowful, when it is the outward expression of inward grief. It has no value in itself. Is it intended to deny the worth of fasting as a religious act, as a good and holy work, an *opus operatum*, a legal *Leistung*? Quite possibly. But at this period of his ministry Jesus would or could not have thus foretold his own death. The hidden, yet obvious allusion to himself as the Messiah is strange, when we remember that it is not till much later that he speaks of his Messiahship and imminent death to the disciples.

If, with W., we suppose that after Jesus's death his disciples adopted the habit of fasting, the passage would provide a justifica-

tion for their deviation from the habits of the Master, and it would give authority to this justification by ascribing it to Jesus himself. But, as W. says, it does not seem likely, if he himself took up a hostile attitude towards fasting, that he would thus early have permitted a future change in the conduct of his disciples, or used so peculiar a justification.

The best explanation of the verses on the assumption of their substantial authenticity is to suppose that in 19 Jesus explains why his disciples reasonably do not fast, while in 20 he explains why those of John reasonably do. From *his* disciples John has been snatched away—he is in prison—and thus they have a good reason for fasting. So Loisy (in long detail) in *E. S.* I. pp. 496–499. In that case there is only parable and no allegory. The bridegroom is only a bridegroom, and he is not meant to be Jesus. One has also to suppose that the text was somewhat modified when the parable was interpreted as an allegory, and the bridegroom was supposed to be Jesus. Verse 20 would originally have run more like this, 'But if the bridegroom is taken away, then they fast.' The definite, 'The days will come when' &c., and 'in that day' would belong to the 'redaction.' Moreover ἀπαρθῇ ('taken away') would to the redactor refer to the death of Jesus; originally it did not mean death, and only referred to the arrest and imprisonment of John. On the whole W.'s interpretation seems simpler.

21, 22. These two verses are in reality quite independent of the preceding passage. They are of grave importance. 'The rule that one must patch an old garment with old cloth is not observed to-day, and seems to have been thought odd even by Luke. The meaning is clear. A rusty kettle goes wholly to pieces if you try to mend it. The old garment and the old wine-skins can hardly mean anything else than Judaism. Jesus does not oppose the Jewish people to the Kingdom of God, which comes without human interference, but he contrasts its present condition with that which he holds to be right, and for which he was already working; he lays down no rules of the divine activity, but of human action, and more clearly and especially of his own. The advanced radicalism of these rules or principles is very remarkable; practically he does not apply them. For, so far as he is concerned, he holds fast to Judaism and to the Old Testament. It is also very noteworthy that he declares the creation of new *forms* to be necessary, whereas in fact he left everything in this department to be devised by his community after his death. Yet we need not for this reason doubt the authenticity of the saying: there is much in the doings and sayings of Jesus which is for us inexplicable' (W.).

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In the connection in which the adages now stand they may be supposed to mean that the disciples of Jesus, as the representatives of a new religious tone, temper, and point of view, cannot usefully continue the old forms, such as fasting, which grew out of, and only suit, old and superseded religious views and presuppositions. J. Weiss thinks that originally the sayings may have been, however, intended as a warning against attempting to enforce the consequences of the new doctrine upon those who are as yet unable to receive them. Freedom might be dangerous to certain unprepared minds. The thought would then be like 1 Cor. viii. 10–13, Romans xiv. 13–23. But it seems unlikely that Jesus would have taken this line.

I will also add a passage from a note of Menzies, for these words of Jesus are so extremely important that it is well to know what the ablest commentators say of them. 'The movement Jesus has set on foot is a fresh and growing thing; it is impossible to set limits to its expansion, irrational to confine it to forms which were not made for it. The lofty consciousness of Jesus here finds expression, that as his gospel is one of joy, it is also one of freedom. He reverenced the forms of the religious life of his time, but he saw them to be inadequate to the new principle of which he was the herald to the world. He set no forms for his followers to observe: they can appeal to him for principles but not for forms.' I do not find very much from which I dissent in this note of Menzies, but I am doubtful whether Jesus was clearly conscious of any 'new principle.'

The passage gives rise to many reflections. It may be argued that Liberal Judaism in any of its forms is an attempt to patch the old with the new, to put new wine into old bottles. Is it impossible that many generations can observe the Passover, if men have ceased to believe in the miraculous passage of the Red Sea, or that God ordered the Israelites to eat unleavened bread? I think a good answer can be found, but the argument is serious, and needs most earnest consideration.

23–28. The Sabbath

(*Cp.* Matt. xii. 1–8; Luke vi. 1–5)

23 And it came to pass that he went through some corn fields on
the sabbath day; and his disciples began, as they went, to pluck
24 the ears of corn. And the Pharisees said unto him, 'See, how they
25 do what is not permitted on the sabbath day!' And he said unto
them, 'Have ye never read what David did, when he had need,

26 and he and they that were with him were hungry? How he went
into the house of God, while Abiathar was high priest, and ate the
shewbread, which only the priests may eat, and how he gave it
27 also to them who were with him?' And he said unto them, 'The
28 sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath: there-
fore the Son of man is lord also of the sabbath.'

The fourth conflict. B. Weiss, *Quellen*, A, pp. 148–153, would assign this story also to Q, but his arguments are not convincing.

23. 'The story, placed as it is somewhere near the shore of the Sea of Galilee, implies a date somewhere in April or May' (Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its transmission*, p. 80, n. 1). The crucifixion took place a year after this date. How long Jesus had taught before it is uncertain.

24. For the reason why plucking the ears would be a violation of the Sabbath, see Additional Note 13.

25. The first justification which Jesus gives for the conduct of his disciples is a strange one, for there is nothing to show that they were in real straits for food. The analogy seems, therefore, strained. The reference is to the story in 1 Samuel xxi. 1–6. Abiathar is a mistake for Ahimelech. It is not intended to argue that if David acted in a certain way and violated the Law, *a fortiori* may a greater than David do so.

27, 28. The second justification is quite different. As the Evangelist understood it, it means that Jesus, as the Messiah, is allowed and empowered to violate upon adequate occasion the regulations about Sabbath observance. For the Sabbath was given to man for man's sake, for his benefit and joy; it was not intended that man should be the slave of the Sabbath, and suffer because of it.

The argument is supposed by some commentators to become more logical if we assume that originally 'Son of man' in the conclusion meant merely 'man.' 'So man is lord of the Sabbath.' The same questions are raised here as in ii. 1–12. Was it meant that *man* has, or rather that some men have, the power to forgive sins and to break the Sabbath law, or that only the Messiah has this power?

The καὶ in 28 is best rendered by 'even.' The Messiah includes in his authority power over the Sabbath. Or, according to the other interpretation, 'even of so important an institution as the Sabbath man has, or may have, control.' I do not think

that the argument is *necessarily* illogical even if Jesus did here use 'Son of man,' or rather 'the Man,' to mean himself as the Messiah. For if the Sabbath was made for man, it is reasonable enough that '*the* man,' the divine or semi-divine or divinely commissioned ruler of men, should be its arbiter and lord. If Jesus did not use the term 'Son of man' to mean himself, did he then say: 'Therefore *I* am lord of the Sabbath day'? This is improbable, and we must in that case assume either that Schmidt (*Prophet of Nazareth*, pp. 108, 109) and W. are right, or that the whole sentence (*i.e.* verse 28) is later than Jesus. And, indeed, this last supposition seems, perhaps, on the whole the most probable. 27 is authentic; 28 is added and unauthentic. For, as Loisy says, if 'son of man' in 28 means merely 'man,' why is 'son of man' not used instead of 'man' in 27, or 'man' instead of 'son of man' in 28? Again, while 27 continues the thought of 26, 28 does not. Because the Sabbath was made for man, therefore the violation of it mentioned in 26 was justifiable (as the Rabbis say, 'God's commands were given for man to live by'). The general principle of 27 confirms and explains the example of 26. From the fact that man was not made for the Sabbath, it follows that man can be dispensed from its observance, when that observance, instead of doing him good, would do him harm, not that the Messiah has the right to dispense men from its observance. Jesus does not appear to claim authority over the commands of the Law in virtue of his Messiahship. He seems to allow to every man the right to interpret the Sabbath law like himself. But he would not have said that man is 'maître du Sabbat institué par Dieu.' So 28 seems 'surajoutée' (*E. S.* I. p. 512).

The Rabbinical literature contains a similar saying to that of verse 27, which is only found in Mark. For the wording of it, as well as for some remarks upon the Rabbinic observance of the Sabbath, see Additional Note 13.

So far as we can gather, Jesus's attitude towards the Sabbath was something like the attitude of Liberal Judaism to-day. It must be observed rather in the spirit than in the letter. The regulations for its observance must not be allowed to destroy its intention. Directly the Sabbath becomes a burden the object of the Sabbath is frustrated. The aim is the important point: how precisely we carry out the aim is less important. Nevertheless, one must not push the antithesis between Jesus and the Rabbinic teaching too far. Gould, for instance, goes too far when he says: 'The old religion attempted to regulate conduct by rules and forms, the new by principles and motives, and these are foreign one to the other....Judaism is a system of rules, Christianity of principles. And so far as the Sabbath is a rule, that is, so far as it is Jewish,

Jesus does abrogate it in these words.' Judaism is not without principles, however much Christianity may be devoid of rules. The antithesis reads nicely, but is, in point of fact, untrue.

It is, moreover, a remarkable fact that, in spite of the many restrictions and regulations, the Sabbath was upon the whole a joy and a blessing to the immense majority of Jews throughout the Rabbinic period. Yet this fact does not detract from the greatness and originality of Jesus. His teaching is an excellent counterbalance to that casuistic minuteness which is the danger of legalism. It is emancipating; it enables one to breathe freely. In modern times, at any rate, and with modern ideas, the Sabbath can hardly be observed except on the lines suggested by Jesus.

It is, however, to be noted that Jesus does not say that the law forbidding a man to pick corn upon the Sabbath was merely Rabbinic, and not Biblical. He does not say that to pick corn is not 'work.' He does in a subsequent passage distinguish between the Biblical laws and the Rabbinical or traditional laws, but here he takes higher ground. He seems, as Menzies says, to concede that a breach of the Law has taken place; only it is an excusable and proper breach, and may be taken to illustrate the higher principle according to which the Sabbath should be observed.

Further Note on the 'Son of Man.'

It may be desirable to append here some general remarks upon the important term 'the Son of man,' and upon its meaning and usage in the Synoptic Gospels. The subject is one of fascination and of difficulty. For the meaning of the term is greatly disputed, and quite a large literature has come into being about it. It is impossible to give more than a bare outline of the discussion and of the problem (which has far-reaching implications) in this place.

The term 'the Son of man' is in the New Testament (with one exception, Acts vii. 56) only found in the Gospels, and there it is exclusively put in the mouth of Jesus as a designation of himself, or, possibly, of the Messiah or of some mysterious, heavenly Being. It is never used of Jesus by anybody else or by the Evangelists themselves.

The term as used in the Gospels undoubtedly often goes back to, or has some relation with, a famous passage in Daniel vii. 13. There in one of the visions of the Day of Judgment, which are found in that earliest of the apocalyptic writings, it is said: 'And behold there came with (or 'on') the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, and he came even unto the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before Him. And there was given him dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all the peoples,

nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.' The book of Daniel was written about 165 B.C., during the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes. Before Daniel we find the prophet Ezekiel addressed over and over again as son of man. In this usage it is merely a poetical synonym for 'man.' It is intended to emphasise the frail humanity of the prophet in contradistinction to the God who addresses him. It is as much a synonym for 'man' as when we read in the eighth Psalm, 'What is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou visitest him?' In Daniel too 'one like unto a son of man' means merely 'one like unto a man,' but the question is, who is this man? It is usually said that the figure symbolizes Israel, or 'the faithful kernel of Israel,' and this still seems a very probable explanation. Some scholars suppose that it means an angel, or, specifically, the angel Michael, the guardian of Israel, and some that it means the Messiah. Anyway, it is very probable that the passage and the figure were soon Messianically interpreted. In the book of Enoch, an apocalyptic compilation, not the work of one writer or of one date, the term 'son of man' constantly occurs in one particular section. Here there can be little doubt that it means the Messiah, and that he is conceived as a supernatural being, pre-existent in heaven before his appearance upon earth, and different from the old purely human monarch of Isaiah xi. He is very distinct and different from God, but he is more than 'a mere man.' The date of this section of Enoch is disputed, but is most probably pre-Christian. Some scholars, however, like Dr Carpenter, think that the language of the section 'is under strong suspicion of interpolation by Christian hands.' But this is not the prevailing view. Professor Toy says: 'The conception of the heavenly man in Enoch is one of the most grandiose in literature. A splendid being of heavenly origin stands by the side of God, and is by him invested with supreme authority in the world. He was chosen before the foundation of the world, has existed from the beginning, but is to be revealed to men only when the time of consummation shall arrive, when he will intervene to judge the world, to punish the wicked, and to establish the righteous in perfect, never-ending felicity. He is a man, but a glorious celestial man, the renewer and regenerator of the world, the introducer of the final age of perfection when all the inequalities and ills of life shall be abolished for the righteous. With this description the portraiture of the Son of man in the Gospels literally agrees. He sits at the right hand of power, and at the decisive moment comes in clouds of glory, gathers his chosen ones from all the world, dispenses rewards and

punishments, sums up human history, and ushers in the final scheme of things. Such passages in the New Testament testify to the fact that in the generation following the death of Jesus he was identified with the Enoch figure, the Enoch eschatology was attached to his person, and utterances in accordance with this conception were put into his mouth. At the same time he was identified with the Old Testament Messiah, and his purely human experiences were interpreted as fulfilments of Old Testament predictions. From these two sources the person of Jesus, as it appears in the Synoptic Gospels and in certain other New Testament writings, was constructed.' Prof. Toy thinks that it is unlikely that the conception of the Heavenly Man in Enoch is of Christian origin. Its starting point is Daniel vii., but in Enoch the celestial figure is represented much more distinctly as an individual, and 'as far above any angel.' 'Such divinization of man' [does it really go so far?] 'is probably to be ascribed to the Greek atmosphere in which the Jews of the first century B.C. lived. It was not adopted by the Judaism of the succeeding time' ('What Christianity owes to Judaism,' in *Addresses before the New York State Conference of Religion*, Series VI. No. 1, Feb. 1908, pp. 29–32). In the fourth (or as it is also called the second) book of Esdras the figure of the 'son of man' reappears, but this book was written many years after Jesus and even after Mark. It remains, therefore, not definitely provable, whether from apocalyptic or Rabbinic sources, that the phrase was used by any contemporaries of Jesus as a designation of the Messiah, though, as Dr Carpenter says, 'the possibility must be admitted. And the language of Paul concerning the Second Man from heaven points to a doctrine of some kind of heavenly type' (*First Three Gospels*, p. 83, n. 1).

As to the use of the term in the Synoptic Gospels there are two main theories.

The first is that the historic Jesus never used the phrase of himself, and that the Gospel usage is inaccurate and unhistoric. The second is that he did use it of himself, though by no means necessarily in all the places in which it is at present ascribed to him.

The first theory has two main forms. The first form regards the Greek words 'Son of man' as a mistranslation of the Aramaic *bar nasha*. *Bar nasha* is literally 'son of man,' but it is an Aramaic idiom simply meaning 'man.' So in Hebrew *ben adam* is a poetic equivalent for 'man.' The first theory, then, in its first form, holds that in Aramaic, and, moreover, in the Aramaic of Jesus and his contemporaries, *bar nasha* was not a poetical synonym for 'man,' but a frequent, ordinary idiomatic usage, meaning just simply 'man.'

How, then, did it come about that a phrase meaning 'man' was, in certain passages only, translated into Greek by '*Son of man*'? Why was this mistranslation limited to passages spoken by Jesus?

The reply is not quite satisfactory. Still, even if the theory in its first form is true, there may be no *quite* satisfactory reply possible. Schmidt's answer in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* is that in certain passages in an old apocalypse, fathered later upon Jesus, there was a prediction (based upon Daniel vii. 13: 'There came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man') of a mysterious Man coming on the clouds at the Day of Judgment or at the advent of the Messianic age. Mark xiii. 26 is the primary reference ('Then they shall see the Son of the man coming in clouds with great power and glory'). This apocalyptic prediction was in the Greek translated 'the Son of the man,' partly under the influence of the mysterious figure of Daniel, and partly because it was believed that the more elaborate translation heightened the mystery. In the Septuagint translation of Daniel 'Son of man' has no articles, either before 'Son' or before 'man,' and this may have been the case originally in the apocalypse which is the basis of Mark xiii. But this apocalyptic 'Son of man' was rapidly identified with Daniel's 'Son of man,' and then with Jesus. Hence the starting-point was given for Jesus to be made to call himself the Son of man. Moreover, as Jesus had spoken of man generically in startling terms on some four or five occasions, it was believed that what he had said of man (*bar nasha*) he could only have meant of *one* man—*i.e.* of himself. Hence in these passages 'Son of man' (with the implication that 'Son of man' was a title which he called himself) was used to replace 'man.' If in four or five passages 'Son of man' was used to mean 'Jesus,' it was easy to extend the number. In genuine utterances of Jesus, the Son of man could and would be substituted for the personal pronoun, while in unauthentic passages, more especially in mysterious and apocalyptic predictions, the term would be all the more willingly used. It would heighten the mystery.

The other form of the first theory would admit that in *some* places where 'Son of man' occurs it *is* a substitution for 'man' (*i.e.* that in these places, Mark ii. 10 *e.g.*, the phrase originally meant 'man,' not 'Jesus'), but to this explanation it would add another—namely, that in other places 'Son of man' was, following Daniel and Enoch, used to mean the Messiah, or, at any rate, a distinct semi-human, semi-divine individual. Hence when Jesus, or passages ascribed to Jesus, spoke of the coming of this mysterious being, the passages mean what they say, only they did not mean to the original speaker or writers (*though they do mean to the*

Evangelists) Jesus himself. Jesus, or the writers of the passages, meant a being other than he, a great semi-divine Being, perhaps the Messiah. Thus in some places 'Son of man' meant originally merely 'man,' while in others it meant the special, heavenly Man, the 'Man upon the cloud,' the fore-runner, perchance, of the Messiah, or the Messiah himself (*cp.* the quotation from Prof. Toy, cited on p. 95).

Again, it is specially noticeable that in Mark the phrase 'Son of man' is not used by Jesus of himself (except twice) till after the scene at Cæsarea Philippi, where he acknowledges his Messiahship. The term grows in its use by Jesus. Mark has it fourteen times, Matthew thirty, Luke twenty-five. Moreover, omitting the use of it in Mark ii. 10, 28, we have the further fact that, with one possible exception (Mark x. 45), it is used by Mark only in passages in which Jesus speaks of his coming death, resurrection, or Parousia. Jesus does not commonly use it as a *mere* synonym for 'I.' This fact seems to show that the use of it must have started, as it were, at that end. If its origin is in Mark xiii. 26, and if it is pre-Christian, it might gradually become thrown further back in its usage by the Evangelists. That existing apocalyptic documents do not show clearly that 'Son of man' was used as a synonym for Messiah is no certain proof that in some circles it was not so used. If an apocalypse which included a passage like Mark xiii. 26 (the coming of the Heavenly Man in glory), was put into the mouth of Jesus, the Son of man would soon be supposed to mean himself, and then it might be naturally used by him to signify himself in such passages, where events are spoken of which were to *lead up to* his own coming in glory—*i.e.* his betrayal, death and resurrection. It would be a further step when, as in Matthew and Luke, the term becomes sometimes a synonym for 'I.'

But many difficulties remain; especially the grave difficulty why 'Son of man' is only used *by* Jesus himself, and never *of* him by others or by the Evangelists.

So we are led on to the second main theory which holds that Jesus *did*, at one time of his life, at any rate, speak of himself occasionally as the Son of man. It must, however, be admitted that this theory too is *also* open to objections. It is strange that in the Epistles of Paul no allusion is made to this title. It is also strange that Jesus in the Gospels never explains it, and yet that its use seems to cause no special surprise.

It must also be admitted that no wholly satisfactory explanation of the reason why Jesus used the term to mean himself has ever yet been given. The suggestions that he used it to indicate that he was the ideal man, or that he sympathised with lowly

humanity, or that he was not a political Messiah, and so on, are all fraught with grave objections. No less questionable seem the suggestions according to which he used the term in some sort of composite sense—ideal man, suffering servant, representative of humanity, united together under the idea of Messiahship. Difficult again is the view that Jesus gave the term 'a varying application according to circumstances,' which is elaborated by Dr Drummond. None of these explanations seem to explain why the term is not only closely connected with the figure in Daniel, but is mainly used by Jesus in passages which deal with his death, resurrection, and Parousia.

It is another question whether, if Jesus did not call himself Son of man, he did not claim to be Messiah. Schmidt thinks that the second negative follows from the first, but this is by no means the case.

The vexed question has, perhaps, entered into a fresh stage by the researches of Gressman on the origins of Jewish eschatology. Gressman fully admits that 'the son of man' meant in Aramaic merely 'the man.' He further argues that since the Septuagint renders the Hebrew '*ben adam*' by *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* (son of man), we may assume that in the 'Greek jargon' of the Alexandrian Jews *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* (son of man) was completely synonymous with *ἄνθρωπος* (man), and that the same will have been the case with the Greek-speaking Palestinians. But he gives grounds for believing that 'The Man' was a current appellation of an old apocalyptic figure. This figure was not invented by the author of Daniel, but was borrowed by that author from old apocalyptic traditions and material, and identified with the people of Israel. The figure in Enoch and Ezra iv. was not merely elaborated from Daniel (any more than it was merely elaborated from Daniel in the old apocalypse contained in Mark xiii.); it was borrowed and elaborated from current apocalyptic material. 'The Man' was a shortened form of some longer original; perhaps 'the first man.' 'The' is emphatic: 'The Man' is the well-known, mysterious, heavenly Man, with special functions predetermined for him at the Last Judgment. He is not of Jewish origin, but borrowed by Jewish writers from foreign apocalyptic material and tradition. He is a parallel figure to the Messiah, but of quite different origin. The Messiah is an earthly, the Son of man a heavenly figure. Yet they could easily become identified or confused with each other, just as in Daniel the Son of man is identified with Israel. As the functions of the Messiah at the Last Judgment and in the new age became more exalted, it was all the easier to identify or combine him with the apocalyptic figure of the 'Son of man,' or rather of 'the Man.'

If all this be accurate, the following deductions emerge. If

Jesus spoke about 'the Man,' he might have been understood by all who had heard of the current apocalyptic traditions and conceptions. He may have used the term to signify a being other than himself, or he may have used it of himself as the Messiah. If he did not believe himself to be the Messiah, or before he had come to the conclusion that he was the Messiah, he may have distinguished 'the Man' from himself, and a reflection of this usage may perhaps be still seen in those passages where in one clause he uses the personal pronoun, in the second the Son of man (as if he and the Son of man were not identical). But if and when he felt himself to be the Messiah, he can only have meant by 'the Man,' when and if he used the term, himself. Lastly, it may now be found in many places and passages in the Synoptics where Jesus did not employ it himself. Each occasion must be judged on its own merits. The fact that the term is never applied *of* Jesus, but always only used *by* him, is a good argument in favour of the view that he did actually employ it.

We must, indeed, admit that we can trace within the Synoptics themselves the growth of the application of the term to Jesus. Thus in Luke vi. 22, where Matthew has 'me,' Luke has 'Son of man,' and the same is the case in Luke xii. 8. Again, in Mark viii. 27 Jesus says: 'Who do they say I am?' (and so in Luke ix. 18), whereas Matthew has, 'Who do they say that the Son of man is?'

In his last book (*The Prophet of Nazareth*) Schmidt has again reiterated his arguments that Jesus never claimed to be the Messiah, and never used 'Son of man' or 'the Man,' whether of himself or not of himself. Of passages where Son of man occurs, some four or five only go back, as he thinks, to authentic sayings of Jesus, but in each of these cases not Jesus, and not the Messiah, but man generally, is meant. These cases are Mark ii. 10 and 28, Matthew viii. 20 and xii. 32, and a passage at the root of the present predictions of suffering and death. Of these passages the suggested interpretation is most likely in Mark ii. 10 and 28 (human power to forgive sins; man lord of the Sabbath). In Matthew viii. 20 and xii. 32 it seems to me most improbable (*cp.* the notes on these verses), while the view that Jesus said, when death began to appear to him as a possible issue of his career, 'man must pass away' (Mark xiv. 21), and added, 'but he will rise again' (Mark ix. 31), seems exceedingly strained. (*Prophet of Nazareth*, pp. 118, 125.)

One further difficulty to the view that Jesus used the term Son of man to mean himself may, however, here be added. For was not 'the Man' a more exalted and half-divine being than the historic Jesus thought himself to be? If Jesus claimed to be the Messiah—and I still think he did—was not his conception of the

Messiah humbler (if more spiritual)? Was it not in *that* respect nearer to the old Messiah of the prophets or to the servant of Isaiah l. and liii.? We may perhaps get over *this* difficulty in the following way. In the later months of his short ministry Jesus may have come to believe not only that God had invested him with a lofty office (though it was the greatness of service), but also that if in the discharge of that office he must encounter death, he would be transformed, or raised, after death into the veritable Son of man of the apocalyptic seers. There is a certain attractiveness in Schweitzer's theory that Jesus gradually identified himself with the heavenly Son of man, who was also the Messiah, and that he believed he would be transformed into that super-earthly being. But it is surely inaccurate to say that at that time the Messiah was *generally* regarded as an 'übernatürliche Persönlichkeit.' Reimarus, whom Schweitzer has now made many of us read, with his insistence upon the old 'political' or theocratic Messiahship, is not, in truth, so easily disposed of.

In his excellent and informing pamphlet, *The Messianic Consciousness of Jesus* (1907), the veteran scholar, H. J. Holtzmann, has investigated the subject anew. We see from his book, and from the survey of opinions which he gives, how widespread is the desire to dissociate Jesus from anything Jewish. The Jewish Messiah is depressed and depreciated, and Jesus is magnified and exalted. He must, so far as possible, be kept free from all contact with what is Jewish, and specially from the contamination of the Jewish conception of the Messiah. For the Jewish Messiah is a mere conquering king, a political, particularistic figure, whose sole function it is to cause the Jews to triumph over their enemies and to make them the supreme world-power. Far better Daniel's man who comes upon the clouds than the Jewish Messiah with his selfish Jewish empire, his odious Jewish triumphs. The anti-Jewish bias, the desire to press to the utmost the difference between Jesus and Judaism, to depress the one and to magnify the other, is constantly apparent. No one would imagine in reading Merx, for example, or others of his stamp, and even Holtzmann himself, that there was any ethical or spiritual side to the 'Jewish' Messiah. The *Judenmessias* would appear to be a sort of Napoleon, protected and inspired by the narrow 'Jewish' God.

The impartial historian will not deny that there was a 'particularist' and 'national' side to the Jewish Messiah, which was sometimes more and sometimes less prominent. But it is not impartial to deny or ignore that there was another side also. Jesus had not to go beyond Isaiah for a conception of the Messiah which was both Jewish and ethical, far more ethical, indeed, than the 'Man' of Daniel vii. 13.

For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given;
And the government shall be upon his shoulder;
And his name shall be called Wonder-Counsellor,
Divine Hero, Father of Glory, Prince of Peace.
For the increase of dominion and for peace without end,
Upon the throne of David and upon his Kingdom,
To establish and support it by justice and by righteousness,
From henceforth even for ever.

And the most complete, essential description of the Messiah, which has always dwelt most abidingly and lovingly in the Jewish consciousness, is the following (Isaiah xi.):

And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse,
And a branch of his root shall bear fruit.
And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him,
The spirit of wisdom and understanding,
The spirit of counsel and might,
The spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord.
And he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes,
Neither arbitrate after the hearing of his ears:
But with righteousness shall he judge the poor,
And arbitrate with equity for the afflicted of the land:
And he shall smite the tyrannous with the rod of his mouth,
And with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.
And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins,
And faithfulness the girdle of his reins.

This, upon the whole, is the truest, fullest picture that we have of the Jewish Messiah. This is the prevailing Jewish conception of that king and of his rule, to which the yoke of the Law is ultimately to lead, and hence this is the portion of the prophets which, perhaps already in the age of Jesus, was ordained by the Rabbis to be read in synagogue upon the festival which commemorates the giving of the Law (Pentecost).

One wonders whether the historic Jesus, who, after all, is considerably hidden, as well as considerably revealed to us, in the Synoptic Gospels, did not appreciate the picture drawn in Isaiah xi. What did he think of his own relation to that figure, to the righteous ruler filled with the spirit of God? It must be freely confessed that there is no reference to Isaiah xi. in the Synoptic Gospels.

Holtzmann himself clings to the view that Jesus regarded himself as the Messiah, but not as the 'Jewish' Messiah, or Son of David. The remarkable passage in Mark xii. 35–37, the significance of which cannot be denied, sufficiently proves this. On the

other hand, the trial proves that a Messiah in some sense Jesus did claim to be. If Jesus (*a*) believed that the Kingdom was soon to come, (*b*) that he was to bring about, or be closely connected with, its coming, and (*c*) that he was invested by God with a special mission, how could he help drawing the conclusion that he was the Messiah? 'He was bound to think Messianically.' Only, as there were many varieties and kinds of Messianic conceptions then current, some more ethical, others less, some more national, others less, some more apocalyptic, others less, some more 'supernatural,' others less, there was no reason why Jesus should not fasten upon the particular conception which suited his own ideas and character best, or which seemed most in consonance with his mission and his destiny. This conception he might himself develop and modify.

The point of departure must always be the scene at Cæsarea Philippi. Holtzmann's view of Mark viii. 27–32 is determinative for his whole conception of the 'Messiahship' of Jesus. He held himself to be the Messiah, but only the Messiah of Daniel vii. 13—the 'Son of man' Messiah, a Messiah who would come upon the clouds, but who before he so came must suffer and die. Holtzmann lays stress upon the fact that the more habitual use by Jesus of the term Son of man (at least in Mark) is in passages where either his suffering or his future coming in power and glory are referred to (viii. 31, 38; ix. 9, 12, 31; x. 33, 45; xiii. 26; xiv. 62). Holtzmann supposes that the Son of man conception of the Messiah was specially suitable to Jesus because it had nothing to do with nationalism, or political rule, or a conquering king, or Davidic descent. He may, indeed, at first not have identified the Son of man with himself. He was led to do so (*a*) by the close connection of the 'Man' with the 'Kingdom' which he (Jesus) was to inaugurate; and apparently (*b*) by being able in the 'Son of man Messiah' to combine his own Messianic consciousness with the growing conviction that before the final triumph there lay defeat and death.

But Holtzmann's view by no means solves every difficulty. We do not know what the current apocalyptic conception of 'the Man' exactly was, nor what was his exact relation to the Messiah. It is not *certain* that Jesus would have identified himself with so mysterious and supernatural a figure. Even Holtzmann admits that there is great difficulty in deciding whether Jesus, in using the term, desired to make his own Messianic position and conception clear or to keep them dark. Did he give a new meaning to a term so far used in a somewhat different sense? And did he deliberately intend his disciples only gradually to perceive its newer and deeper import? A graver difficulty in Holtzmann's

way seems to be that Daniel's Son of man is himself by no means free from 'national' setting. The everlasting kingdom is to be the kingdom of the 'people of the saints'; in other words, all nations are to serve the Jews. Then, again, why should Jesus have chosen the Son of man nomenclature, or clung with special intensity to the Son of man prophecy, or identified himself and his Messiahship with the Son of man, *when* and *because* he realized that he must suffer and die before the establishment of the Kingdom and his own ultimate triumph? What close connection is there between suffering and Son of man? Holtzmann does not explain. Moreover, if Jesus went to Jerusalem in order to conquer and succeed, and not to suffer and die, the whole hypothesis falls to the ground.

But Holtzmann seems right in urging that if and when Jesus did think himself to be the Messiah, he could hardly have used the term Son of man except as meaning himself. For the Son of man stands too near to the Kingdom to be any other than the Messiah. There is not room for both Son of man *and* Messiah. The two must be one and the same. But a Kingdom without a Messiah to bring it was hardly conceivable. Believing in his mission and inspiration as he did, Jesus was compelled, sooner or later, to identify the Messiah with himself.

On the whole, perhaps, the soberest and safest view of the Son of man problem is that taken by M. Loisy, who says:

'However purely religious and moral was his conception of the Kingdom, Jesus did not any the less on that account regard himself as the Messiah promised to Israel, and the future king of the elect. If he applied to himself, on very rare occasions, the titles of "Son of God" and "Son of man," these formulas were for him but synonyms of Christ, and we are the less authorized to seek in them for special shades of his thought and the personal expression of his inmost feelings because it is quite possible that the majority of the passages in which they occur belong to the traditional gloss upon his teaching' (*E. S.* I. p. 192).

'If he sometimes made use of the title "Son of man" borrowed from Daniel, in order to apply it to himself, he must have attached no other meaning to it than that of Messiah; and it seems very hazardous to discover a special significance in it, related to the idea, personal also, which Jesus is supposed to have formed of his mission. Such a hypothesis could be accepted only if Jesus had made use of this formula very frequently or by preference. Now it is the Evangelists who show the preference, and its use by Jesus, except in a very restricted measure, does not appear probable. The Evangelical texts seem to establish a special relation between this title and the idea of the suffering Messiah;

but the relation and the idea belong only to tradition' (*E. S.* I. p. 243).

'The first generation of Christians contended with the Jews on the right of Jesus to the character of Christ, and to the glorious royalty announced by Daniel in the famous passage relating to the "son of man," who represents and introduces the reign of the Saints. Men were never weary of repeating, or of ascribing to Jesus, the assertion that he was the "Son of man" whom Daniel had seen in spirit, the Christ of the *parousia*, he for whom the Christians were always waiting, and whose legitimate claims Caiaphas had failed to recognize. The repeated use of the title "Son of man" in the discourses of Jesus is the result of this preoccupation of the compilers with this idea. The comparison of the texts suggests that it has been introduced into the written tradition, and does not usually belong to the oldest redaction of the Gospel discourses' (*E. S.* I. p. 193).

If this be correct, the controversy is reduced in importance. When Jesus used the term, which was not often, he meant by it the Messiah, but he did not put into it special meanings of his own. The great theologian Harnack also thinks that Jesus used the term occasionally of himself, and that he meant by it the Messiah. It will be convenient if I here add a summary of Harnack's latest view both of the Son of man problem, and, more generally, of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus and of his conception of the Messiah. This view is partly based upon his elaborate study of Q. In his reconstruction of that document the Son of man occurs some seven times: Matt. viii. 20, Luke xii. 8 (perhaps, *cp.* Matt. x. 32), Matt. xii. 32, Matt. xi. 19, Luke xi. 30, Matt. xxiv. 44, Matt. xxiv. 39. Three or four of these passages are not connected with Last Things or Judgment. Clearly, says Harnack, Q meant by the term the Messiah. And the great theologian adds: 'It is still very probable to me that the term in Jesus's mouth had never any other meaning. In each individual case where Q makes Jesus speak of himself as the Son of man, one cannot be certain that he did so. But that he *did* use the term of himself and to mean the Messiah, this Q makes enormously probable' (*Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, p. 166, n. 1, *E. T.* p. 239, n. 1). The whole document of Q, as it can be picked out and pieced together from Luke and Matthew, is dominated by the theory that Jesus was the Messiah. Harnack, however, thinks that one cannot follow the compiler of Q the whole way. One must remove the Messianic consciousness implied in the story of the baptism and the temptation. One must neglect the use of 'the Son of man' in the earlier period of the ministry. If one does this, then one can obtain from Q a very early conception of Jesus which, as Harnack thinks, is historic and accurate. I will quote

Harnack's own words, but before I do so I would like to point out that those words are controlled by the, as I believe, unhistorical theory that Jesus felt himself to be (of course only in a spiritual and moral sense) the special Son of God, with a knowledge of God and a realization of sonship such as none had possessed or felt before him. Hence Harnack's desperate efforts to maintain the authenticity of Matt. xi. 25–30. The consciousness of sonship was earlier than the consciousness of Messiahship. The first was the preparation for the second. For the consciousness of Messiahship never meant anything else than a consciousness of something which he would *become*. Hence the consciousness of what he *was* had to precede the consciousness of what he was *going to be*, and only if this prior consciousness had reached the height of the 'Sohnesbewusstsein' could it have formed the bridge to the consciousness of Messianity.

The notes on Matt. xi. 25–30 will show how doubtful this whole theory is, and on what slender support it rests. And, indeed, a Jewish admirer of Jesus cannot help hoping that he never believed that no pious Jew in his own age or before him had a sense or a knowledge of God equal to his own. To a Jewish mind, if Jesus believed that he was nearer to God and felt God nearer to him than other men, such a belief would have meant that he was in truth removed from Him. Jesus, like the prophets of old, may, indeed, have believed that his teaching was inspired and indubitably right. Such certainty is not inconsistent with humility. He may have regarded obedience to his commands as equivalent to the doing of God's will, but his Jewish admirers will cling to the hope that he did not believe that he was a better, wiser man, with a fuller knowledge of God, than anybody who had ever lived. And this is what Harnack's view of him seems to imply. The true Jesus is, one hopes, better revealed in the humility of Mark x. 18 than in the self-assertion of Matt. xi. 27. However this may be, the following is the great theologian's view as to the development of Jesus's conception of his Messiahship, which, as he thinks, Q either reveals or does not contradict. It is, in fact, deduced from both Mark and Q, and thus has the greater claim to be regarded as accurate and historical: 'We now have before us a compilation of sayings in which the speaker is a teacher, a prophet, one who is more than a prophet—*the final decisive Messenger of God*; but so surely as he demands unconditional *obedience* to His commands, in which the will of God is expressed, and calls upon men *to follow Him*, so little does He do this with the expressed self-witness: 'I am the Messiah.' Rather He points simply to His miracles and His works (in so far as He does not count upon the self-evidence of His commands in their appeal to

the hearts of His hearers). If one therefore neglects the term 'Son of man'—which was certainly used by our Lord, though we cannot be sure that it is genuine in any particular saying—Jesus first asserts His claim to the Messiahship in the sayings at the close of the source, *but only in connection with and under the imagery of the Second Coming*; He who already in His present state of existence is more than a prophet and greater than John, He who is the *Son*, will be the coming King and Judge.

'Critical investigation of the accounts in St Mark seems to compel us to the conclusion that our Lord during the first and longest period of His ministry does not speak of Himself as the Messiah (because He at first neither regarded Himself as Messiah, nor indeed could so regard Himself) and even rejected the title of Messiahship when it was applied to Himself, but that, on the other hand, He was possessed by the strongest conviction that as a messenger of God He was entrusted with a mission of decisive import, and that He knew God as none other knew Him—a conviction to which He again and again gave expression; and that at a later period after He had accepted at Cæsarea Philippi the confession of the disciples: "Thou art the Messiah"—*i.e.* "Thou wilt be He," He from henceforth (though indeed still with reserve until the entry into Jerusalem) called Himself the son of man, and with growing confidence proclaimed His Parousia, *i.e.* His Messiahship. There is nothing in the compilation of discourses in Q, if only we neglect the introduction, which can be alleged to be discrepant with this picture of gradual development. We cannot, it must also be acknowledged, derive from Q certain testimony to the detailed accuracy of this picture, because Q pays such slight regard to chronology; nevertheless Q also bears witness to the main position, in that in the sayings collected in Q the Messiahship is only clearly expressed under the form of the Parousia, and in that in these sayings our Lord claims faith not because He is the present Messiah—this is unthinkable—but because He works the works of God and proclaims His Commandments' (*Sayings of Jesus*, English edition, p. 244, original German, p. 169). It should be distinctly stated that the use of 'our Lord' in the English version is no exact translation of the German. Harnack simply says Jesus. Again, where the English version has St Mark, St Matthew, &c., Harnack has simply Mark and Matthew. The English capital H's in the pronouns, 'he,' 'his,' &c., when these pronouns refer to Jesus, are also no feature of the German original.

CHAPTER III

1–6. Healing on the Sabbath

(*Cp.* Matt. xii. 9–14; Luke vi. 6–11)

1 And he entered on another occasion into the synagogue; and
2 there was a man there who had a withered hand. And they kept
watching him, to see whether he would heal him on the sabbath
3 day; so that they might accuse him. And he said unto the man
4 who had the withered hand, 'Stand up and come forward.' And
he said unto them, 'Is it permitted to do good on the sabbath
rather than to do evil? to save life rather than to kill it?' But
5 they held their peace. And he looked round on them with anger,
being grieved for the hardness of their hearts, and he said unto the
man, 'Stretch out thine hand.' And he stretched it out: and his
6 hand was restored. And the Pharisees went out, and straightway
took counsel with the Herodians against him, how they might
destroy him.

The fifth 'conflict.' For the Rabbinic laws in regard to sickness and surgical operations upon the Sabbath, see Additional Note 13. As with the other 'conflicts,' so of this one, Loisy supposes that it goes back to some earlier written source. See the quotation from Vol. I. p. 87 at the beginning of Chapter II. The conclusion of the story before us was originally intended (see note below) to prepare us for the *dénouement* of Jesus's career: neither story nor conclusion was intended to occupy this particular place in the source from which the redactor has taken them (p. 88).

1. Had the narrative in 1 Kings xiii. 4–6 any influence upon the growth or wording of this story? So, long ago, thought Strauss in his *Leben Jesu* (Vol. II. p. 125, ed. 1).

2. It seems somewhat unnecessary to assume, as Prof. Bennett does (*Life of Jesus according to St Mark*, p. 40), that the whole incident had been arranged by the Pharisees, that 'they chose a Sabbath when Jesus would be in the synagogue, and arranged that there should be present a man with a withered hand; they themselves also attended to see what Jesus would do.'

4. The meaning seems to be: 'On the Sabbath day should one not rather do good than evil, rather save a life than kill it?'

To heal is regarded as an instance of doing good. Thus not to heal is equivalent to doing evil, for if the life is not saved, it is killed.

But the reasoning of Jesus seems to be casuistical. More than once it seems as if he wished to win a dialectical victory without really meeting the objections squarely. He seems to evade the argument by a counter argument, which, however ingenious, is not really to the point. Sometimes, too, it seems as if he would not give a straight answer to a straight question, but sought to elude the question by an ingenious parry. How far these evasions and dialectical puzzles are historical, and how far, if so, they were morally justifiable, are difficult points. Jesus seems to take the line that the questioners were insincere, and only sought to entrap him. He was therefore justified in avoiding their snares by puzzles, counter problems, and evasions. He is only frank to those who are frank.

The casuistry here is that it could not be argued that the man with the 'withered hand' was in any danger of his life. The healing could very well have been put off till the morrow, had Jesus been so minded. Yet, even though there was no question of life or death, Jesus thought himself justified in not postponing the cure. Apparently his real view was that any good action, or any kind of healing, should not be postponed for the sake of the Sabbath. This view would lead, if pushed home, to very wide consequences. The truth is that each case must be judged upon its own merits.

Assuming, as I do, that miracles, in the ordinary sense of the word, were not wrought by Jesus, the question arises: Does the sudden healing of a withered arm fall within or without the limits of the possible?

5. Note the strong expression 'with anger.' He considers their heart hard because they do not believe in him and recognize the force of his argument. Of course the Evangelist tells the story, like all his other stories, to make all our sympathies go with Jesus, and to put the Pharisees in the worst possible light. Hardness of heart does not mean callousness of feeling, but unsusceptibility of mind. 'The Pharisees were "hardened" by previous conceptions against his new truth' (Gould). The two parties could not understand each other. Their point of view was different. Jesus could not understand them; they could not understand him; and so each was unjust to the other. Here, as always, the words of Jowett are true and in point: 'We only learn

the true lesson to be gathered' from these stories 'when we place ourselves above them.' We must be independent before we can be just; or, in other words, before we can draw near to the truth.

6. The Herodians were the adherents of Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee. 'They are no regular party, but they are the government men, who, like Herod himself, are afraid of every movement' (W.). Loisy thinks they are Herod's functionaries.

Considering that Professor Burkitt believes that Mark is not 'based on older literary sources,' and that it was not written till thirty or forty years after the crucifixion, it is somewhat remarkable how much accuracy he assigns to it. The statement in iii. 6 is quite historic, he supposes. At that very point the Pharisees and the government men did plan how they might get rid of Jesus. It seems difficult to suppose that this bloodthirsty intention existed so early. Are there adequate grounds for believing that the Pharisees and the 'bureaucracy' joined hands at this stage, or that either were embittered enough against Jesus to concert together for his death? We may try to get over the difficulty by saying that this story really occurred at the close of the Galilæan ministry (so B. Weiss). Or we may take the line of J. Weiss who does not regard iii. 6 as accurate for this special moment. Mark, as it were, sums up the inevitable conclusion from the antagonism between Jesus and the Pharisees. Who were guilty of Jesus's death? Mark answers: the Pharisees, as the representatives of orthodox legal Judaism, and the Herodians, as the opponents of everyone who might be dangerous to Herod's house. Loisy takes much the same line. 'It is probable that the stories which have just been narrated, the object of which is to show the objections raised against Jesus by the Pharisees on the subject of the Sabbath, partially at any rate anticipate the events which are now to follow. One can easily imagine that the believers in the gospel, in relating the dealings of Jesus with the rigorists among the Jews, should have grouped together a certain number of anecdotes about the Sabbath, ending in this conclusion: thus the Pharisees began to dislike Jesus and resolved to destroy him. The conclusion is relative rather to the whole series of stories than to this one in particular: it indicates the final *dénouement* of the struggle entered into by Jesus against the Pharisaic spirit. Nevertheless it may be said that this conclusion would be better motived and more in place, if it came after some utterance denoting the Messianic pretensions of Jesus. For it was this which might cause disquietude to Herod and his partisans, to whom the Pharisees, who were no friends of theirs, would not have resorted unless confronted by a common danger' (*E. S.* 1. p. 519).

But from iii. 6, according to Professor Burkitt, 'a new era in the ministry is opened.' Here is the 'final rupture with the religious authorities in Galilee. No longer does Jesus preach in the synagogues, except once (and that unsuccessfully) in his own home at Nazareth. His aim is no longer the rousing of the multitudes, as it had been hitherto, but the instruction and training of his own disciples. He now begins to organise his followers into an organisation which was destined to develop into the Christian Church' (*op. cit.* pp. 68, 69, 81). vi. 34 is exceptional (is vii. 14 also?). Thus Professor Burkitt regards the call of the twelve and the despatch of them upon missionary work as strictly historic, whereas W. calls it in question. To the one distinguished scholar, even the mountain of iii. 13 is historic; to the other, the passage which 13 opens (13–19) is a later editorial insertion.

7–12. Many Healings

(*Cp.* Matt. xii. 15–21; Luke vi. 17–19)

7 But Jesus with his disciples retired to the lake; and a great
8 multitude from Galilee followed him; and from Judæa, and from Jerusalem, and from Idumæa, and beyond Jordan, and about Tyre and Sidon, a great multitude, who had heard what great things he
9 did, came unto him. And he told his disciples to have a boat ready for him, so that he might not be crushed by the crowd.
10 For he had healed many, so that all who were afflicted pressed
11 upon him in order to touch him. And the unclean spirits, when they saw him, fell down before him, and screamed, saying, 'Thou
12 art the Son of God.' And he rebuked them much that they should not make him known.

From here till viii. 26 it is not easy to discern the plan or framework upon which Mark has arranged his material. 'La plus grande confusion règne dans le récit.' The present section may have been drawn up by Mark to prepare for the dispute (in iii. 20–30) about the source from which Jesus draws his power of exorcism.

The crowds from distant parts, the inconvenient pressure, and the charges to the unclean spirits, must all be taken with many grains of critical salt in order to reduce the incidents here spoken of to their real historical proportions. Jesus's commandment to the unclean spirits not to make him known, with their instant

recognition of him as the Son of God, are part and parcel of Mark's theology and scheme. Mark is not by any means the mere simple narrator. He has a theology which the facts must be expanded, modified, and interpreted to suit.

7. *ἀνεχώρησεν.* Mark seems to imply that Jesus seeks to avoid useless disputes with his adversaries. He no longer preaches in the synagogues.

11. When Mark says that the unclean spirits fell down before Jesus, he of course means that the men who were supposed to be possessed with these 'spirits' fell down. 'Son of God.' 'This title was a Messianic title, denoting theocratic sonship, and there is nothing here to indicate that it is used in any other than this common sense' (Gould). For the phrase, see Carpenter, *First Three Gospels*, pp. 76–81.

There is no good and convincing evidence that Son of God was a current Messianic title at the time of Jesus, but, nevertheless, it is quite likely that such was to some extent the case. Israel had been called God's son for a long while, and the great kings, such as David and Solomon, had also been metaphorically so called. The 'Son' in Psalm ii. was interpreted (perhaps rightly) to be the Messiah, and here we find the famous phrase: 'Thou art my Son; this day I have begotten thee.' If Jesus was called Son of God while he lived, he was called so as being the Messiah, not in any metaphysical sense. He could be man, Messiah, and Son of God in one. But the pre-existence of the Messiah in heaven had also become a floating Jewish conception by this time. If the Messiah was pre-existent, he was semi-divine, or angelic, and this is the conception which Paul had of him, perhaps even *before* he identified the Messiah with Jesus. To Mark, the Messiah Jesus was no mere man. He was probably already regarded by Mark as divine, though that might not prevent him having been born upon earth of a human father and a human mother. Paul and the author of the fourth Gospel seem either not to know of the virgin birth or not to accept it. Another early conception was that Jesus only became Son of God in any real sense at his ascension. He was the Messiah, but his Messiahship was latent. He was made and appointed Messiah and Son of God by his resurrection and ascension. 'God has made him both Lord and Messiah, this Jesus whom ye crucified' (Acts ii. 36). And Paul says that Jesus was 'declared (or appointed) to be the Son of God in power by his resurrection (Romans i. 4). That Jesus regarded himself as divine or semi-divine is improbable. He would, at most, only have acknowledged himself to be 'Son of

God' in a simpler Messianic sense, or he may have believed, towards the end of his ministry, that he would be transformed into a higher kind of being (the 'heavenly man') after his death.

13–19. The Twelve Apostles

(*Cp.* Matt. x. 2–4; Luke vi. 12–16)

13 And he went up on to the mountain, and called unto him
14 whom he desired; and they came unto him. And he appointed
15 twelve to be with him, and to send them forth to preach, and to
16 have power to cast out demons. So he appointed the Twelve, and
17 Simon he surnamed Peter. And (he appointed) James the son of
Zebedee, and John the brother of James, whom he surnamed
18 Boanerges, which is, sons of thunder, and Andrew, and Philip, and
Bartholomew, and Matthew, and Thomas, and James the son of
19 Alphæus, and Thaddeus, and Simon the Canaanite, and Judas
Iscariot, who betrayed him.

Disciples are mentioned before this section. An inner ring is now specially marked out. The vocation or purpose of the Twelve seems here anticipated from vi. 7, to which place Matthew relegates the whole incident. Perhaps it is, as Loisy says, introduced here to prepare for the saying of Jesus about his true relations (*E. S.* I. p. 89).

As to the names, Boanerges is etymologically obscure: see Luke ix. 54. Iscariot is also of doubtful signification. Andrew and Philip are purely Greek names.

W. observes, 'Es versteht sich von selbst dass die Beilegung von Beinamen wie Kepha und Boanerges nicht abrupt geschehen kann und kein historischer Akt ist.' But is there reason to deny that Jesus may, on some occasion and for some reason or other, have given these new and extra names to these particular men?

Where is Levi, so prominently mentioned in ii. 14? It cannot be assumed offhand that he is identical with Matthew, though the first Gospel makes this identification and it is generally accepted. See note on Matt. ix. 9.

W. thinks that both iii. 7–12 and 13–19 are 'editorial additions' (*Redaktionsstücke*). 13–19 he calls 'statistics in the form of historic narrative.' He points out that iii. 20–30 and 31–35 join on well with the group of stories in ii. 1–iii. 6. Perhaps, he adds, 7–12 should really be placed immediately before iv. 1–9.

The situation points to this: Jesus is by the lake with a multitude pressing about him; a boat is got ready for him. Whereas in the present arrangement the boat ordered in iii. 9 is not used; Jesus goes up a mountain, and afterwards returns to Capernaum. But in iv. 1 he really embarks on the boat which has been ready for him since iii. 9.

The functions of the Twelve are succinctly described, and may be regarded as repeating and confirming Mark's view of the Master's own mission: (*a*) proclamation of the coming Kingdom; (*b*) the expulsion of demons. When and how the Twelve were chosen may not have been precisely known to the Evangelist. Of the fact of the 'college' of Twelve he knew, and he wanted to date, localize and describe its institution. The persons referred to in verse 13 as going up to Jesus into the mountain are the Twelve. The choice of the apostles prepares and explains the saying in verse 35.

J. Weiss, in an excellent and elaborate note, comes to much the same conclusions as W. Jesus must have had an inner and outer circle of disciples: but whether at any given moment, or even early in his ministry, the inner circle was fixed at twelve is extremely doubtful. Loisy thinks that the Twelve are historical. The number is symbolic, yet 'il ne laisse pas d'être historique.' Jesus chooses twelve men, because his message is to the Jews, and he means to preach the gospel to them only (*E. S.* 1. pp. 528, 208, 209). The list of the Twelve is given, with variations of detail, in Mark, Matthew, and Luke. The Greek names Andrew and Philip would imply that Hellenistic or Hellenistically inclined Jews were from the first among the disciples of Jesus. J. Weiss thinks it is not inconceivable that Jesus may have understood Greek, or even have spoken it. Why and when Jesus gave to Simon his surname Peter (or Rock) is obscure. 'Eine unbeugsame Felsennatur scheint Petrus gerade nicht gewesen zu sein.' 'The name of Peter, taking into consideration the way in which Mark introduces it, means what Matthew subsequently states: Simon, the first disciple that Jesus enlisted, becomes the head stone of the apostolic college and of the society which is to be formed for the Kingdom of God' (*E. S.* 1. p. 529). But this seems to give the name an explanation, which in Jesus's mouth is unlikely. If there are Petrine reminiscences in Mark, there ought hardly to be this uncertainty about the Twelve. Might not Peter have explained the meaning of his own surname? J. Weiss can only suppose that Peter did not 'think it worth while' to tell. But could not Mark have asked him?

20–30. Attack and Defence

(*Cp.* Matt. ix. 32–34, xii. 22–32, 36, 37; Luke xi. 14–23, xii. 10)

20 And he went into an house. And a crowd collected together
21 again, so that they could not even eat bread. And when his
relatives heard of these things, they set forth to lay hold of him:
for they said, 'He is out of his mind.'
22 And the scribes who came from Jerusalem said, 'He has
Beelzebul, and by the ruler of the demons he casts out demons.'
23 And he called them unto him, and said unto them by way of
24 parable, 'How can Satan cast out Satan? And if a kingdom be
25 divided against itself, that kingdom cannot endure. And if a
26 house be divided against itself, that house cannot endure. And if
Satan rise up against himself, and be divided, he cannot endure,
27 but cometh to an end. No man can enter into a strong man's
house, and plunder his goods, unless he first bind the strong man;
28 and then he can plunder his house. Verily I say unto you, All the
sins and blasphemies wherewith the sons of men blaspheme, shall
29 be forgiven them, but he that blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit
30 hath no forgiveness for ever, but is guilty of eternal sin.' Because
they said, 'He has an unclean spirit.'

This paragraph opens with the beginning of the story about Jesus's family and how they seek to put him under restraint. But the story is no sooner begun than it is suddenly interrupted by another story (22–30), so that the original tale is not resumed till 31. The true explanation of these phenomena is not by any means certain. In one other place Mark has a story within a story, but there the interposed story is inserted with propriety, and even with artistic effect. Here, on the contrary, it would seem that there is a real interpolation. At what stage did it arise, and whence was it taken? W. regards it as an insertion, but nevertheless quite independent as compared with the corresponding sections in Matthew and Luke. We have still to consider it as the work of Mark. Loisy, on the other hand, while also holding that it is an insertion, supposes that it is borrowed from Q. 'Marc a dû la prendre à la source où Matthieu et Luc l'ont empruntée' (*E. S.* I. p. 88). And finally, Dr Carpenter says that 'it is practically certain that verses 22–30 have been introduced from Matthew and Luke.' In that case the insertion would have

no bearing upon the question: Did Mark know Q? Of course B. Weiss holds that the narrative in Q which is preserved best by Luke is older than, and has been used by, Mark (*Quellen*, A, pp. 115–118).

20. The story of Jesus's family is awkwardly hooked on at this point and given an awkward setting. It was not because Jesus was unable to take his food on account of the crowd that his family said he was mad. What his family hear about is his preaching and his miracles: but when they arrive from Nazareth they are made to find the circumstances stated in verse 20. Assuming that Mark knew Q, it would certainly seem as if he had deliberately omitted the occasion for the dispute and discussion of 22–30 recorded by Matthew (xii. 22) and substituted for it the opening of the story about the family, with the words ἔλεγον ὅτι ἐξέστη, 'They said he was beside himself.' The miracle recorded in Matt. xii. 22 is a far more natural prelude for the dispute than what we now find in Mark.

21. *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ*. Not 'his friends,' but 'his relatives.' The same people are referred to as in 31–35. The S.S. has 'his brothers,' which Merx regards as original. By inserting 22–30 between 21 and 31 Mark provides a tolerable, but unoriginal, connection for the charge of the Scribes. His relations say, 'He is mad': the Scribes say, 'He has Beelzebul.' His madness is a demoniac possession. M. Loisy says that ἐξέστη does not mean 'he is mad' (in the ordinary sense of 'mad'), but that he is in a state of 'exaltation mystique qui lui fait perdre le sens réel de la vie et de sa propre condition' (*E. S.* I. p. 698).

22. J. Weiss points out that the two charges in verse 22 are not quite the same. The first says: Jesus is possessed; he is the devil's slave. The second says: He is the devil's partner or ally. In Jesus's reply, verse 27 specially refers to the view that he is possessed, the devil's slave. This charge is ridiculous, for how could he who has overcome the devil be himself the devil's slave?

Beelzebul means 'Lord of the dwelling'; the variant Beelzebub means 'Lord of the flies,' and is mentioned in 2 Kings i. 2 as a god of the Philistines. We have to assume that Beelzebul must have been one of the current names or by-names of Satan or the devil.

The appearance of the Scribes from Jerusalem is very sudden. They speak as if they had appeared before and were already known. Luke, as W. points out, puts 'some people,' which is more likely to be correct. 'The description of the precise people addressed is, as

in other cases, an addition. Jesus in truth had not so exclusively to deal with Scribes and Pharisees.' On the other hand, M. Loisy says: 'There is nothing surprising in the fact that there gathered round the Saviour some Scribes from the capital, either drawn thither by a sentiment of personal curiosity, or possibly come with a commission to observe the movement which was taking shape in Galilee' (*E. S.* I. p. 698). In this passage the Jerusalem Rabbis are introduced as even exceeding in their enmity the opponents of ii.–iii. 6; they are the most poisonous specimens of the viper's brood (Matt. xxiii. 33).

23. The argument is simple. Satan would not expel Satan. None of Satan's lieutenants would expel him. (A sort of a kingdom of demons is assumed under the presidency of a chief.) If a demon is expelled from a man, it must be by a power which (*a*) is wholly other than, and opposed to, Satan's, and (*b*) is superior in strength to his strength.

24, 25. Two examples or parables illustrate the main contention. No empire or house divided against itself can endure. It must fall to pieces. So if Satan's kingdom or power were divided against itself, it could not endure.

26. The wording ought to be: If Satan *were* divided against himself, he *would* not be able to stand, but he *would* come to an end. But instead of that we have: 'If Satan *is* divided against himself, he *is* not able to stand, but he *comes* to an end.' The reason for this logical inexactitude is that as a matter of fact Satan *is* coming to an end, though for a different reason. The reason is given in the second parable, in the next verse. Satan's power is falling, not because there is division in the Satanic kingdom, but because Satan has encountered a power stronger than his own.

27. So now we have the second example of the strong man in his house and of the yet stronger hero who binds him and pillages the house. The comparison is put somewhat more fully and explicitly (B. Weiss thinks, more originally) in Luke. But it has possibly been, as Loisy thinks, made more allegorical than it was originally. For to the Evangelist the strong man is Satan himself; his 'goods' are perhaps the demons, and the stronger man who binds him and pillages the house is Jesus.

28, 29. Whether this passage originally belonged to the foregoing section may be doubted. The way in which Mark explains the connection in 30 is rather awkward. Nevertheless it does not

by any means form a bad conclusion, and can be easily made to have a direct bearing upon the attitude of the Scribes towards the exorcisms of Jesus. It is not a question, as it would seem, of sins in general, but only of blasphemies. It is therefore possible, as W. suggests, that the words *τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ αἱ βλασφημίαι* may be a later insertion due to the text of Matthew. In that case the rendering would be: 'All shall be forgiven unto the sons of men whatsoever they may blaspheme; but he,' &c. The unforgivable blasphemy is to deny the results of the divine Spirit and to ascribe them to Satan. The Jews admit that the works of Jesus can only be due to supernatural power, but this power they declare to be not divine, but Satanic. Such a view Jesus holds to be not only irrational (for Satan would and could not expel Satan), but also blasphemous. W. points out the prophets were quite similarly indignant by a denial that they were moved by the Spirit. There seems no question that this famous utterance was also preserved in Q, and that Q's form of it is substantially found in Luke (xii. 10). Matthew gives a conflation of Q and Mark. The only point of difference among scholars is: which form is more original, or which is nearer to the original, Q or Mark? Naturally W. argues one way, B. Weiss the other. The version in Luke speaks of words uttered against the Son of man. In favour of the originality of this version, it is argued: would any later writer have allowed that an insult against the Son of man, *i.e.* Jesus, was pardonable? Is it conceivable that a saying which had not that meaning originally would have been given such a twist or change? And, secondly, are not the odd words 'sons of men' in Mark iii. 28 a relic of the original 'Son of man' in Luke xii. 10? But the arguments on the other side are very strong. The form in Luke xii. 10 would imply that Jesus here spoke of himself as the Son of man, the difficulty of which assumption we have already noted. Again, he would draw a subtle distinction between an attack or insult against him in his merely human capacity, and an insult against the divine Spirit within him, when *e.g.* he expels a demon. But this is surely too subtle and theological and late a distinction. Mark's version is, therefore, more probably original, though not necessarily in the exact form in which we now have it. See further the notes on Matt. xii. 31 where W.'s explanation of the 'sons of men' in Mark iii. 28 is also given.

We disagree with Jesus in his teaching on this point, though we understand his sensitiveness. To us, who have been taught from our childhood the infinite mercy of God, there can be no sin for which there can be no forgiveness. We do not believe in eternal punishment.

I wrote this note remembering, and deeply influenced by, the simple and excellent religious teaching of my childhood. It was a wise and right thing to make children recoil in horror before the conception of a loving God who yet consigns his frail children to everlasting penalties and pains. Nothing does modern Judaism greater credit than its passionate antagonism to this pitiless dogma. At the same time I see the justification from another, perhaps more philosophical, point of view, of Dr Carpenter when he writes bidding me remember that: 'Forgiveness is something much more than remission of a punishment. I doubt whether in the highest morality punishment can be remitted. Forgiveness to be complete is the act (and state) of more than one person. It takes two: (1) the person who forgives, who restores the condition of moral harmony, sympathy and love, on his side; and (2) the person who repents and re-enters the life of obedience and affection. The condition of (2) is essential to the whole process. As long as he remains wilful and unloving, he cannot be forgiven; the injured father, husband, friend—God in the heavenly world—may be all ready and longing, but they cannot forgive one who does not want to be forgiven. The person who is in a state of blaspheming the Holy Spirit is self-excluded from forgiveness: God's love does not reach him. How this condition is to be changed, what energies of grace may be required, what start in a new life under fresh conditions, how many lives of discipline and patience may be needed, we cannot tell. Ultimately the divine love will win; but of the process and the time we know nothing. How far Jesus realized what we call "eternity," it is impossible to decide; but I do not think that *this* passage, truly understood, implies eternal punishment, as *against* the infinite mercy of God. The ultimate punishment is Ezekiel's remembrance and loathing, which we shall not desire to abridge, knowing its purifying power.' But the enormous difference between the views here put forth and the ordinary view of Rabbinic Judaism (shared in all probability by Jesus) is this: According to the old view there was rarely, if ever, any *effective* repentance after death, even if the sinner wished it. Thus punishment was merely penal or retributive, not purifying.

31–35. Jesus and his Family

(*Cp.* Matt. xii. 46–50; Luke viii. 19–21)

31 And his mother and his brothers came, and, standing outside,
32 sent unto him to call him. And a crowd was sitting round him, and they said unto him, 'Behold, thy mother and thy brothers are

33 outside and seek thee.' And he answered them, saying, 'Who is
34 my mother, or my brothers?' And he looked at those who sat
35 around him, and said, 'Behold my mother and my brothers. For whoever doeth the will of God, he is to me brother, and sister, and mother.'

The narrative begun in verse 21 is now resumed. This story could only have taken place early in the career of Jesus. The action of his family depends upon their opinion that he is 'possessed' (21). This also explains, and perhaps justifies, his sarcastic reply. They send to fetch him away and take him home.

J. Weiss has an excellent note upon the harsh bearing of Jesus towards his mother and family. He points out that it is explicable (and perhaps justifiable) on the grounds (*a*) that his family did not understand or believe in his mission, (*b*) that his whole soul was so filled with this mission that there was no room in it for family ties and interests, and (*c*) (the most important of all) that his special work implied and demanded a separation from, an abandonment of, all worldly connections and occupations. A placid devotion to the peaceful atmosphere of family life could not easily be united with his passionate yearning for the Kingdom of God. Yet for all that there is a certain violation or *froissement* of Jewish sentiment as to parents in this passage. It will be further alluded to later on.

32. The omission of his father must not be attributed to the fact that Mark knew the story of the virgin birth. Perhaps the father was already dead. At any rate, if the mother had known that her child had been miraculously born, and that he was the 'Messiah of God,' she would hardly have acted as she is here represented. Some MSS. add 'and thy sisters.' But the sisters have probably been deduced from verse 35 and vi. 3. In 34 Jesus only speaks of mother and brothers. In 35 he mentions the sisters, because 'présentes ou non, ses sœurs sembleraient devoir lui être aussi proches que ses frères' (*E. S.* I. p. 722, n. 3). Matthew rightly interprets 'those sitting around him' to mean his disciples, or more particularly, the Twelve.

35. 'The will of God,' *i.e.* generally. 'The righteous man is my brother.' *Cp.* Matt. vii. 21.

CHAPTER IV

1–20. The Parable of the Sower

(*Cp.* Matt. xiii. 1–23; Luke viii. 4–15)

1 And he began again to teach by the lake side: and there was
gathered unto him a great crowd, so that he entered into a boat,
and sat therein on the lake; and the whole crowd was by the lake
2 on the land. And he taught them many things in parables, and
3 said unto them in his teaching: 'Hearken: behold, there went
4 out a sower to sow. And it came to pass, as he sowed, some seed
fell on the way side, and the birds of the air came and devoured
5 it up. And some fell on stony ground, where it had not much
earth: and it sprang up quickly, because it had no depth of earth.
6 But when the sun rose up, it was scorched; and because it had
7 no root, it withered away. And some fell among thorns, and the
8 thorns grew up, and choked it, and it bore no crop. But some
seed fell on good ground, and bore a crop which sprang up and
increased, and yielded thirty, and sixty, and even an hundred
9 fold.' And he said unto them, 'He that hath ears to hear, let
him hear.'

10 And when he was alone, they that were about him, together
11 with the Twelve, asked him concerning the parables. And he
said unto them, 'Unto you is given the mystery of the kingdom
of God: but unto them that are without, all is said in parables;
12 in order that seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing
they may hear, and not understand; lest they should return, and
be forgiven.'

13 And he said unto them, 'Ye understand not this parable? how
then will ye understand all the other parables?

14, 15 'The sower soweth the Word. And these are they by the way
side: there the Word is sown, and when they have heard it, Satan
cometh immediately, and taketh away the Word which was sown
16 in them. And these are they who are, as it were, sown on stony
ground, who, when they have heard the Word, immediately receive
17 it with gladness: but they have no root in themselves, and so

endure but for a time: afterward, when affliction or persecution
18 ariseth for the Word's sake, immediately they fall away. And
these are they who are sown among thorns; these hear the Word,
19 but the cares of the world, and the deceitfulness of riches, and
the other desires enter in, and choke the Word, and it remaineth
20 unfruitful. And these are they who are sown on good ground;
who hear the Word and receive it, and bear a crop, thirty, and
sixty, and even an hundred fold.'

A fresh section containing parables extends from iv. 1 to iv. 34.

The original narrative seems interrupted after 9. The section 10–20 is probably secondary, and in it verses 11 and 12 form a further interpolation. It may also be argued that 21–25 would not have been put where they are if 26–29 had originally followed 20. The addition of the extraneous sayings in 21–25 can only be understood if the main theme is finished and is not subsequently resumed. The second parable (26–29) appears in fact as a mere variant of the first; the third (30–32) betrays its later date by its peculiar conception of the Kingdom of God, which is of a kind that appears nowhere else in Mark, and which prepares the way for Matthew. So argues W. (*Einleitung*, p. 55).

W. has also some good remarks upon the parables generally:

'That Jesus liked to speak in parables was already shown in iii. 23. Between metaphor, proverb, parable, and allegory the Semitic term *mashal, mathla*, makes no difference....A mere saying is called παραβολή, 'parable,' in vii. 17. Thus we may not set up sharply defined categories, as if we were dealing with Greek rhetoric. It is true that the Semitic parables often touch on a single point, which is set in high relief, while everything else remains outside the comparison and in darkness. But often the parable applies to many points, and it then corresponds with or comes near to allegory. One must not exclude allegory too trenchantly. Not all the parables must be interpreted by a single principle; one must consider each case separately.' (See also Additional Note 14.)

Whence did Mark obtain his parables? If it was, as Loisy and others think, from Q, and if all Matthew's parables came also from that source, how can we adequately account for the fact that the point of view of several of Matthew's parables seems undoubtedly later than those of Mark, and to reflect a fairly advanced stage of Christian development? Are we here too to press Jülicher's explanation—that Q was constantly growing so that the Q which Mark knew and used was a much smaller and

earlier Q than the Q from whom Matthew and Luke drew so much of their material? One has the feeling as if this explanation must not be ridden too hard. Of our section in Mark Loisy says: 'The discourse containing the parables (1–34) is an artificial composition which in its present form is intended to explain the rejection of the Jews, but of which the redaction has passed through more than one stage. As the saying about retribution, the comparison of the lamp, the parable of the mustard seed, certainly existed in the 'recueil de discours' (Q) which Matthew and Luke used, we may believe (il est à croire) that they were taken thence by Mark and that the parables of the sower and of the seed (26–29) have the same origin' (*E. S.* I p. 89). B. Weiss thinks that Luke's form of the parable of the sower is more original (nearer to Q) than Mark's, but Loisy, on the contrary, thinks that both Luke and Matthew are here only dependent upon Mark.

2. 'In parables,' *i.e.* in a parabolic way; *ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ*, 'in the course of his teaching.'

3. 'The parable of the sower comes first, not only because tradition associates with it an explanation of the general aim of the parables, but because it is the parable of the Word, and because it had of itself an almost universal character which marked it out as the typical parable. It must have occupied the first place in the oldest collection of parables, even before speculation on the mysteries of teaching by parables and on the special reasons why Jesus chose that method of teaching had begun' (*E. S.* I p. 730).

4. *παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν*, 'along the path.'

7. The thorns fulfil the same office as weeds (*cp.* Matt. vii. 25). W. points out that in the Old Testament there is no word for 'weeds,' but that 'thorn and thistle' represent them.

10–20. The explanation of the parable. A 'secondary' section.

10. 'His companions as well as the Twelve.' Were they all in the boat? Or has Jesus landed? But in 35 he is still in the boat. The Twelve had not, so far, been specially mentioned. The plural 'parables' is odd. Only one had been, so far, spoken. In fact at this point there is intercalated a general statement embodying a theory about the parables as a whole. We may suppose that an original singular has been, on account of the interpolation of 11 and 12, changed into the plural.

11, 12. 'The mystery of the Kingdom,' *i.e.* you are permitted to understand its laws and constitution, the conditions of entering it, and so on.

But it may be doubted whether this explanation of the phrase is adequate. For the word 'mystery' is not lightly used. Is Wrede more right than wrong in holding that the mystery of the Kingdom refers to Jesus's own position in the Kingdom as well as to the Kingdom itself? His Messiahship is the mystery which is to be revealed to the disciples—in spite of their obtuseness—but hidden from the world at large till death and resurrection reveal it. Jesus himself, therefore, we may safely assume, did not speak these words. Moreover, private teaching when the disciples are alone with Jesus seems to be an indication of secondary portions of Mark. The word 'mystery' is only here found in the Synoptics. An esoteric teaching was wholly alien to the historic Jesus: he did not regard and present the Kingdom as a mystery (Loisy, *E. S.* 1. p. 741). He pities the multitude, and would not wish to darken, but to enlighten them. Moreover, iv. 21 contradicts these two verses, and the parable itself contradicts them. For all *understand* the Word, but not all take it to heart. Jesus may have used parables to make people think, and even to test intelligence, but surely not to keep his meaning dark except to a few special disciples. Menzies rightly says that it is impossible to believe that Jesus said or thought what is in these verses. They suggest Romans xi. 7, 8, and later reflection and experience.

Professor Burkitt, in his intense desire to establish the historical character of Mark, even seeks to save these verses. They are 'appropriate to the situation.' Jesus after the scene in the synagogue has come to a 'definite breach' with the Jewish authority. His new Kingdom can only be inaugurated by 'a long period of gradual growth, the long and intimate intercourse' of Jesus with his disciples. (But this long period is, at the most, a year.) 'If Jesus is now outside the old synagogue, the people of the synagogue are equally outside the new Church.' Hence the propriety of verse 11. 'To his disciples he will give further explanations, but if those outside misunderstand his teaching, he has other work than to go out of his way to answer their cavils' (*op. cit.* pp. 86–88). This explanation would imply that the 'you' means not only all disciples, but all would-be disciples too, for Professor Burkitt himself admits that it was only the 'hostile' whom Jesus meant to exclude, not those who came and asked him in a friendly spirit, even in the case of 'outsiders.' But the words, naturally interpreted, do not bear this sense. They certainly suggest the explanation given above, and seem later than, and unworthy of, Jesus. The parable itself implies that the seed bears fruit and

that the Word has had some good success among those who heard it. The conception of 11 and 12 is Pauline. The expression *οἱ ἔξω*, 'they who are without,' is semi-technical. It is used in the Preface to Sirach of those who are ignorant of the Law. The corresponding Hebrew term was used also of the heathen. *Cp.* its use in 1 Cor. v. 12, 13. Jesus would hardly have made or admitted this wall of severance between those within and those without.

13–29. After the interruption of 11 and 12 a fresh start is made. The explanation of the parable of the sower is now given. The section seems later than the parable and, probably, not authentic, but earlier than 11 and 12. Jesus is in the boat. But he is supposed to give the explanation to the disciples alone, when they are by themselves. Yet in 26 he speaks another parable under the same circumstances as 1–9, namely in the boat. The explanation is, as Loisy says, a sort of 'enclave' stuck into the middle of the parables. The enclave is itself not homogeneous. Hence the muddle that the disciples ask for the meaning of the parables in the plural; the single question was to serve for the answer in 11, 12, and in 13–20. The reason of the question is to be sought, first in that the parables really became less clear to a later age, secondly in that an explanation was sought for the fact that the Jews had rejected the teaching of Jesus. This rejection or blindness was declared to be providential; and therefore the parables were intended not to enlighten them, but to deepen their darkness. It is to be noted that the explanation mixes up the 'allegorical' details with the things which they 'allegorise.' The Word is the seed, not the men; yet the different kinds of crop are represented by men. The hearers should really have been identified with the soil, not with the seed. In the original story the details may not have been intended to have the precise meaning now assigned to them. In other words, it was a parable, rather than an allegory.

14. The Word is the special 'Word' concerning the Kingdom.

15. Wellhausen places a colon at *ὁδόν*. *Οἱ παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν* is to be explained, and the explanation begins with *ὅπου*. The ground on which the seed falls represents the men who hear the Word. Loisy would, however, render: 'And they by the way side where the Word is sown are they to whom, when they hear, Satan comes straightway and takes away the Word which has been sown in them.'

Satan is here the general cause of evil issues. He is no special evil, like the cares of the world, and therefore is not typified by

the birds in the same way as the thorns typify the cares. The introduction of Satan is, however, on the way to the view taken in 11 and 12, and another step is taken in Luke viii. 12, 'that they may not believe and be saved.' Satan comes to those who are predestined to an evil end.

17. *πρόσκαιροί*, 'endure for a while.' W., '*wetterwendisch*.' The era of persecution has already begun. On the first persecutions of the Christians by the Jews, see Additional Note 15.

The main purpose of the parable is to explain 'pourquoi l'Évangile ne compte pas plus d'adhérents, pourquoi surtout il ne retient pas tout ceux qui ont paru l'accueillir.' Mark and Matthew want to explain why the apparent gains of the gospel have suffered loss: Luke also adds the thought of showing in relief the faithful endurance of those who remain constant. Thus the Christian community is already constituted; the Christian religion is a faith 'qui est combattue au dehors, et qui exige, avant la récompense, une longue pratique du désintéressement et de la mortification' (*E. S.* I. p. 757).

W. calls the explanation of the parable 'correct and beautiful.' Whether he regards it, though inserted later into Mark, as nevertheless authentic in substance, is not quite clear to me. As to the parable itself he says:

'Jesus is not so much teaching here as reflecting aloud upon the results of his teaching, which results do not differ from those of true teaching in general. "I scatter the seed; I know not whither it may fall. Mostly, for sure, upon unfruitful soil. Nevertheless I must sow it; in some hearts at least it will bear its fruit." The old prophets felt the same. Isaiah (quoted here in iv. 11, 12) not only preached to deaf ears, but his very preaching makes them deaf: so is it decreed; yet he has to preach, all else is God's affair. But the resignation of Jesus does not amount to the despair of Elijah and Jeremiah. This difference is not only due to his higher faith in God, but also that, unlike them, he had a great visible result. Moreover, just as Isaiah vi. does not really belong to the beginning of Isaiah's ministry, so Jesus in Mark iv has already had experiences which keep him from any self-deception as to the value of the applause which the people render him.' Menzies says: 'The parable gives us under a thin disguise the experiences of Jesus as a preacher.' He has had some failures, but in spite of these he looks for, and is sure of, success in the end. The parable could not have been spoken very early in the ministry.

M. Loisy also urges that the parable is merely meant to explain the diverse, actual results of Jesus's preaching. 'Il ne s'agit pas

d'autre chose, et l'on n'a pas à chercher dans le Semeur la pensée essentielle de Jésus touchant sa propre mission' (*E. S.* I. p. 759).

What strikes one also in the parable of the sower is that Jesus does not seem to speak and think as if the old order, the natural world, were soon coming to a violent end. He speaks rather as if there were to be a long process in which righteousness should, as it were, gradually come by its own. The Kingdom of God upon earth, the reign of goodness and truth, will surely come, but only gradually. His own person is not the centre of all things. The drama does not consist of his life, his death, his resurrection, and the Last Judgment—all closely following each other—but it consists in the gradual reception of his teaching by a dull and reluctant world. This second, truer, and more modern conception may have existed in his mind as well as the more eschatological and apocalyptic conception. And perhaps he did not perceive their inconsistency.

21–25. The Hidden and the Revealed—Measure for Measure

(*Cp.* Matt. v. 15, x. 26, vii. 2, xiii. 12, xxv. 29; Luke viii. 16–18, vi. 38, xi. 33, xii. 2, xix. 26)

21 And he said unto them, 'Is the lamp brought in to be put under the bushel, or under the bed? and not rather to be placed
22 on the stand? For there is nothing hid, which shall not be revealed; neither was any thing kept secret, but that it should
23 come to light. Who hath ears to hear, let him hear.'
24 And he said unto them, 'Take heed what ye hear: with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you, and even more
25 shall be added thereto. For he that hath, to him shall be given: and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath.'

A collection of somewhat disconnected sentences, but for that very reason not unlikely to be original, *i.e.* to spring from the mouth of Jesus himself.

21 occurs in Matt. v. 15, with a different meaning. The light in Mark is the teaching of Jesus, and this is doubtless original.

22, which joins on fairly well to 21, also contradicts 11 and 12. At any rate, it declares that any esoteric doctrine is only to be

temporary. What for a time may have been reserved for a few is ultimately to be given to the world. The mystery of the hidden Messiahship, the reserve of Jesus in his lifetime, are not to be followed by the disciples. So Mark may have understood the saying. In Matthew the saying occurs x. 26. Dr Carpenter thinks that, as spoken by Jesus, both 21 and 22 'obviously refer to the propagation of "the Word," which is not to be hidden away privately, but brought forth for the common good.' Or the two verses may mean that the consummation of the Word will be the Kingdom, and that the Kingdom will be ultimately public and visible (*E. S.* I. p. 761). Whether Mark found these verses in Q is disputed.

24. The first part of this verse seems merely to mean 'Pay attention' (*cp.* the beginning of iv. 3 and end of vii. 14). Hear rightly and with good understanding. Luke has 'take heed how ye hear,' *i.e.* hear with intelligence. The subsequent adage is not connected with the first part of the verse or with what has preceded, and W. thinks that its place may be merely due to the outward resemblance of the word 'hear,' occurring in both 23 and 24. The adage is found also in Matt. vii. 2 and Luke vi. 38. As to the meaning of the verse one can ask: (*a*) what did Jesus mean by it? (*b*) what did it mean to the compiler of the source whence Mark took it, assuming that he did so? (*c*) what did it mean to Mark? As regards the third, some suppose that it relates to the measure of attentiveness which the disciples pay. According to your attentiveness will be the measure of your gain. But if you attend well, you will find in the words of Jesus more than you could have suspected. Or, again, it may mean: if you act according to the teaching, you will be abundantly rewarded. The original meaning may be the same as the parallel in Matt. vii. 2: God will show to man the same measure which he shows to his neighbour. Jesus attacks the doctrine of tit for tat in some of its forms, but in others he maintains and retains it.

25. Though this verse is supposed to prove 24; it is more probably independent of it. The saying also occurs in Matt. xiii. 12, xxv. 9; Luke xix. 26. Loisy thinks that Mark took the sentence from the parable of the talents. But against this view, W.'s argument seems strong. Whether, he says, the saying has its true origin in that parable may well be doubted. 'Why should Mark have thought of detaching it from the context and making it unintelligible? Generally speaking, a number of detached sayings, loosely strung together on a thread of a purely external connection, raises the presumption of originality. Not that the discourses of Jesus were nothing but a series of apophthegms, but

that in many cases only striking details of his speeches were remembered, and these were subsequently used as stones for a new structure.

No doubt in Holtzmann and elsewhere one can read attempts to connect 21–25 together, and to relate them all to the special knowledge ascribed and granted to the disciples in iv. 10. But it cannot be said that the attempts are very successful or result in very natural explanations.

If W. is right in his view that 'for' attempts a connection where none originally existed, the twenty-fifth verse must be considered and explained by itself.

The adage seems profoundly and sternly true. He who does not advance falls back. He whose knowledge or goodness is alive and real necessarily improves in knowledge and goodness; he whose knowledge or goodness is conventional and sterile has no real grip upon either knowledge or goodness; his possessions are no real possessions, and what he falsely has he will actually lose.

B. Weiss and Holtzmann suppose that Mark means by the saying, If you attend to the teaching,—to what you hear,—your knowledge will increase and increase; if you do not attend, you will soon even forget what you have heard (*Quellen*, A, p. 143).

There are interesting Rabbinic parallels quoted by Wünsche, *Neue Beiträge*.

The above argument of W.'s seemed and still seems to me of cogency. It has, however, been directly met by Bousset (*Theologische Rundschau*, 1906, p. 14) in the following way: 21–25 is, he thinks, a very artificial composition with a clearly recognizable tendency. Mark wants to make Jesus express his astonishment and pain at the blindness and obduracy of the people, but also his confidence that his words will not always be misunderstood or hidden, and his exhortation to the disciples that they at least are to 'hear' in the right way. He does this by picking out words of Jesus and stringing them artificially together. If we compare Mark with the parallels in Matthew and Luke, it has to be confessed about 21 (the lamp and the bushel) that its original meaning and reference are lost. Matt. v. 15 is certainly secondary, and the connection in Luke xi. 33 *seq.* is doubtful. But Mark iv. 22 has a more original place in Matt. x. 26, Luke xii. 2; 24 in Matt. vii. 2, Luke vi. 38; and 25 in Matt. xxv. 29, Luke xix. 26. Mark tore the verses out of their original setting because he wanted them for his own purposes. And Bousset adds: If the words of Jesus were first of all reproduced in the arbitrary confusion of Mark iv. 21–25, it is very hard to see how such a large and well arranged tradition of his words as we find in Q could have come into being. Who is right—W. or Bousset?

26–29. The Seed that grows of itself

(Mark only)

26 And he said, 'The kingdom of God is as if a man should cast
27 seed into the ground; and he sleepeth and ariseth, night and day,
and the seed sprouteth and groweth up, he knoweth not how.
28 For of herself the earth bringeth forth her crop; first the blade,
29 then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. But when the
crop is ready, immediately he sendeth forth the sickle, because the
harvest hath come.'

The situation is the same as iv. 1. We now get a fresh version, as it were, of the parable of the sower.

Another way of looking at the matter would be to hold that the interpolated section includes 21–25 as well as 10–20, and that with 26 a fresh specimen of Jesus's teaching in parables is given. Jesus may have used the image of a sower in more than one way, and Mark or his source may have grouped 1–9 and 26–29 together. For the other view, see the quotation from W. at the beginning of the chapter. The Kingdom of God is compared to a process. The seed is sown; though some of it is wasted, some is successful. But it needs time; yet, once sown, the good seed is bound to ripen and bear its fruit. Jesus preached the Word; the perfect Kingdom of God will appear in its season.

Jesus can only do the part given to him by God. He must not attempt to bring about the Kingdom of God by violence or storm (*cp.* Matt. xi. 12). Nor is it for him to tell when precisely the Judgment and the Kingdom will come. Directly the seed he has sown has ripened, God will begin his harvest. The quotation from Joel iv. 13 in 29 shows that the Judgment is alluded to.

26. If Jesus spoke this parable and the parable of the sower, can he also have believed that the end would come so quickly, that the new era had in fact begun? For in the new era there is no actual development. On first thoughts it might rather seem as if the parables sprang from those who saw the young Christian community before them, and believed that a long and glorious future lay in front of it. But against this view there is the difficulty that, as Dr Carpenter says, the early Christians were all convinced that the end was at hand. Perhaps, then, Jesus had both ideas in his mind and gave expression to them upon different occasions, as I have suggested in iv. 17. Dr Carpenter says: 'I agree; and in this respect there was, I think, a change,

not for the better (from our point of view). Jesus became more eager, not for his own personal triumph, but for God's, and so he became more apocalyptic.'

29. *ὅταν παραδοῖ ὁ καρπός*, 'when the fruit permits,' *i.e.* is ripe. In this verse some would argue that another idea seems to peep out. 'Der Schluss,' W. says, 'schiesst über. Durch den Bauer guckt der Weltrichter hervor, der hier nichts zu tun hat.' Merx, following S.S., would omit the 'straightway' (*εὐθύς*), whereby, as he thinks, the apocalyptic haste and suddenness are removed. Much hangs on a word. But the sense which he gives to the verse is doubtful. What is meant by God 'takes the fruit to himself when it is ripe'? This would bring into the conception of the growing Kingdom a fresh idea, as if the point of the Kingdom lay in the gathering of individual souls to heaven, when they had been perfected upon earth. Loisy maintains that 29 is an essential part of the parable. The harvest completes the story: it is the goal of the seed and the sowing. 'Like the husbandman, Jesus sows the Kingdom by preaching the gospel; it does not pertain to him to produce the harvest, that is to say the complete coming of the Kingdom, and men ought not to be impatient because this coming is not brought about at once; that is the business of God, as the actual and mysterious development of the Kingdom is his work and his secret; it is not on that account less certain that the harvest will arrive without undue delay: for a man sows only to reap; at the moment designed by Providence, the sower will become a reaper. Miracles are not designedly excluded, nor are the moral conditions of the coming, so far as individuals are concerned, the object in view. The *parousia* is regarded as close at hand, without any consideration of the death of Christ as an intermediate condition. Between the time of the sowing, *i.e.* the preaching of the gospel, and the time of the harvest, *i.e.* the glorious coming of the Messiah, nothing is placed except the work of germination, the progress of the Word and of faith amongst men, which depends on God alone. It may be said that the Kingdom is already on the earth in the grain which is sprouting, but it is there only in a state of preparation. The full reality of the Kingdom is the great coming' (*E. S.* I. p. 765).

W. has some interesting remarks on the two parables, 1–9 and 26–29. 'In the former parable differences in the value of the soil are spoken of: here not. There the seed only ripens when the soil is good; here it ripens always. There the tone is resigned, because the outlook is limited to the near foreground; here the tone is hopeful, not exactly jubilant, but full of calm confidence, because the vision is turned towards the distance and contemplates

the whole. The sower can go his way; he has begun a process which will complete itself and reach its goal without him—in time. Of course the seed is here, too, the Word; that from the Word comes faith, and from the society of the faithful the Kingdom of God, is a result which lay nearer to the community than to Jesus.

'It is noticeable that neither Matthew nor Luke reproduces this section. It is hardly possible that it was not found in *their* Mark; for a late insertion it is too original. Perhaps they mistook its originality, or thought it a mere variant of 2–8; or, perhaps, they could not well conceive Jesus so apart and withdrawn from his own creation....Rightly, though freely, Goethe understood the parable: Mein Acker ist die Zeit.'

It is just this sentence of Goethe which seems to me so odd in the mouth of Jesus. W. is anxious for us to believe that these more modern conceptions, so removed from the apocalyptic spirit, which ever believed that the end was imminent, were the thought-creations of the historical Jesus, or at all events reproduced with accuracy his own views.

Another alternative is possible. It may be, as Loisy thinks, that 29 is by no means so alien to the rest as W. supposes. It may be that Jesus gave a less extended meaning to the parable than we are inclined to do. Even in the parable the full corn arises and ripens quickly; so, perhaps, did Jesus think it would be with the Kingdom of God upon earth.

Menzies rightly says we must not 'be too sure that in this, as in other parables of growth, Jesus meant to indicate the view that the Kingdom was to arrive gradually by development, rather than suddenly by the act of God. The prophetic ministry was to prepare the way for that last act. But it was very near at hand; it would burst on the world before the disciples had gone over the cities of Israel. If there was a pause before the final act, it was not strange; the same thing happened in the natural world in the case of the sower.' Pfleiderer thinks much the same. The point of the sower parable he takes to be that the Kingdom could only be prepared for by the proclamation and teaching of the good tidings. How soon *precisely* the seed would ripen and the harvest come, God alone knew. There is no idea of a long development or process, or a gradual improvement of mankind (*Urchristentum*, I. pp. 623, 624).

And Wrede says well: 'It may be allowed therefore that the subject of development is treated here, but it is not a development in this world, but a hidden development in the operations and plans of God, of which man sees nothing. And the Kingdom does not develope from its beginning to its consummation, so that at the end it is something different from what it was at the

beginning, but it is the coming of the one and the selfsame Kingdom which gradually draws near' (Wrede, *Vorträge und Studien*, p. 112).

J. Weiss thinks that the parable must be taken in close connection with the former parable of the sower. It is still the Word with which Jesus is here concerned. As the farmer sows and then waits, so only can Jesus fulfil his mission: preaching, collecting, preparing. He cannot force the advent of the Kingdom, any more than the farmer can force the appearance of the fruit. Many of his adherents probably urged him to take action, but he speaks with disapproval of those who would seek to obtain the Kingdom by violence (Matt. xi. 12). The actual bringing of the Kingdom is not the work of man, and not his work; it is God's work; he (Jesus) has to proclaim that God will rule, and that man must prepare himself for that rule and make himself worthy of it.

Jülicher (*Einleitung*, 1906, p. 286) thinks that the reason for the prominence given by Mark to the parable of the sower—why he chose it, out of the many parables of Jesus which he must have known, as an example of the Master's teaching—is that Mark wanted to point out that Jesus had foreseen the cleavage which his teaching had produced among his people, and that he had predicted and explained beforehand the slowness of the progress of his cause. Jesus had not only foreseen everything which had happened, but he had not even wished things to happen otherwise. Even at 60 or 70 A.D. the delay in the arrival or completion of the Kingdom must have seemed a huge delay, sorely needing explanation, to the believing disciples. What would they have said to the unarrived or uncompleted Kingdom after 1800 years!

I feel somewhat doubtful as to whether this remarkable parable was, as Loisy thinks, taken by Mark from Q. But still more sceptical do I feel towards the theory of B. Weiss that the parable is only a free adaptation of the parable of the tares in Matt. xiii. 24–30 (*Quellen*, A, p. 134). This seems a strange, almost perverse idea. On the other hand, the mustard seed parable, now to follow, may possibly have been taken from Q.

30–34. The Mustard Seed

(*Cp.* Matt. xiii. 31, 32; Luke xiii. 18, 19)

30 And he said, 'Whereunto shall we liken the kingdom of God?
31 or with what parable shall we represent it? It is like a grain of mustard seed, which, when it is sown in the earth, is less than

32 all the seeds that are in the earth. But when it is sown, it groweth up, and becometh greater than all herbs, and throweth out great branches: so that the birds of the air can lodge under the shadow of it.'

33 And with many such parables spake he the Word unto them,
34 as they were able to understand it. And without a parable spake he not unto them: but when they were alone, he explained everything to his disciples.

The mustard seed is the Kingdom as represented by and existing in the Christian community. From small and lowly beginnings it is destined to become the greatest thing on earth, to include all humanity in its embrace. Whether the fulfilment is to come soon is not stated, but it is, on the other hand, not implied that it is far off.

One can imagine that in the humble beginnings of the Christian community the parable would be encouraging and suggestive.

In this parable the Kingdom—here only in Mark—is not the Kingdom of the future which on a renovated earth God will himself establish, it is not the perfected Divine Rule of the new era, but it is the growing Kingdom as represented by the Christian community. As W. says, the Kingdom is here 'das historisch sich entwickelnde, nicht das eschatologische.' And the seed is not the Word, but the Kingdom. It may therefore be questioned whether this parable was really spoken by Jesus. Wrede makes an attempt even in this parable to preserve for the Kingdom its complete, 'ready made,' and eschatological character. But the attempt is hardly successful, and he himself puts it forward somewhat hesitatingly. He supposes that it is not the Kingdom which grows and spreads, but the circle of those who are to possess or live under it.

Of the thirteen places in which, in Mark, Jesus speaks of the Kingdom, this is the only passage where it seems definitely to mean the growing Christian Church. In i. 14, ix. 1, 47, x. 23–25, xiv. 25, its eschatological sense seems clear. iv. 11, 26 do not contradict that sense. For the other three passages, x. 14, 15, and xii. 34, see the notes *ad loc.* Loisy also would attempt to keep the parable for Jesus. It is the coming of the Kingdom, not the Christian community, which was originally compared to the quick growing mustard: the parable does not necessarily set forth the rapid expansion of Christianity, but its object is to remove the doubt which the humble beginnings of the gospel might cause as to its fulfilment in the Kingdom (*E. S.* i. p. 771).

But was this doubt one which could have arisen within the year of Jesus's ministry? Moreover Jesus did not say that his gospel, humble in its beginning, would grow or turn into the Kingdom. He simply announced that the advent of the Kingdom was near, and that it would suddenly make its appearance.

31. ὅν. W. points out that ἔστι is really the meaning here. The participle supplies the place of the finite verb. The mustard seed is at first the smallest, but as it grows it becomes the largest of plants.

32. There is a reminiscence of Ezekiel xvii. 23. The Messianic Kingdom which is here predicted is of the same kind as that of the old prophets in their larger, quieter, and more universalistic moods. It is to be a Kingdom of peace and righteousness and of the knowledge of God. Jesus, we have to remember, takes up again the wider messages of Isaiah, and even of Ezekiel too, it may be said, in such momentary phases of his teaching as are reflected in xvii. 23, where, under the shadow of the Tree of Israel, all the birds of every wing shall dwell. *Cp.* also Ezekiel xxxi. 6; Dan. iv. 12, 21.

33 seems to indicate that Jesus used the parable to help his hearers to understand his meaning. To its author—the earlier redactor—the parables, though difficult, were nevertheless spoken to be understood by all who heard them, so far as their capacities admitted. 34, on the contrary, follows the point of view of verses 10 and 11. It is the work of the latest redactor, who thinks that the object of the parables was to darken or harden the Jews, and who even forgets that Jesus spoke much to the people not in parables at all.

35–41. Storm at Sea

(*Cp.* Matt. viii. 18, 23–27; Luke viii, 22–25)

35 And the same day, when the even was come, he said unto
36 them, 'Let us cross over unto the other side.' And when they had dismissed the crowd, they took him, even as he was, in the
37 boat. And there arose a great storm of wind, and the waves beat
38 upon the boat, so that it became full. And he was in the stern of the boat, asleep on a pillow: and they awoke him, and said unto
39 him, 'Master, carest thou not that we perish?' And he arose, and rebuked the wind, and said [unto the sea], 'Peace, be still.' And

40 the wind dropped, and there was a great calm. And he said unto
41 them, 'Why are ye so fearful? have ye still no faith?' And they feared exceedingly, and said one to another, 'Who is this man, that even the wind and the sea obey him?'

B. Weiss supposes that there was a storm story in Q from which Mark borrowed, and which he expanded. He cannot, I think, be said to have proved his case (*Quellen*, A, pp. 166–169). Loisy thinks that the storm story, the Gadarene swine story, and the daughter of Jairus story, were already combined in this order in Mark's other 'narrative source,' and that Matthew may have known and used this source as well as Mark (*E. S.* I. pp. 89, 108, 125).

35. It is not explained what the motive was for this departure to the other side of the lake. Was it to gain some repose or to carry the tidings to other centres? On the other side of the lake there were indeed many Jews, but they dwelt amid a large number of pagans.

36. Jesus is still in the boat. The disciples 'take him with them,' just as he was, without further preparation. These words, however, are due to the redactor. Originally the story must have meant to imply that Jesus was on land, and that he determined to cross over to the other side of the lake. 'They take him with them' is an odd phrase, if Jesus is already with them in the boat; 'as he was' is added to mask the difficulty.

The remark that there were other boats present too has no bearing upon the story, and may therefore point to a real historic tradition.

39. Codex Bezae (D) omits 'the sea,' W. thinks, rightly. For it is the wind which is regarded as a spirit, not the sea.

41. Was Jesus justified in charging them with want of faith? Hardly, I think. It may be said that a man in a storm at sea should not be afraid, because he should not fear death, but it cannot be said that faith in God will of itself prevent the wreck of the ship and the death of the passengers. Faith should make one willing either to die or to live. It cannot prevent death.

Dr Carpenter writes dissenting. 'The want of courage is traced to lack of faith, with the implication that the man who feels himself in God's hands will not be afraid of shipwreck or death or anything. He can meet catastrophe calmly.' So too Menzies. But I think this is too modern. The narrator clearly meant that they should have faith that God would not suffer them to perish.

Wellhausen has an interesting note on the relation of this story to the story of Jonah. But I think he underestimates the importance of the Old Testament stories and characters in the gradual manufacture (on a real historical basis) of the life of Jesus as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. This, however, is the note, and my readers may judge for themselves:

'That he sleeps during a storm at sea is a trait which Jesus shared with Jonah, but otherwise there is no similarity. Our story is not the echo of the story of Jonah. And in general the notion that the Gospel stories owe their origin to Old Testament types is seldom true; it is usually the opposite of the truth. What was known and reported about Jesus did not agree with what is said in the Old Testament about the Messiah or with what the Jews expected of him; it had to be proved with difficulty that, to the eyes of the initiated, the contradiction disappears. The "original Old Testament Gospel," as Credner called it, is really something additional, and not the kernel of the whole; in Mark it is almost wholly wanting; it is most apparent, and occupies most space, in Matthew.'

If we read the Jonah story in the Greek version, it seems impossible to doubt that it has influenced the story in Mark. *Cp.* Schmidt, 'Die Komposition des Buches Jona,' in *Zeitschrift der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft*, 1905, p. 298. Yet it is conceivable, as J. Weiss earnestly argues, that the story may have a historical basis. Jesus sleeps during a storm. The disciples in their fear wake him up. He rebukes them; the wind soon drops. Here were the historic materials at hand for a miraculous tale. Loisy takes much the same line (*E. S.* I. p. 798)

CHAPTER V

1–20. The Gadarene Swine

(*Cp.* Matt. viii. 28–34; Luke viii. 26–39)

1 And they came unto the other side of the lake, to the country
2 of the Gadarenes. And as he landed from the boat, immediately
there met him [out of the tombs] a man with an unclean spirit,
3 who dwelt among the tombs. And nobody had been able to bind
4 him even with a chain: for he had been often bound with fetters
and chains, but the chains had been torn asunder by him, and the
fetters broken in pieces: and no one was strong enough to subdue
5 him. And always, night and day, he was in the mountains and

6 in the tombs, shrieking, and cutting himself with stones. But
7 when he saw Jesus afar off, he ran and fell down before him, and
cried with a loud voice, and said, 'What have I to do with thee,
Jesus, thou Son of the most high God? I adjure thee by God,
8 that thou torment me not.' (For Jesus had said unto him, 'Come
9 out of the man, thou unclean spirit.') And Jesus asked him,
'What is thy name?' And he answered, saying, 'My name is
10 Legion: for we are many.' And he besought him much that he
11 would not send them away out of the land. Now there was there
12 upon the mountain a great herd of swine feeding. And they
besought him, saying, 'Send us into the swine, that we may
13 enter into them.' And Jesus gave them leave. And the unclean
spirits went out, and entered into the swine: and the herd rushed
down the cliff into the lake, (they were about two thousand); and
14 they were drowned in the lake. And the swineherds fled, and
told the story in the city and in the country. And the people
15 came out to see what had happened. And they came to Jesus, and
saw him that was possessed with the demon, sitting down, clothed
16 and in his right mind: and they were afraid. And the eye-
witnesses told them what had happened to him that was possessed
17 with the demon, and also about the swine. And they began to
18 entreat him to depart out of their territory. And as he was
getting into the boat, the man who had been possessed with the
19 demon entreated him that he might go with him. Howbeit Jesus
permitted him not, but said unto him, 'Go home to thine own
people, and tell them what great things the Lord has done for
20 thee, and how he has had compassion upon thee.' And he de-
parted, and began to proclaim publicly in the Ten Cities what
great things Jesus had done for him: and all were amazed.

A strange story! It is wonderful, observes W., that this folk-tale (*dieser Schwank*) should have been attributed to Jesus. It must have had an independent origin. 'Il ressemble à un gros conte populaire' (*E. S.* 1. p. 799).

It is perhaps enough to mention here that B. Weiss supposes that this tale also formed part of Q, and that the short form which it assumes in Matthew is not an abbreviation of Mark, but in the main a reproduction of Q. Mark has expanded. Loisy more cautiously confines himself to saying: 'La sobriété du récit [of

Matthew] pourrait tenir en partie à ce que Matthieu a connu la source dont Marc lui-même dépend' (*E. S.* I. p. 125).

1. 'There are three forms of the name of the people with whom Jesus is now brought into contact. Matthew has Gadarenes, Luke in many good MSS. has Gergesenes. But Gardara, the capital of Peræa, is at a distance from the Sea (Lake) of Galilee; and the Gergesenes, if the name is connected with a tribe of Girgashites (Genesis x. 16), were west of the Jordan. In Mark, and also in Luke, the reading Gerasenes is best supported. It cannot refer to the town Gerasa, on the frontier of Peræa, which is about thirty miles from the southern end of the Sea of Galilee. Modern research has discovered a place called Gersa or Khersa, on the east side of that sea, which satisfies the requirements of our passage, there being a steep slope from the high ground into the lake' (Menzies). The inhabitants on the east side of the lake were mixed. There were many pagans as well as Jews. Hence the herd of swine.

2. The 'possessed' person is, in this case, a violent madman. He is represented as dwelling among the tombs, inasmuch as he avoids all human intercourse, and partly because the popular belief was that demons liked to haunt cemeteries.

8 is retrospective. 'For Jesus *had* said to him,' &c.

9. As the unclean spirit is to go into a herd of pigs, there must be more than one spirit. This verse makes and explains the transition from the singular to the plural. Perhaps Jesus asks for the name, because, in the popular idea, in order to lay a spirit effectually, it is desirable or even necessary to know its name. It was also part of the popular belief that demons live in herds of beasts, and that a whole number of them can reside in a human body. A demon does not like to mention his name; perhaps he avoids it also here, and gives his number instead (W.).

10. The unclean spirits do not want to go back to their own place (the desert or hell); they can easily change the human or animal body in which they have taken up their abode.

13, 14. The spirits are disappointed. Their wish is granted, and yet they are dispossessed of their chosen new home. The unclean pigs are drowned, and their heathen owners lose 2000 beasts. These incidents are perhaps part of a popular Jewish tale, unconnected originally with the life of Jesus.

In his book, *Das älteste Evangelium* (p. 188) J. Weiss tried hard to argue that the story is historical, and not even disagreeable to

those who can see a little deeper. The pigs were frightened by the man's raging; he rushed at them in his final paroxysm; they ran in their fright over the cliff. The man had a sort of *idée fixe* that the demons inside him wanted to get into the pigs. These elaborate attempts do not seem to me very successful. In Weiss's later commentary on the Gospels the notion that the man had a fixed idea that the demons desired to leave him and enter the pigs seems to have been wisely dropped. The best remarks on the origin, growth, and meaning of the story are to be found in Carpenter's *First Three Gospels*, pp. 166–169.

17. They ask him to leave partly, perhaps, because they do not wish to lose any more property, partly because the presence of so powerful a miracle-worker makes them afraid.

We are to gather that they are not Jews, but pagans. Whether the man who is cured is a Jew or not is uncertain. Jesus carries out their wishes and returns to the Capernaum side of the lake. Have we here a sort of veiling of the fact that this attempt at preaching the Kingdom on the other side of the lake was for some reason or other a failure or that Jesus had to return? Loisy says: 'Les évangélistes ont évité de mettre cet échec en relief, et Jésus lui-même a pu se rendre compte, en voyant cette population qui était en partie païenne, que le terrain n'était nullement préparé' (*E. S.* I. p. 796).

19. Jesus refuses to allow the man to become one of his disciples; he does not desire to have a stranger among his own immediate followers. At any rate, whatever the reason, he bids him go home and tell his family what the Lord (here meaning God) has done for him. If the man was a pagan, this might mean that he was to convert his family to the knowledge of the one true God, the Lord (Jehovah, Yahweh).

It is generally supposed that this bidding of Jesus constitutes an exception to the usual command of secrecy and silence. It is, however, doubtful whether it is so, for the man is only bidden to tell his *family*. He is to keep within the privacy of his house, whereas, instead, he publishes the wonderful cure all over the Decapolis, but Jesus had not suggested or ordered this. On the contrary, the words of the order look rather as if he wished the man to keep among his own household. The order, therefore, is probably no exception to the rule. *Cp.* viii. 26. On the opposite hypothesis we can adopt some such explanation, for example, as Gould's, who supposes that as the place was 'rarely visited' by Jews, and as Jesus now had to leave it, the publication of the story could only do good. Here were no enemies to misunderstand; no injudicious friends; no people to be blinded by

miracles to spiritual work. No false conception of the Messiah would be aroused as in Galilee. Or, again, if there is an exception, it may be that Mark has here forgotten his theory.

20. 'Decapolis, the ten city district, is the name applied to the cities, east of the Jordan, liberated by Pompey from Jewish rule, which united in the ten city alliance. These cities had been Hellenistic since the Syrian conquest, had been conquered and subjected to Jewish rule by the Maccabees, and were finally liberated by Pompey' (Gould).

As the highest portions of the Synoptic Gospels excel the average teachings of the prophets, so the lowest portions fall beneath them. How pure and free the prophets are from the superstitious ideas about demons and demoniac possession to which Jesus, like many others of his time, was a victim!

21–43. The Daughter of Jairus and the Woman with an Issue

(*Cp.* Matt. ix. 18–26; Luke viii. 40–56)

21 And when Jesus had crossed over again in the boat unto the other side, a great crowd gathered unto him, and stood by the
22 edge of the lake. And, behold, there came one of the rulers of the synagogue, Jairus by name; and when he saw him, he fell at
23 his feet, and besought him greatly, saying, 'My little daughter lies at the point of death: come and lay thy hands on her, that she may be healed, and may live.'
24 And Jesus went with him; and a great crowd followed him,
25 and pressed around him. And a woman, who had had an issue
26 of blood twelve years, and had suffered much from many physicians, and had spent all her fortune, and was not benefited, but rather
27 grew worse, having heard the tales about Jesus, came up in the
28 crowd, and touched his garment from behind. For she thought,
29 'If I only touch his clothes, I shall be cured.' And straightway the source of her issue dried up; and she felt in her body that
30 she was healed of her affliction. And Jesus, realizing immediately that power had gone out of him, turned round in the crowd, and
31 said, 'Who touched my clothes?' And his disciples said unto him, 'Thou seest the crowd pressing around thee, and thou sayest,

32 Who touched me?' And he looked round to see who it was that
33 had done it. But the woman, fearing and trembling—for she knew what had befallen her—came and fell down before him, and
34 told him all the truth. But he said unto her, 'Daughter, thy faith has cured thee; go in peace, and be healed of thy affliction.'
35 While he yet spake, there came some men from the ruler of the synagogue's house, and said, 'Thy daughter is dead: why
36 troublest thou the Master any further?' But Jesus overheard the word that was spoken, and said unto the ruler of the synagogue,
37 'Be not afraid; have but faith.' And he allowed no man to go on with him, except Peter, and James, and John the brother of
38 James. And they came to the house of the ruler of the synagogue,
39 and he heard an uproar, for they wept and wailed loudly. And when he had entered in, he said unto them, 'Why make ye this
40 uproar, and weep? the child is not dead, but sleeps.' And they laughed him to scorn. But he drove them all out, and took with him only the father and the mother of the child, and his com-
41 panions, and entered in where the child was lying. And he took the hand of the child, and said unto her, '*Talitha cumi*'; which
42 is, being interpreted, 'Maiden, I say unto thee, arise.' And straightway the girl arose, and walked; for she was twelve years old. And they were utterly beside themselves with amazement.
43 And he strictly ordered them that no man should know it; and he said that something should be given her to eat.

How well these stories are told! The vivid touches are mostly omitted by Matthew (*e.g.* 26, how the woman had seen many doctors and been put to much expense).

There is a certain inimitable touch of sarcasm at the pompous and noisy lamentations (38) for the girl who was not, after all, really dead.

What are we to regard as the basis of this story? Did it happen? Was the girl really not dead? Was it a case of apparent death only? This is the best hypothesis. But, if so, how did Jesus realize this before he had seen the girl? Perhaps the story has been expanded from a simpler and more natural original. The tales of Elijah and Elisha may also have been of influence in shaping the story as we now find it. Note the charming touch at the end: 'He bade them give her something to eat.' This may also point to the child having been in

some sort of faint. Loisy thinks the motive of the order is the same as that of the order for silence. The child is not to be treated as a resurrected being. Her parents are to act as if (which is the case) she had woke up after a long sleep, when she would naturally need some food.

M. Loisy tries his best to deal with the story as if, in Mark at any rate, we had to do with a most accurately reported tale. And I think that, upon the whole, this is a reasonable line for a commentator to take. Let him, at all events in the first instance, do his best with the narrative before him. The order for silence at the end M. Loisy, here as elsewhere, seeks to set in the best possible historical relief. See below on verse 43. But finally the difficulties seem to surge up against him, and he adds: 'It must be confessed that some difficulty is caused to the historian by the direction to keep silence, which, in spite of the explanations previously given, is not natural, and tends to throw suspicion on the reality of the event. After the transfiguration, the same direction will be met again, addressed to the same disciples: and it will further be observed, from the criticism of the other narratives in which Peter, James, and John appear, that the mention of the three apostles is not a guarantee of historicity. A tradition, the subject of which is the miracles of Jesus, is inevitably legendary. All that can be said about the healing of the woman with an issue and the raising of Jairus's daughter is that they are probably not myths, and that they proceed from real incidents' (*E. S.* 1. p. 826).

In 36 the words 'Fear not; only believe,' have a wonderfully solemn and beautiful effect. Whether such a faith was reasonable need not here be discussed. It could not lightly or easily be answered. The whole story is told with consummate art.

Note that here only we find a story within a story. (*Cp.*, however, iii. 20.) The interval and necessary pause between the departure of Jesus to see the dying girl and his arrival at the house are admirably filled up by the incident of the woman with the issue.

28. 'The woman seeks to be cured in this surreptitious way because of her uncleanness' (Gould).

29. *ἴαται.* The perfect passive. 'The conviction flashed through her mind: I have received a permanent cure' (Swete).

34. 'Thy faith has cured thee.' 'In x. 52 this is apparently to be taken literally, but after the words about the power issuing from Jesus (30), it can only mean here that her faith has led her to the true agency of cure' (Menzies).

J. Weiss points out that if the story is historical, the cure could only have been due to what he calls 'auto-suggestion.' The excitement and faith of the woman cause the blood to cease flowing. But then the explanation of Mark, and Jesus's feeling that 'power' had gone out of him, must be abandoned. Prof. Bennett is very clever in trying to put the miraculous or semi-miraculous incidents in such a way that (*a*) they become more credible, and (*b*) that they redound to the unique greatness of his hero. Thus here he says: 'He was sensitive to influences which did not affect others. In this incident He distinguished the woman's timid touch amid the pressure of the jostling crowd, as a mother, even in her sleep, singles out her infant's feeble cry from a babel of loud noises. There was, so to speak, an emotional circuit set up between Him and her, so that He felt the shock of her importunate demand for healing and the immediate drain upon His mysterious forces. By such an experience even He was startled' (*op. cit.* p. 77).

36. *παρακούσας*. The meaning is not quite certain. It may mean simply 'overheard.' On the basis of the usage of the word in the Septuagint, Swete explains that Jesus heard, but heeded not. He spoke as if he had not heard, passed the words by in silence, and followed his own course.

39. 'She is not dead, but sleeps.' Jesus says this before he has seen the child. He is still sure that she is not really dead. Jesus himself does *not* believe that he is going to perform the miracle of bringing the dead to life. From first to last he is convinced that the child is not dead. Prof. Bennett has a good remark here from his own special point of view. He says: 'Jesus had set out for Jairus's house in the assured conviction that He was going to heal the child; the news of her death seemed incredible because He was not conscious of any power or commission to raise the dead. So that if they were right, His conviction that He was going to heal the child was a mistake. That was impossible, therefore He knew that she was not dead. This view may have been confirmed to Him by some mysterious intuition, such as that by which He was made aware of the woman's touch and its meaning' (p. 78).

J. Weiss has good remarks upon the amazing faith of Jesus. If, as he says, the story is not a mere legend, it can only be explained upon the strength of this faith, which other stories equally reveal. This faith was a fundamental feature of his character, which can neither be explained nor described; one may approve of it or not, it has to be recognized. His faith was a sort of inspiration, which overcame him with overmastering

power. So far as we know, this faith during the period of his brief ministry did not play him false, except perhaps at Nazareth. Whether xv. 34 means a disappointment of faith is disputed.

43. The order for concealment is hard to credit here. How could Jesus have imagined that it could be obeyed? Moreover, there was the child alive whom everybody had supposed to be dead. The order is, one may suppose, merely inserted by Mark in accordance with his general theory. Perhaps it is fair to give Loisy's defence of the prohibition. 'If Jesus forbids them to relate what has happened, it is in order that there may be no talk about the miracle, and that it may not be announced as a resurrection. Let who will say that the child was not quite dead; no one is to contradict it. Jesus is not desirous that people should believe that he has come to raise the dead, as he heals the sick, and he fears lest the fame of such an extraordinary prodigy should excite an untimely movement in public opinion. A considerable number of persons had heard that the daughter of Jairus was dead, but only a few had entered the child's room, and what Jesus himself had said might have aided the belief that she had only swooned. If the parents did not speak and Jesus was absent, soon nothing more would be thought of the matter' (*E. S.* I. p. 825).

As with the preceding story, so here too it is disputed whether Mark has expanded from Q, or whether Matthew has contracted from Mark. The most interesting point comes in as regards verse 30. W., who, of course, holds that Mark did not know Q, thinks that Matthew omitted this part of Mark's story because it was distasteful to him. B. Weiss, on the contrary, thinks that in the original story, as (in his opinion) it was found and read by Mark in Q, this 'material' explanation of the miracle was wanting. If Matt. ix. 21 was in Q and not merely taken from Mark v. 28, it was only the woman who (wrongly) thought that to be cured she must touch Jesus's dress. What *really* cured her was her faith and her faith only, even as Jesus says in Matt. ix. 22, Mark v. 34. Loisy, though he leaves the question open whether the source of Mark was known to Matthew, nevertheless thinks that Mark is here more original than Matthew. The words, 'thy faith has healed thee,' really presuppose 'that the miracle has been accomplished without Jesus having intended it.' The healing was prior to Jesus's utterance, and not after it or at the same time with it. The traits which Matthew suppresses are just those which plead for the historicity of the story (*E. S.* I. p. 818).

CHAPTER VI

1–6. The Cold Reception of Jesus at Nazareth

(*Cp.* Matt. xiii. 53–58; Luke iv. 16–30)

1 And he went out from thence, and entered into his native
2 city; and his disciples followed him. And when the sabbath day was come, he began to teach in the synagogue: and many, hearing him, were astonished, saying, 'Whence has this come to him? what wisdom is this which has been given unto him? and have
3 such miracles been wrought by his hands? Is he not the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James, and Joses, and Juda, and Simon? and are not his sisters here with us?' And
4 they took offence at him. But Jesus said unto them, 'A prophet is not without honour, except in his own city, and among his
5 kin, and in his house.' And he could not perform there a single miracle, save that he laid his hands upon a few sick folk, and
6 healed them. And he marvelled because of their unbelief. So he went about the villages around, teaching.

1. Jesus now attempts another missionary enterprise. He will essay to preach the tidings in his own native village. But for different reasons his venture at Nazareth is as much a failure as his venture on the other side of the lake.

2, 3. There seems some little confusion in the narrative. What his fellow townsmen say about him must refer, at least partially, to his reputation, for he did no wonders at Nazareth. 'To be astonished at' is elsewhere used as nearly equivalent to wonder and admiration. But the men of Nazareth, on the contrary, cannot see anything so very wonderful in his teaching.

It is, however, quite possible that what the Evangelist means to suggest is that they were half amazed, half annoyed. They are half inclined to marvel and believe, but this very half-belief makes them the more irritated and incredulous. His teaching seems very wise; but yet how could this man, whose family they know so well—just ordinary people—say such wise things? He was no Rabbi by profession, and had not frequented any Rabbinic school. It is impossible. This seems true to human nature. They do not *want* to believe. If Jesus *were* a veritable prophet, it

would be annoying. 'We are as good as he, but we could not teach as he does, and we could not do the wonders which he is said to have done. Therefore, after all, his teaching is *not* wise, and he did not do the wonders!'

3. The 'carpenter, the son of Mary' in Mark as compared with the 'son of the carpenter' in Matt. xiii. 55 and 'son of Joseph' in Luke iv. 22, is very noteworthy. Perhaps, as J. Weiss argues, it rests upon a later manipulation of the text. The Mark which Matthew and Luke knew probably had a reading more like theirs. Why should they have changed it? Indeed, Merx points out that there is good evidence, drawn from the Armenian and a MS. of the old Latin translation, that the earliest form was 'the son of the carpenter Joseph and of Mary.' In his text Loisy defends the accuracy and priority of the reading in Mark (as we have it now) as against the reading of Matthew and Luke, but in a footnote (*E. S.* I. p. 833, n. 6) he turns round and is inclined to accept Merx's suggestion.

5. This strong expression, 'He could do no wonder there,' is only found in Mark. To perform his miracles Jesus usually needed a predisposition of faith, and a certain excited expectation of success. The few healings are apparently not regarded by the narrator as miracles. Did Jesus try and fail? Prof. Bennett seeks to avoid this conclusion. He says Jesus did not try. For (*a*) his fellow townsmen did not believe he could succeed (and therefore, I suppose, brought no difficult cases to him), and (*b*) he himself did not feel the spiritual impulse which moved him to undertake miracles, and assured him of power to perform them (p. 82). Holtzmann, on the contrary, holds that Jesus tried and failed. The greater the evidence for the historical character of Mark's narrative: 'It makes a deep impression of historical accuracy (verse 5) when we hear how in the face of such unbelief, even Jesus's power to perform miracles fails. It became exhausted, as soon as the indispensable conditions which call out his consciousness of power are wanting' (Holtzmann, *in loc.*). Loisy seems inclined to agree. 'If he were unable to perform miracles in his own country, it was not owing to a momentary failure of power, but to lack of faith in those on whom this power might have been exercised. A few sick people only had confidence enough to be healed. However the mention of these cures looks like a rectifying gloss, which the compiler has added to a narrative which included no miracle' (*E. S.* I. p. 837).

7–13. The Sending of the Twelve

(*Cp.* Matt. ix. 35–38, x. 1, 5–16, xi. 1; Luke ix. 1–6, x. 1–12, xiii. 22)

7 And he called unto him the Twelve, and began to send them
forth by two and two; and he gave them power over unclean
8 spirits; and he commanded them that they should take nothing
for their journey, save a staff only; no bread, no wallet, no money
9 in their purse. They were only to be shod with sandals; and
o they were not to put on two coats. And he said unto them,
'Wheresoever ye enter into an house, there abide till ye depart
1 thence. And whatever place will not receive you, nor hear you,
depart thence, and shake off the dust under your feet, as a
2 testimony against them.' And they went forth, and preached
3 that men should repent. And they cast out many demons, and
anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them.

Jesus is not daunted by his failure at Nazareth. He proceeds to the 'villages round about,' and sets forth his teaching to their inhabitants. Of what happens there, and how he fared, we are told nothing. The narrative passes on to quite different matters.

We are informed that Jesus determines to make his chosen disciples partners in his work. It is too large for one man. The Great Day might dawn, the Kingdom might come, and how few Israelites—even in Galilee—would have had an opportunity to repent and be saved. Therefore let six small companies traverse through the land, warning and healing. Was the mission of the Twelve also due to the growing difficulties and opposition which Jesus had experienced? So thinks Loisy, who, with B. Weiss, also maintains that Mark drew this section from the same source (Q) whence Matthew and Luke take their longer speeches to the disciples. 'Visiblement emprunté à une relation plus complète,' he says in the Introduction (*É. S.* p. 89). In the Commentary he is slightly more cautious. Thus he says: 'After the first difficulties which the Pharisees threw in his way, and above all in the presence of the popular movement which increased around him, Jesus had chosen the twelve apostles; henceforward he usually had them with him, and he prepared them to help him; lastly, having experienced the hostility of the Pharisees and of the Gerasenes, the indifference and coldness of his fellow-citizens and his relatives, he

decided to associate his disciples with his work of evangelisation. The selection and the mission are two correlative facts, and as it were two outstanding points in the general plan of the second Gospel. The editor seems to attach more importance to the mission even than to the instruction which is connected with it, for he evidently abridges the latter, and it is difficult to believe that he is not depending on a written source in which the mission serves as a motive for a discourse of considerable length, as in Matthew. This source must be that on which Matthew draws himself, and whence also comes the speech which in Luke is addressed to the seventy-two disciples' (*E. S.* I. p. 856).

On the other hand, we have W. regarding the section as a later insertion ('ein dem Grundplan fremdes Zwischenstück'), and, moreover, as entirely unhistorical. Thus he writes about both iii. 13–19 and vi. 7–13: 'They contain no historic traditions. The order of the apostles (*das Apostolat*) is (thus early) founded by Jesus, but nevertheless no practical results ensue. The twelve make an experiment, and are afterwards just as dependent and passive as before, although the experiment is supposed to succeed. In truth, Jesus arranged no trial journeys for his "seminary." But, as witness and evidence for the manner of the oldest Christian mission in Palestine, these instructions have great value.' J. Weiss thinks that to question the historical character of Jesus sending out his disciples upon missionary work in his lifetime is unnecessary hypercriticism. Why should he not have done so? The possible harvest was great; his own opportunities and powers were limited; the Great Day, which would bring the Kingdom, was near at hand. The setting and the instructions may belong to a subsequent generation.

7. 'He gave them power over the unclean spirits.' This is enlarged in Matt. xi. by the addition 'and to cure every malady and sickness.' What are we to suppose that Mark meant by this, and is the assertion historical? Neither question is easy to answer. I cannot help feeling exceedingly dubious as to its historical character. That Jesus felt that he had been given power by God to expel demons is likely enough. But that he felt that he could delegate or pass on this power, seems far less probable. Was it not a power to be won from God by faith rather than handed on as by magic? For how can we assign any meaning to what Jesus is here said to do, except one which is at least semi-magical (*cp.* Acts viii. 15–19, xix. 6 referred to by Holtzmann). If they were to expel and cure by invoking the name of Jesus (as Loisy thinks, *cp.* ix. 38), what is this but naked supernaturalism or magic? But this does not seem in keeping

with the character of Jesus. It may be noted that B. Weiss supposes that Jesus really only gave the apostles power to heal sicknesses. This was all that Q mentioned as we still can see in Luke x. 9. It is Mark who added (unhistorically) the expulsion of demons. B. Weiss thinks that Luke x. 17 is a proof of his suggestion. '*Even* (or *also*) the demons were subject to us in thy name.' They are quite astonished at this; it was unexpected, and beyond the powers which had been originally entrusted to them (*Quellen*, A, pp. 124–131).

8. The apostles are to take no luggage or provisions with them: even their attire is to be most simple; one coat must suffice. Not even copper money are they to carry.

11. τόπος, says W., means here no more than house. But this does not seem necessary. It may refer to a locality in which no friendly house is found. Bousset holds that Mark has reproduced his original (Q) unclearly. The point is that in each place (τόπος) the apostles are to choose one house and stick to it. 'For a testimony unto them': *i.e.* to indicate to them that all intercourse with them is utterly cut off. No attempt is to be made to convert the unwilling. He who will not hear must be left to his fate. There is no time for delay. Before the Kingdom has fully come there is ever so much still to do. B. Weiss affirms with his usual emphatic positiveness (one cannot help wishing that all was really so 'offenbar' and 'unwiderleglich' in the Synoptic Gospels as this venerable and distinguished scholar supposes) that what Luke has in x. 11 (Q) is primitive as compared with Mark vi. 11. A symbolic speech has been turned by Mark into a symbolic act. Holtzmann is inclined to agree. Loisy thinks the explanation is different. Luke's 'symbolic speech' is due to conveniences of redaction, so that he may not have to repeat textually what he had already said in ix. 5. For the whole passage, *cp.* Acts xiii. 51.

12. Repentance is the main burden of the original message of Jesus, in accordance with Mark i. 14. The new era is hard at hand; it has, indeed, already begun. They who would reap good from it and not evil must repent of their sins.

13. Anointing with oil is only here mentioned in the Gospels. *Cp.* James v. 14.

M. Loisy observes: 'Although such anointings were of frequent use in ancient medicine, the reference here is not to a purely medical prescription, since it is presumed that the cures are miraculous. On the other hand, the oil cannot be regarded as merely a symbol of the supernatural power of the apostles, for it forms a real means

by which the healing is achieved. In that age and in that environment, the idea of purely natural medicine did not exist, and the art of healing was more or less confused with magic, the remedies being charms. The anointing of which Mark speaks partakes at once of the nature of a religious rite, as the exorcism by which the demons are driven out, in so far as a divine virtue is supposed to be attached to it, and of a remedy, in so far as real efficacy in healing was attributed to the element itself' (*E. S.* I. p. 901).

'Apostolic' poverty was a new thing in Judaism. The praise and worship of poverty may not be the highest righteousness and verity, but yet they constitute a wonderful phase of human goodness, a wonderful chapter in the history of man. Doubtless they wrought evil as well as good; but without them, without such gospel passages as these, there would have been no St Francis. And surely the world would be much poorer without the *Sacrum Commercium* and the *Fioretti*, and poorer still without the life, personality, and example of St Francis himself. See also Additional Note 16.

14–29. Jesus, Herod Antipas, and John the Baptist

(*Cp.* Matt. xiv. 1–12; Luke ix. 7–9, iii. 19, 20)

14 And king Herod heard of him: for his name became known.
And some said, 'John the Baptist is risen from the dead, and
15 therefore miraculous powers are active in him.' Others said, 'It
is Elijah.' And others said, 'He is a prophet, like one of the
16 prophets.' But when Herod heard of him, he said, 'John, whom
I beheaded, is risen from the dead.'

17 For Herod himself had sent and seized John, and bound him
in prison on account of Herodias, his brother Philip's wife: for he
18 had married her. For John had said unto Herod, 'It is not
19 lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife.' Therefore Herodias
20 hated him, and would have killed him, but she could not: for
Herod feared John, knowing that he was a righteous and holy
man, and he protected him; and when he heard him, he was much
21 perplexed, and yet he heard him gladly. Now on an opportune
day, when Herod on his birthday gave a banquet to his lords and
22 high captains, and to the chief men of Galilee, the daughter of
Herodias came in, and danced, and pleased Herod and his guests.
And the king said unto the damsel, 'Ask of me whatsoever thou

23 wilt, and I will give it thee.' And he sware unto her, 'Whatsoever thou shalt ask of me, I will give it thee, even unto the
24 half of my kingdom.' And she went forth, and said unto her mother, 'What shall I ask?' And she said, 'The head of John
25 the Baptist.' And she went in straightway with haste unto the king, and asked, saying, 'I wish that thou give me forthwith the
26 head of John the Baptist on a dish.' And the king was exceeding sorry; yet on account of his oath, and on account of his guests,
27 he did not like to refuse her. So the king at once sent an executioner, and ordered him to bring John's head: and he went,
28 and beheaded him in the prison, and brought his head on a dish, and gave it to the damsel: and the damsel gave it to her mother.
29 And when his disciples heard of it, they came and took away his corpse, and buried it in a tomb.

With this section begins, according to W., the first portion of the second main division of Mark, which first portion goes down to viii. 26, and is named by W., 'Jesus auf unsteter Wanderung.'

The section before us now, 14–29, is intended, in the present form of Mark, 'to occupy the attention of the reader' (to use Loisy's words) between the departure of the Twelve and their return, in verse 30. It is, as he says, a 'véritable hors-d'œuvre qui pourrait avoir été substitué délibérément à quelque indication touchant l'attitude hostile que le tétrarque avait prise à l'égard de Jésus' (*E. S.* I. p. 90). Loisy has here accepted as probable the views of W. That scholar holds that this part of Mark has been much touched up and altered by a late redaction. The real connection of events was darkened. In our present text, 14–29 is only used to fill up the interval between the sending out of the apostles and their return. Herod cannot originally have merely served to fill this gap. Nor can he have been dragged in merely to give an opportunity for telling the story about the Baptist's death. Herod must have belonged to the proper connection of events; his appearance at this juncture in the story of Jesus must have had some point and importance.

Now in vi. 45 Mark makes Jesus leave the territory of Herod, and go on to ground where Herod had nothing to say; he appears in the Decapolis, in the territory of Philip, and in the neighbourhood of Tyre and Sidon; afterwards he passes through Galilee, but secretly (ix. 30), and only on the way to Jerusalem.

According to the oldest tradition the reason for all this must have been his fear of Herod Antipas. And therefore Herod's

'hearing' of Jesus stands at (and forms) a turning-point in Jesus's life.

Thus W. conjectures that 14–16 must originally have ended with an indication of danger, a threat at Jesus's life. Why is this now omitted? The answer can be elicited from Luke xiii. 31. There Jesus is advised to depart, because 'Herod would fain kill thee.' He answers that he must indeed soon depart, not because of Herod, but because he must die in Jerusalem and not elsewhere. Clearly it was not liked that the motive of Jesus's departure from Galilee should be his fear of Herod. Hence it was desired to cancel the hostility of Antipas against John and Jesus altogether, and to turn the villain into a good man. In Mark (17–29) he likes to listen to John, and is miserable that he cannot save his life. The guilt of his execution is, as far as may be, removed from him and assigned to Herodias. In Luke xxiii. 15 he says that Jesus is guiltless. And whereas in Luke xiii. 31 he wants to kill him, in Luke ix. 9 he desires to see him.

14. He 'heard.' What did he hear? It is usually said that he heard about the despatch of the apostles. W., however (like Matthew and Luke), thinks differently. There is no real connection between 7–13 and 14–29. What Herod 'heard' was about Jesus himself, not about the apostles. He heard of his appearance at Capernaum, which from the first created great sensation, and the news of which must have penetrated to Antipas tolerably early. Loisy is inclined, however, to keep the ordinary interpretation. The apostles, sent by Jesus, attracted attention to their Master. Herod Antipas (the son of Herod the Great) was properly not the 'king' but the 'tetrarch' of Galilee and Peræa.

There are two readings, 'he said' and 'they said.' Loisy prefers 'he said.' W., on the contrary, observes: 'Of course one must read "they said"' (*i.e.* people said).

Though not absolutely necessary, it is probable that John must have been supposed to have worked miracles in his lifetime, or the conjecture that 'miraculous powers' were active in him after his death would hardly have been thought of. It is noteworthy that the hypothesis that Jesus is really John resurrected implies that 'le grand éclat de la prédication galiléenne est survenu seulement après la mort du Précurseur' (*E. S.* 1. p. 918).

15. That Jesus was a prophet like the old prophets seems to have hit the mark most nearly. His freshness and originality, his power and confidence, his assurance of direct divine inspiration, are all points of resemblance between him and them. Like them, 'he spoke with authority, and not as the Scribes.' It is important to note that none suppose he is the Messiah, though some think that

he is Messiah's precursor. So far, then, Jesus could have made no Messianic pretensions; his secret, if the secret had yet dawned upon him, had not been discovered.

16. Herod may conceivably have really said this. 'Il a pu réellement dire, parlant en homme politique, et en face d'une nouvelle agitation messianique à comprimer, Voilà Jean ressuscité!' (*E. S.* I. p. 919).

17–29. Now follows a sort of footnote or appendix, explaining how Herod came to hold the view he did about Jesus, and how John had met his end. The story of John's death is full of historical improbabilities, and may be regarded as legendary.

Herodias was not the wife of Herod's brother Philip, but of another brother, also called Herod. The real reason of Herod Antipas's fear of John is indicated in Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. 5. 2).

18. For this law, *cp.* Leviticus xviii. 16, xx. 21.

30–44. The Return of the Apostles and the Feeding of the Five Thousand

(*Cp.* Matt. xiv. 13–21; Luke ix. 10–17)

30 And the apostles gathered themselves together unto Jesus,
31 and told him all that they had done and taught. And he said unto them, 'Come ye by yourselves into a lonely place, and rest a while.' For there were many coming and going, and they had
32 no leisure so much as to eat. And they went away by boat to
33 a lonely place by themselves. But many saw them departing, and noticed whither they were going, and they hurried thither
34 on foot from all the cities, and arrived before them. And Jesus, when he disembarked, saw a great crowd, and he was moved with compassion toward them, because they were as sheep without a shepherd: and he began to teach them many things.
35 And when the day was now far spent, his disciples came unto
36 him, and said, 'This is a lonely place, and the hour is already late. Send the people away, that they may go into the farms and villages round about, and buy themselves something to eat.'
37 But he answered and said unto them, 'Give ye them to eat.' And they said unto him, 'Shall we go and buy two hundred

38 shillings worth of bread, and give them to eat?' He said unto
them, 'How many loaves have ye? go and see.' And when they
39 had found out, they said, 'Five, and two fishes.' And he bade
them make them all sit down by companies upon the green grass.
40, 41 And they sat down in rows, by hundreds and by fifties. And he
took the five loaves and the two fishes, and looked up to heaven,
and said the blessing; and he broke the loaves, and gave them
to his disciples to set before them; and the two fishes he divided
42, 43 among them all. And they did all eat, and were satisfied. And
they took of the broken pieces twelve baskets full, and also of
44 the fishes. And they that ate of the loaves were about five
thousand men.

The apostles return, and report to Jesus their experiences. But there seems to have been no tradition as to what these were. Mark, at least, says no word upon the subject. It would also seem as if the story of the five thousand had at first nothing to do with the return of the apostles, and that the journey of Jesus with them across the lake (if indeed the scene of the feeding was originally placed there) was not primarily motived or caused by the desire to give them a rest after their exhausting labours. As the narrative stands now, the return of the apostles is used as a transition to the miracle of the feeding. But 'as the scene of the feediug is placed on the other side of the lake, "in a desert place," the apostles have also to be taken across. This is strangely done. They are to rest after their tiring journey, yet because of the pressing crowd they cannot rest at home, but only after another journey into the desert. Nevertheless they get no rest after all. For the "crowd" also is wanted, and so it must come too. The people go round the lake, as if they knew the situation of the desert place quite well, and they arrive at the goal, which they do not know, by a détour on foot, more quickly than Jesus, going straight by boat. This looks like an artificially made connection' (W.).

34. Note again the pity which Jesus feels for the neglected 'multitude.' It is also characteristic and charming that he is not merely anxious to look after their souls. He thinks of their bodies also (*cp.* v. 43, viii. 2).

The miracle may, perhaps, have a historical basis. Numbers soon get magnified in oral tradition, and a kindly gift of food is turned into a miracle. W.'s note is as follows:

'There is no reason to regard the feeding of the people as

unhistorical. Matthew recounts it as a great miracle. But the miracle depends on the numbers, and numbers always get exaggerated in oral tradition. Eliminate these, and the kindly picture remains of a fair evening and a lonely spot by the lake, with a crowd lying in groups upon the grass, and the disciples moving among them and distributing bread and fish. The point of the story is that Jesus does not merely dismiss the people with sermons, but also looks after the needs of their bodies, convinced that the store brought for him and his disciples will also suffice for his unbidden guests.'

Dr Carpenter, on the contrary, thinks that 'the interpretation of the story as a materialisation of the Teacher's ministry of the word, the "bread of life," through the confusion of a symbol with a fact, is far more in accordance with [then existing] modes and tendencies of thought. It seems more probable, however, that the narrative is due to the blending of various imaginative impulses, in which suggestions from different sources, working, it may be, on some actual reminiscence, have been moulded together into one whole.' There were the Old Testament counterparts—the manna, the widow's cruse: above all, the twenty loaves of barley from which 100 men ate and 'left thereof.' Dr Carpenter thinks, however, that these 'examples needed some closer connection with the actual work of Jesus to have much real share in calling forth a corresponding incident.' He finds this in the story of the last supper and in the common meal which in the early Church preceded the celebration of the eucharist. Had Jesus only *once* eaten with his disciples? 'Gradually the Church conceived the picture of its own usage in the wilderness. There too the brethren had heard the word. There too, in the Teacher's presence, they had "sat down" as at tables in orderly array. There too had been brought the simple gifts of bread and fish. There too the blessing or thanksgiving had been offered, the loaf broken, the food carried round' (*First Three Gospels*, pp. 187–189). M. Loisy takes very much the same line, but he distinguishes between Mark's view and the views of Matthew and Luke. In Mark, the miracle symbolizes how the Christian community lives on the words of Jesus, and also on its communion with him. In Matthew and Luke it is a figure of the community united together by Jesus in the common love feasts, the eucharistic meal. The twelve baskets originally symbolized the idea of the inexhaustibly fertile Word, and then, to the Evangelists, the spiritual benefits of the gospel, of which the apostles (there is one basket for each apostle) are the depositaries. Whether any incident, no longer ascertainable, was, together with the O.T. passages, the point of departure for the symbolic tale, as we have it now, or whether it

was some saying of Jesus and the memory of the common meals at which he presided, cannot be made out (*E. S.* 1. pp. 936—938).

Prof. Pfleiderer thinks much the same, but with a difference. The story, he believes, is partly due to the very practical question whether meetings of the early believers for teaching and edification were to be concluded with a common meal paid for by the common purse. Some would argue that the funds did not suffice for large gatherings. 'Send the people away,' they argued. But a more compassionate and trusting spirit prevailed, and the common meals, which also reflected the habits of the Master, were established. The 'holy communion' in the restricted sense of the word was originally one with the 'Liebesmahl' of the community (*Urchristentum*, Vol. 1. p. 354).

However the origin of the story be accounted for, the influence of the Elijah and Elisha tales must have been very great. As usual, Jesus must surpass whatever these ancient heroes accomplished. And no one can read 2 Kings iv. 42–44 without being convinced that at least the major portion of the story has its origin there. The parallelism is extremely striking.

45–56. Jesus walks on the Lake

(*Cp.* Matt. xiv. 22–36)

45 And straightway he made his disciples get into the boat, and
cross over to the other side, unto Bethsaida, while he dismissed
46 the people. And when he had sent them away, he departed unto
47 the mountain to pray. And when evening was come, the boat
48 was in the middle of the lake, and he alone on the land. And he
saw them distressed in their rowing; for the wind was against
them: and about the fourth watch of the night he came up to
them, walking upon the lake, and he meant to have passed by
49 them. But when they saw him walking upon the lake, they
50 supposed it was a ghost, and cried out: for they all saw him, and
were troubled. But he immediately spoke to them, and said,
51 'Take courage; it is I; be not afraid.' And he went up to them
into the boat; and the wind dropped. Then were they utterly
52 beside themselves with amazement, for they had not understood
about the loaves: for their heart was hardened.
53 And when they had crossed over, they came unto Gennesaret,
54 and moored the boat there. And when they got out of the boat,

55 straightway the people recognized him. And they ran through
that whole region, and began to bring those that were sick on beds
56 to wherever they heard that he was. And whithersoever he
entered, into villages, or cities, or farmyards, they laid the sick in
the open places, and besought him that they might touch if it
were but the border of his garment: and as many as touched him
were healed.

'Le récit de la première multiplication est étroitement lié à celui de Jésus marchant sur les eaux. Marc a dû trouver les deux réunis dans la tradition, et sans doute dans une rédaction qu'il complète à sa manière, en observant que les apôtres n'avaient pas compris ces deux miracles symboliques' (*E.S.* I. p. 90). But the story of the feeding, like that of the temptation and the transfiguration, does not belong, according to Loisy, to the first edition of the sources, but was added in a 'rédaction intermédiaire' (*E.S.* I. p. 115).

45. There is some geographical difficulty here. It seems implied in 32 that Jesus had crossed over to the other, eastern, side of the lake. Perhaps 'to the other side' has been wrongly added on here from Matt. xiv. 22. Bethsaida lay at the mouth of the Jordan, on the north side of the lake. It was not in Antipas's territory, but in that of Philip, who enlarged it and called it Julias.

What was the need of haste? Why did Jesus compel the disciples to leave him? That they might get to Bethsaida before night? Could he not have dismissed the 'crowd' in their presence and gone with them? Or was it in order that he might be alone and pray in solitude? There seems, as J. Weiss says, something fragmentary and strange about the narrative.

The miracle seems to be a variant of iv. 35–41. But the marvel is heightened. It is impossible to say with certainty how the legend of the miracle grew up. One may conjecture that the narrative of Mark is intended to have various spiritual meanings and foreshadowings. 'Il s'agit,' says Loisy, 'd'un départ et d'un retour du Christ, sous lesquels on peut entrevoir le grand départ de la mort, et le grand retour dans la gloire' (*E. S.* I. p. 941).

Dr Carpenter thinks that we have here again the materialising of symbols. 'The emblematic language of the Hebrew Scriptures was constantly in the hearts and upon the lips of the Christian believer.' We know how often the metaphor of the great waters and an escape from them meets us in the Hebrew Bible. The Christians would have faith even amid stormy waters: for Christ could save them. 'Out of some such utterance of trust has

probably come the story of the disciples in their passage across the lake, distressed by a contrary wind' (*First Three Gospels*, pp. 179, 180).

48. They started rowing in the late afternoon. When did Jesus see them in their distress? And how could he see them at night in the 'middle' of the lake from the mountain? One must not ask these questions of a legendary narrative. To the narrator, as Loisy says, absorbed in the deeper meaning of the tale, they did not exist.

Jesus proceeds to walk forth upon the waters of the lake, and just before the dawn (the fourth watch) he overtakes the disciples. Why did he intend at first to pass in front of them and not to enter the boat (a detail only mentioned by Mark)? Was it just to show himself master over wind and water? Holtzmann apparently accepts this explanation. What he calls a *Schauwunder* is performed. Loisy thinks that for Jesus to intend to pass the boat merely to show his miraculous powers would be puerile, if, as in the case of the miracle itself, some deeper meaning were not thereby conveyed. 'La perspective paraît s'étendre du cas présent à celui de la résurrection; et elle va, en réalité, de la résurrection au dernier avènement' (*E. S.* I. p. 942). The conversation between Jesus and the disciples recalls, he thinks, the stories of the resurrection. But if this be so, the parallels are not with anything in Mark. They are with Matt. xxviii. 10 and especially with Luke xxiv. 37–39.

52. Mark's persistent attribution of spiritual blindness to the disciples becomes here exceedingly awkward. The greatness of the miracles of the feeding or of the walking upon the water could not have escaped their notice. What, however, he perhaps wishes to indicate is that the 'mystery' of the Kingdom, though 'given' to the disciples, was not apprehended by them till after the resurrection. Tradition, indeed, told of some definite recognition of Jesus as the Messiah at Cæsarea Philippi, but the deeper nature of the Messiahship, and the realization that its true manifestation was only to come after Jesus's death and resurrection, were still hidden from them. The 'hardness' of their heart was as divinely wrought as Pharaoh's. Or we may explain, with Loisy, more generally, that Mark means to say that the deeper meaning of the miracles, their inner and spiritual signification, were at first unknown to those who were nevertheless their eye-witnesses. They did not (till after the resurrection) understand what had been going on before their eyes.

53. Gennesaret is the name of a district, not a town. But in

45 they were to go to Bethsaida, and Bethsaida did not belong to Gennesaret. Some explain that they were driven out of their course by the wind and had to land where they could. Gennesaret was south of Capernaum, and in Galilee. The population is delighted to have Jesus again among them, and desire to use the precious opportunity for all that it is worth. Jesus seems to pass from place to place without stopping anywhere. He is 'auf unsteter Wanderung,' and does not want to remain in Galilee.

M. Loisy has some important suggestions upon the section 53–56. 'Jesus and his disciples land in the district of Gennesaret, between Capernaum and Magdala. The formula of transition, "and having crossed over" appears to take no account of the preceding narrative, and the connection of this notice with the miracle of Jesus walking upon the waters may possibly not be original....It may be supposed that in the oldest redaction of the Gospel history this voyage came after the return of the apostles (note the parallelism of 32, 33 and 54, 55), and that the district of Gennesaret is the place to which Jesus retired at first with them; as he was immediately recognized and fresh crowds rushed to follow him, he went away altogether and moved towards Tyre and Sidon. The argument with the Pharisees about the washing of hands is an insertion; it did not take place in the country of Gennesaret, but at Capernaum, of Jesus's return to which there is, however, no mention. In the same way it is possible that the narratives of the loaves and the walking on the waters have been inserted between the return of the apostles and the departure for Gennesaret....It is quite evident that the Saviour had not come to Gennesaret to preach there, that he had believed that there was a chance that he would not be recognized; that the assembly of the crowd did not induce him to stop there, that he pursues his journey as if he had wished finally to reach a place where he and his disciples would be in peace and safety....We are reduced to conjectures about the motives which inspired the conduct of Jesus. The desire of devoting himself to his disciples is an insufficient motive, considering that on every other occasion the Saviour had not failed to encourage the faith of those who came so eagerly to him. It may be surmised that he feared attracting the attention of Herod if he excited the enthusiasm of the people in the district near Tiberias. Perhaps this was the reason why he had not yet gone there, although the district was not far from Capernaum. Having now failed to pass by it unnoticed, as he had hoped, he judged it expedient to go away from it as quickly as possible. The name of Herod will occur a little farther on, in a declaration which suggests that the attitude of the tetrarch towards the gospel

movement was rather disquieting. It seems clear that if Jesus had avowed himself the Messiah in Galilee, he would have met in his own country the fate which awaited him in Jerusalem' (*E. S.* I. pp. 946–948). With this we may usefully compare W.'s notes on vi. 30–33 cited above. The last sentence of Loisy's suggests much food for thought. Have we here the true explanation why Jesus keeps his Messiahship hidden? It is not exactly because his Messiahship is spiritual, and the ordinary Jewish conception of it is 'political,' for his Messiahship includes and implies a new world and the downfall of the Roman power, but because for the present the powers of evil are too potent. The moment for open declaration and for 'come what may' has not yet arrived. The *dénouement* must take place in Jerusalem.

CHAPTER VII

1–23. The Washing of Hands

(*Cp.* Matt. xv. 1–20)

1 And the Pharisees, and some scribes who came from Jerusalem,
2 gathered round him. For they had seen some of his disciples eat
3 bread with unclean, that is to say, with unwashed hands. For
the Pharisees, and all the Jews, observing the tradition of the
4 Elders, do not eat without first washing their hands. And when
they come from the market, till they have washed, they eat not.
And many other customs there are which they have received and
observe, such as the washing of cups and pots and brazen vessels.
5 So the Pharisees and scribes asked him, 'Why walk not thy
disciples according to the tradition of the elders, but eat bread
6 with unclean hands?' He said unto them, 'Well did Isaiah
prophesy of you hypocrites, as it is written, This people
7 honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. And
vainly do they worship me, teaching as their doctrines the com-
8 mandments of men. So ye, neglecting the commandment of
God, observe the tradition of men.'
9 And he said unto them, 'Ye do well to reject the command-
10 ment of God, in order that ye may keep your tradition! For
Moses said, Honour thy father and thy mother; and, Whoso
11 revileth father or mother, let him die the death: but ye—if a

man say to his father or mother, That by which thou mightest have been benefited from me is Corban,—(that is, an offering),—
12 ye no longer permit him to do anything for his father or his
13 mother. Thus ye make the word of God void through your tradition, which ye hand down; and many such like things ye do.'
14 And he called all the people again unto him, and he said unto
15 them, 'Hearken, all of you, unto me, and understand: There is nothing outside a man, which entering into him can make him unclean; but the things which come out of a man, these are what make him unclean.'
17 And when he had entered into the house away from the crowd,
18 his disciples asked him concerning the saying. And he said unto them, 'Are ye, too, so unintelligent? Do ye not perceive that whatever entereth into a man from without cannot make him
19 unclean? For it entereth not into his heart, but into the belly, and goeth out into the privy.' [Thus spake he, making all foods
20 clean.] And he said, 'That which cometh out of the man, that
21 maketh the man unclean. For from within, out of the heart of men, come the evil thoughts—unchastity, thefts, murders,
22 adulteries, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, envy,
23 blasphemy, pride, foolishness: all these evil things come out from within, and they make a man unclean.'

It has been already said at the close of the last chapter that this scene with the Pharisees has been here interpolated. Its *locale* is probably Capernaum, and it may have taken place at the close of the Galilæan ministry. Perhaps it has been placed here, as M. Loisy says, as a suitable preliminary to the journey of Jesus on to pagan soil, and perhaps also there was a desire to show the facilities offered by Christianity to the conversion of the Gentiles.

The section is of profound significance and value; it raises questions of the deepest importance. As regards its compilation it is clearly composite, as the various fresh beginnings and resumptions (9, 14, 17, 20) sufficiently indicate. The saying in 15 is the main basis for the whole. It is traditional and authentic. Was it found in Q and did Mark take it thence? So thinks Loisy, who would also add for the same source 5 and 9–13.

2. For the laws of the Rabbis dealing with ablutions, and especially with washing the hands before meals and with the

cleansing of dishes, see Additional Note 10. The accuracy of Mark's editorial explanations is there discussed.

3 and 4 are an editorial parenthesis. The main sentence is resumed (with irregular construction) in 5.

3. *πυκνά*, Revised Version, 'diligently'; Holtzmann, 'often.' Another reading is *πυγμῇ*, 'with the fist,' which some explain to mean 'carefully,' 'vigorously.'

ἡ παράδοσις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, 'the tradition of the Elders.' The phrase is sufficiently explained by reference to Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 10. 6) and to Swete's note. The 'Oral Law,' codified later on in the Mishnah, was then in its formative period.

6. In his reply Jesus takes a double line. The first is that this human tradition, which he is blamed for disobeying, has become the means whereby his questioners have transgressed the commands of God. The observance of these ritual enactments has led to the neglect of the moral laws of God. Hence (it is implied) it is surely not unreasonable that Jesus should disregard this human tradition. The second line of reply relates to the act itself of which the disciples are accused. This second 'line of reply' does not come till 14. The first line is contained in a double form, 6–8 and 9–13. For both these two short sections deal with the relation of the 'tradition' to the 'commandment of God.' It is implied in the one section, and asserted in the other, that through the observance of the 'tradition' the 'commandment of God' is annulled or violated. These two sections are thus independent of each other. They are parallels. (It may also be observed that the quotation in 7 is based upon the Septuagint. The Hebrew text does not give the desired meaning and opposition. Hence we may, with J. Weiss and Loisy, infer that Jesus did not upon this occasion quote Isaiah. But as it is not *precisely* the Septuagint which is quoted, Klostermann argues that one cannot safely assert that only a reader of the Septuagint and not Jesus could have quoted the saying.) In the phrase 'And he said unto them,' repeated in 6 and 9, we may discern the joints of a composite speech. Both 6–8 and 9–13 quote a sentence from Scripture to prove the same thesis.

Yet 6–8, by itself, is not strictly any proof whatever that the observance of the tradition *causes* the violation of the Law. It is a mere assertion, which assumes what has to be proved. The 'commandment' which is violated for the sake of observing the tradition is, I presume, the general and fundamental commandment that God is to be honoured from the 'heart'—loved with all

thy heart, as it says in Deuteronomy. If, then, the Pharisees who observe the tradition are the people of whom Isaiah speaks, they *do* violate the Law. Nevertheless it is not proved that the 'observance' *causes* the violation. Hence it may be argued either that 6–8 is a mere introduction to the proof given in 9–13 (so Matthew treats the passage), or that 9–13 was added to cover the weakness of argument in 6–8. It must be admitted that Matthew's order of the reply is more logical and cogent, but this is not necessarily due to his being more original. Still it may perhaps be that the answer which Jesus actually made was similar to that which we now read in Matt. xv. 3–6 and in Mark vii. 9–13.

Note that 'the tradition of the Elders' is called in 8 'the tradition of men,' in 9 and 13 'your tradition.' It would seem that Jesus did really take up a position (despite Matt. xxiii. 3) of definite antagonism to the ominously increasing Oral Law. Does he, then, oppose tradition, which is merely 'human,' to the Pentateuchal law, which is 'divine'? The commandment of God which is violated by the tradition is a law of the Pentateuch. But it is not merely a Pentateuchal law; it is an injunction of the Decalogue. It is conceivable that Jesus would have unhesitatingly recognized the divine authority of the Decalogue, and yet have had his doubts about the divine and binding character of the Pentateuchal legislation as a whole. And it may, indeed, be argued that in this very section Jesus virtually abrogates a most definite and elaborate Pentateuchal law. But he does not, as we shall see, do this directly, and it may even be that the full consequence of the great principle laid down in 15 was not present to his own mind, or that he did not desire that his disciples should practically draw out those consequences in their own lives. It cannot be assumed offhand that Jesus himself transgressed the dietary laws of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, or even that he would have approved of his disciples transgressing them. Such deductions must remain uncertain, one way or the other. Dr Carpenter, however, thinks that '15 cuts athwart the whole scheme of dietary laws; and this principle, together with that of man's lordship over the Sabbath, seems to me to amount to a complete breach with the Law on its ritual and institutional side.' Gould agrees: 'What Jesus says abrogates the distinction between clean and unclean, which forms so essential a part not only of tradition, but also of the Levitical part of the Law itself.'

9. καλῶς is usually here taken in an ironical sense to mean 'excellently,' 'thoroughly.' W. translates interrogatively, 'Do ye well that ye,' &c.

11, 12. The translation of the Revised Version is correct. It preserves the broken construction of the Greek. The construction would be mended if with W. λέγετε be omitted: 'But ye, if a man,' &c., 'no longer suffer him,' &c.

'Corban' is literally 'sacrifice'; here it means the oath used on the occasion of a particular kind of vow.

'Ye no longer suffer him to do aught': he is not allowed to benefit his parents. The words are ironical. The meaning is: 'he need no longer benefit them'; he *need* no longer, he even *may* not any longer, use that which is now 'Corban' for the benefit of his parents.

The passage is very difficult. It is difficult, (*a*) because the rule which Jesus here attributes to tradition is in flat contradiction to the law as laid down by the Mishnah, as commented on by the Talmud, and as universally accepted and interpreted by all the Jewish codifiers; (*b*) because the assertion that the Pharisees violated the Law of God in order to maintain, or in maintaining, their own rules is not proved by the instance quoted. On the contrary, the instance fails just at the crucial point.

First of all, what is the usual interpretation of the passage? It is that the son, in order to annoy his father, dedicated or vowed for the use of the Temple a given part of his property. That part is, therefore, interdicted from his father, who may not benefit from it, or use it. If the son repent, he may nevertheless not let his father profit from, or use, the property thus vowed. The Scribes will not let him off his vow. It is, I presume, implied that the Scribes and the priests were in collusion, and because of the advantage which accrued to the Temple, they refused to annul the vow. 'The Rabbis,' says Mr Menzies, for instance, 'decided that the duty to the Temple must take precedence of that to parents.' Mr Hart calls this explanation of our passage 'a striking example of the exegesis which is dominated and directed by religious prejudice.' Anyway, it is inaccurate.

To begin with, 'Corban' does not mean that the property was dedicated to the use of the Temple. The word is used as a mere oath. When I say 'Corban, if you shall ever eat anything that is mine,' this does not mean that my eatables are dedicated to the use of the Temple, in which case neither I nor you might eat them, but merely that, so far as you are concerned, they are 'dedicated'; you may never eat what is mine. I should sin in letting you eat any of my food, so long as the vow stands, and you, if you ate, would sin also. The Temple does not come in.

With this limitation, however, the usual interpretation might conceivably be right. In a fit of passion I vow, with the oath and formula of Corban, that my father is never to eat at my table, or

to receive any of my property. I then want to be absolved from my vow. The Scribes will not let me. *They* gain no profit, and the *Temple* gets no profit one way or the other. But they say: as you have made the vow, you must abide by it.

Now if Jesus had said that the Scribes and Pharisees maintain what is less important and neglect what is more important; that they are anxious to observe the sanctity of vows, but in doing so, they are willing to let the more sacred duty of the fifth commandment go to the wall, the passage would, so far, be intelligible. But how can it be regarded as a case of Scripture versus tradition? Where does it say in the Pentateuch, where does 'Moses' say, that vows which conflict with a more important demand may and should be annulled? Nowhere does it say so. *The annulling, not the maintenance of vows, was the work of tradition.* It is to the Pharisaic tradition that are owing all the elaborate rules for annulling vows, and by a curious irony of fate the Pharisees have been constantly assailed just on the ground that they so readily allowed dispensation of vows. Hence the illustration does not seem to fit the thesis. The particular instance is not a case where the word of God is abrogated by tradition. Deut. xxiii. 21–23 speaks of fulfilling vows, not of their annulment. So too Leviticus xxx., where the only exceptions are certain vows of certain women. Otherwise: 'When a man voweth a vow unto the Lord, or sweareth an oath to bind his soul with a bond, he shall not break his word; he shall do according to all that proceedeth out of his mouth' (Numbers xxx. 2). Hence, one could attack the Scribes, perhaps, for not abrogating one 'word of God' in favour of a more important 'word of God,' but certainly *not* for abrogating the word of God in favour of *tradition*. The only possible explanation would be to suppose that Jesus forgot that a 'word of God' and 'a law of Moses' were as much in question on one side as on the other, and that, in his moral enthusiasm, he regarded the decision of the Scribes that the vow could not be annulled, even though the parent suffered, as Scribe law and not Mosaic Law, human law and not divine Law.

But the difficulties of the passage are not yet over. For the odd thing is that according to the Rabbinic law as codified in the Mishnah, and commented on in the Talmud, the Rabbis are on the side of Jesus, and take his very line. Even Schürer, whose interpretation of the Mishnah is inaccurate on the whole, admits that 'so far the practice blamed by Jesus goes further than the law as codified in the Mishnah' (*Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 3rd ed. Vol. II. p. 494, n. 108). That is to say, if a man make a vow from which his parents would suffer, then the vow can be annulled. The passage in the Mishnah is

clear, though it has been frequently misunderstood by Christian commentators. Yet the Talmud and all the Jewish mediæval commentators are in no doubt as to its meaning. It occurs in Nedarim viii. 1: 'Rabbi Eliezer said, The door is opened for a man on account of the honour of father and mother. But the Chachamim (literally wise men, the majority of the Rabbis) forbid it.' These words mean: Suppose a man has made a foolish vow (in general, from which his father does not materially suffer). If he reflects: What disgrace I bring upon my father by this foolish vow, or if it is said to him, would you have made this vow had you reflected that people would say to your father 'What a son is yours; what hasty vows he makes'; then these arguments are not enough to cancel the vow. It cannot be annulled. He, and even his parents, must bear the consequences of his rash action. That this interpretation is correct seems certain by what follows. 'Nevertheless, where the vow *has to do with* his father or his mother, there the Rabbis agree with Rabbi Eliezer that the door is opened to him on account of the honour of father and mother.' Precisely, therefore, where parents would suffer from the vow, would and could the vow be annulled. Thus we have the further difficulty that Jesus and the Rabbis do not here differ; they agree. One can only get out of the difficulty by assuming that Jesus came in contact with some Rabbis who held that, even when the Law directly affected the parents, it must nevertheless be upheld, and that even here it could not be annulled. For this view Mr Abrahams tells me that there is no direct evidence, but it is not at all improbable that so vast an innovation as the annulment of vows met with opposition at first. We should thus have here an instance, not of a general antagonism between Jesus and the Pharisaic law, but of the participation of Jesus in the discussion of the application of the law to life. Sometimes the Rabbinic opinion finally formed itself (as here) on the side which Jesus approved; sometimes it took a turn in a direction different from the opinion of Jesus. In any case the passage cannot be used to prove the dangers and moral evils of legalism. It cannot be proved to show that the horrid Rabbis taught that by a convenient vow a man might easily find a way of disobeying the fifth commandment. The truth is that the Rabbis taught a tremendous respect and reverence for parents. In this matter they are perfectly sound; indeed on family relations they are keener than Jesus.

For a different view of the whole passage see Mr Hart's intensely interesting article 'Corban,' *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIX. pp. 615–650.

13. παρεδώκατε. This tense is odd. As W. says, one expects

either 'which ye hand on' (*παραδίδοτε*) or *παρελάβετε*, 'which ye have received.'

'Many other such things ye do.' Jesus mentions no other, and even the Christian commentators do not, so far as I know, supply the deficiency.

14. Jesus now turns to the people, having dealt with and disposed of the Scribes, and proceeds to give the true explanation and justification of the conduct of his disciples. He lays down a moral principle of great depth and beauty, but to the plain man neither complicated nor obscure. He bids the people understand it, and he must have wished them to understand. We may suppose that, if the whole story has a historic basis, Jesus enunciated the principle to all his listeners, and at the same time added such illustration and elucidation as might be necessary. But Mark, true to his theory, assumes that the principle was not even understood by the disciples, and required to be specially explained to them. Moreover, he calls the principle a parable, a dark saying, though it can scarcely be so regarded. The Hebrew *mashal*, however, means not only parable, but also adage, proverb, &c., and perhaps parable is used in a similar extended sense in this passage. See note on iv. 1.

Jesus calls the people 'again.' They had not been present or summoned before. The 'again,' says M. Loisy, seems to refer to similar situations, and especially to the scene when the parables were delivered (iv. 1). There too we find an 'again.' It is a further indication that the section has undergone touching up, and that the *mise-en-scène* has been superadded to the dialogue. The primitive elements probably are the criticism of the Pharisees, the statement as to the violation of the Decalogue, and the declaration as to defilement.

M. Loisy also holds that 'la forme un peu énigmatique' of the declaration was the reason why it was regarded as a parable which the auditors could not have understood and which needed a commentary. As in the case of the explanation of the sower, so here. The explanation (17–23) is not the work of Jesus, but of the community.

15. For the Rabbinic conceptions and laws of clean and unclean and their application in everyday life, see Additional Note 10.

As was said in the note on verse 14, it is hard to suppose that what Jesus says here is a parable, *i.e.* that there is some spiritual truth over and above the words themselves which the words imply or refer to. In that case the commentary (17–23)

would have to say something different from the declaration, whereas it seems to say the same thing in other terms. The only way in which 15 can be interpreted as a parable in a strict sense would be to assume that its meaning is that, even according to the Law, a man is defiled, not by what enters him, but by what goes out from him, *i.e.* by morbid issues, by leprosy, eruptions and so on. Then the spiritual interpretation or application would follow in 17–23. But this explanation is unlikely, first because to press legal points of this kind does not seem in Jesus's manner, secondly because of the difficulty as to forbidden food, which if eaten, does enter *into* the man and does make him unclean. It is inadequate to say that the foods which the Law forbids are not thought of or referred to, because to eat them is a deliberate sin. M. Loisy is right in urging that not only is the whole explanation too 'subtle,' but the exception which has to be made as to forbidden foods renders the explanation altogether too thin: 'By what enters into the man the hearers could understand nothing but food, and as the debate had reference to the question of purity or impurity, the idea of impure food could not be absent from their minds nor from the thought of Jesus; within the limits of the Law, it is literally false to say that man cannot be polluted by what he eats' (*E. S.* I. p. 959).

Nevertheless a certain difficulty remains, over and above the mere fact that the declaration is called a parable. It is this: the first part of the declaration seems to speak of what is material; in the second it would speak of what is spiritual. 'The things which go in,' go in literally; 'the things which go out,' go out metaphorically. Words and thoughts, and the sins of the heart, do not 'go out' of a man in the same sense as food 'goes in.' Yet this irregularity is after all not very awkward, and gives far the best sense. M. Loisy indeed suggests one other alternative explanation, but it seems to me so very odd and unlikely that I refrain from quoting it. It will be found in *E. S.* I. p. 960.

The principle which Jesus lays down is that there is no such thing as *religious* impurity in a material sense. Religious impurity can only exist within the moral and spiritual sphere. A man cannot be religiously defiled except by an offence committed in the sphere of religion. Now to Jesus the sphere of religion was the inward realm of the spirit. Inward defilement, the defilement of the heart by the sins of the heart, is the only possible religious defilement.

Only that which goes out of a man can defile a man, that is, make him religiously unclean. There can be little doubt that Matt. xv. 11 interprets the principle fairly correctly. What goes into the man from without cannot defile him religiously.

'Going into' refers to the mouth, and 'going out of' has the same main reference, though it does not exclusively refer to the mouth, for a man's deeds as well as his words are alluded to. What comes out of the mouth comes from the heart, and the heart is the seat of religious uncleanness as it is the seat of religious purity. THINGS cannot be *religiously* either clean or unclean; only PERSONS. And *persons* cannot be defiled by *things*; they can only be defiled by themselves, by acting irreligiously. Or the principle may be worded thus: 'Spiritual things can defile the man, and these only, not such material articles as food. And of course this means that the real man is the spiritual part, and that defilement of the physical part does not extend to the spiritual part, which constitutes the real man. That can only be reached by spiritual things akin to itself. The principle that spiritual and spiritual go together, and that the material cannot penetrate the spiritual, which is impervious to it, is needed in the interpretation of Christianity as well as in the reform of Judaism' (Gould). In voluntary action, however, the physical act may be spiritualised. If this be not allowed, Gould's words go too far. A voluntary sexual defilement is physical and yet also spiritual; but an involuntary defilement is physical only.

So far as the principle uttered by Jesus can be applied to the particular subject in dispute, we must, I suppose, assume that the connection is this. In the process of eating, the hand touches the food to be eaten and then touches the mouth. (In ancient times, before knives and forks and spoons were in common use, the hand touched the food and the mouth much more than now.) If, then, the hand is not washed before food, some impurity, some particle of an unclean object, may be conveyed to the mouth and thus render the eater unclean.

More probably, however, we have to assume that the section beginning with verse 14 is only loosely connected with what precedes, and deals directly with the question of forbidden or 'unclean' foods, and with the true and false conception of cleanness and uncleanness. For this question, as J. Weiss points out, was of far greater importance to Mark's readers than the washing of hands. Had the Gentile Christian to observe the Jewish dietary laws? Had he to keep himself apart from eating with unbelievers? We know how pressing and urgent this question became. Mark can report that there was a great saying of the Master's which gave all Christians the right liberty in these outward matters. He finds a convenient place to quote it here where another question concerning outward purity had just been dealt with.

Another view is that Jesus deliberately, and in accordance with his usual manner, gave no direct answer to the question

asked him. He answers it indirectly, first by throwing cold water upon the authority and value of that tradition which he is blamed for disregarding, and then, secondly, by laying down a much wider general principle as to the relation of the outward to the inward in true morality.

It must be noted that the discussion has nothing to do with *cleanliness*, nor can we properly defend the ancient ritualistic practice by saying that it is dirty to eat with unwashed hands, that cleanliness is next to godliness, and so on. That is not the issue involved. Ritual washing might be in fact a very perfunctory cleansing, and often is so to-day. The question is one of *religious* defilement. It is the same question which is at the root of all the dietary laws. Eating a rabbit defiles you and makes you unclean. Eating a chicken (if a properly killed chicken) does not. According to the principle laid down by Jesus, no *thing* can make you unclean. You can only make yourself unclean by sin.

The principle seems profoundly true. It destroys with a prophet's blow the terrible incubus from which all ancient religions suffered, that certain objects or physical states are in themselves taboo or religiously unclean. Doubtless our modern conceptions of clean and dirty may have had a religious origin; doubtless, too, there is a certain moral duty in physical cleanliness, a certain inter-connection between the material and the spiritual. But this is a totally different thing from the theory of *religious* uncleanness. That rested upon very ancient superstitions, which, again, themselves depended upon polytheistic or 'animistic' conceptions of still greater antiquity. Ritual religion (which made up a considerable part of priestly religion) was largely concerned with practices which turned upon, or were developed out of, these superstitious conceptions. The reason why dead bodies, or a woman at certain moments in her life, were in themselves 'unclean,' or produced religious uncleanness, was not because they were dirty. It was because the dead body and the woman were the seat, or belonged to the province, of certain hostile or dangerous spirits. It is these ideas which are also at the root of the dietary laws. Religious uncleanness either means being connected with alien, hostile, or dangerous spirits and influences, or, secondly, it means being in a condition to which your god objects, and when it is, therefore, dangerous to approach him. And this condition is physical, and itself probably related to the former cause of uncleanness. In any case the god is regarded as moved to pleasure or wrath by physical objects or conditions, whereas the God of the prophets is so moved by moral considerations only (reckoning idolatry for the moment as a part of morality).

The old, outward conception of religious uncleanness as caused by things, and not only by immoral acts, is still present in the Pentateuchal laws; it was maintained and sadly elaborated by the Rabbis. It is the motive of an immense number of their laws about women, and is doubtless also the motive of their laws about ablutions. But, as Additional Note 10 explains, there are two kinds of cleanness: there is (1) the 'cleanness' which every layman must observe; there is (2) the cleanness of the priest, which the layman has only then partially to observe when he enters the Temple at Jerusalem, or performs some specific religious act. The second was far more onerous than the first. Christian commentators frequently confuse the two together, and burdens are assigned to the ordinary life of the lay Jew from which he was and is entirely free.

These confusions are indicated in the note. But the *principle* of ritual uncleanness was not disputed, though the old superstitions, and the more ancient conceptions upon which it ultimately rested, had *entirely* disappeared. Ritual uncleanness had no more anything to do with spirits or hostile influences. It existed because it was in the Law, because God had ordained it. The prohibition of rabbit and hare was regarded either as due to the fact that these were sacred animals in heathen religions, or, simply, as due to the fact that God, for some good reason, thought it better for the Israelite not to eat these animals. Feelings of disgust soon grew up in regard to the animals which were forbidden. Hygienic motives also played their part. The holy God was supposed to regard physical as well as moral foulness with disgust, and the Israelite, who must be holy like his God, was to keep himself from the one foulness as well as from the other. There was a tendency to pass from the old conceptions of ritual uncleanness to the newer conceptions which are expressed in the proverb, 'Cleanliness is next to godliness.' Spiritual purity may not unreasonably be symbolized or typified by material purity. A dirty church or synagogue strikes us as peculiarly inappropriate and undesirable. But all this is a very different thing from technical religious uncleanness in the legal sense. For the other sort of uncleanness, which the proverb speaks of, we need no laws or casuistical enactments. Common sense, and cultivated feelings of decency and propriety, are safe and adequate guides. Where these fail, laws and enactments will not supply their place and fill the deficiency.

Jesus was, therefore, I think, quite right in the great principle which he lays down in Mark vii. 15. It is the same principle as that involved and implied in the superb saying of Theano, the wife or daughter of Pythagoras. *Θεανὼ ἐρωτηθεῖσα ποσταία γυνὴ*

ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς καθαρεύει, Ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἰδίου, εἶπε, παραχρῆμα, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου, οὐδέποτε. Such a saying lifts a load, and removes a nightmare, from the human mind and thought. A mass of ritual superstitions is made superfluous. The world is profoundly indebted to Jesus for his liberating and clarifying words. They are spoken in the very spirit of Amos and Hosea. The true province of religion needed to be defined. It was made the greater and the purer by being limited to the realms of spirit and personality. The dietary laws and the laws of clean and unclean have doubtless often led, as they led in the days of Jesus, to formalism, hypocrisy, self-righteousness. Outward 'cleanliness' can often mask inward corruption.

Yet, though all this be so, it was impossible for the Jews to accept the saying, nor can we safely say that Jesus was consistent in asserting it. For though the occasion which (as Mark tells the story) drew it forth was a *Rabbinical* law, though it was only a Rabbinical law which the disciples transgressed, yet the great principle laid down by Jesus runs directly counter to the laws of the Pentateuch.

Now the Pentateuch makes no difference between some laws and other laws. It does not say the moral laws are divine and eternal, the ritual laws are human and temporary; it ascribes the same divinity and immutability to them all.

From the Pentateuchal and Rabbinic point of view, the dietary laws, the laws about women, the laws about corpses and ablutions, were as much given by the wise and righteous God as were the laws about honouring our parents or loving our neighbours. If the one set of laws is divine, so is the other set. It was quite illogical for Jesus, in one breath, to appeal to the 'Law of God,' violated by Rabbinical enactment, and to enunciate a principle antagonistic to that Law in another. The dialectically trained Rabbis must have seen the flaw in Mark vii. 15. Jesus did not say that the Pentateuch was not in all its parts the Law of God. He did not bid his disciples to violate the ceremonial law. He did not urge them to eat rabbit and hare. All he wished them to neglect was the *Rabbinical* law about washing the hands. It was only in reference to *that* law that he enunciated his principle. Yet this great principle flies in the face of the dietary laws which are ordered in the Pentateuch by God. But if the wise and perfect God has ordered them, they too are wise and perfect. If the wise and perfect God has said that what enters into man's mouth can and does defile him, then *He* must be right and Jesus must be wrong.

How far Jesus was conscious of his own inconsistency is doubtful. How far in his own mind he separated the moral

from the ritual law, and thought that God *had* ordered the one, but had *not* ordered the other, we do not know. But we *do* know that he never enunciated the principle of such a separation and difference of origin. Moreover, there are a few indications that he himself obeyed and urged others to obey the ritual laws of the Pentateuch. Loisy observes: 'It may be admitted that Jesus does not directly attack legal observances, but he believes and affirms, at least implicitly, that these prescriptions have not in themselves a moral character; in any case, he lays down a principle which destroys them' (*E. S.* I. p. 959).

But if Jesus was unaware of his own inconsistency, the Rabbis must have perceived it well enough, and they were quite justified in denying his principle and the authority of him who uttered it.

The truth is that Amos could have uttered the principle without inconsistency, because in his day there was no perfect immutable divine Mosaic Law in existence; and we, to-day, can consistently utter the principle because we no longer believe in such a Law—because we *do* separate the moral from the ritual—but Jesus could only utter the principle at the cost of an inconsistency, which does not, indeed, lessen the greatness of the principle or of him who spoke it, but which justifies, exonerates and explains the opposition and disbelief of the Rabbis and Pharisees, who saw more clearly than Jesus whither the principle must tend and how much it implied.

We may agree with J. Weiss that the principle laid down by Jesus was of epoch-making greatness and significance. More questionable, however, is it where he says: 'Hier ringt sich aus einer Religion des Kultus und des Priestertums eine neue Religion der Innerlichkeit und des Gewissens los.' For what the Lutheran commentator cannot fathom is that there can be a religion of forms and ceremonies, and even of priests, which may *also* be, for many of its believers and practisers, a religion of inwardness and conscience. The two religions are not necessarily contradictions in terms. And still more false is it when he goes on to say: 'Mit diesem Gedanken ist dem Judentum die Axt an die Wurzel gelegt.' Is there only, can there only be, one kind of Judaism? We know better. And surely, of all others, a commentator like J. Weiss should be the last to make these rash assertions. What! There can be a Christianity without miracles, without the virgin birth, without a bodily resurrection, without the divinity of Christ in any dogmatic sense of the word, but there can be no Judaism without the dietary laws and the conception of physical and outward purity! Liberal Judaism has at least as good a right to its name as the non-miraculous Unitarian Christianity of Weiss.

It may also be observed that it is quite possible for a modern Jew to observe, and justify his observance of, dietary laws while yet admitting the truth of the principle of Mark vii. 15. He can be quite free from the old superstitious idea that any material thing is religiously unclean, but he may yet maintain that the discipline and self-restraint and self-sacrifice involved in (*e.g.*) observing a number of dietary laws among an environment which does not observe them may have useful ethical results. He will not maintain that the laws are from God, but he will argue that they form a useful bond for 'keeping Jews together,' for 'maintaining a connection with the past,' and that for these reasons, as well as for their ethical value as a discipline, he chooses freely to obey them freely. As regards the special Jewish method of 'killing,' he may say that it is more merciful. And all the dietary laws he may justify and cling to on the ground of hygiene. He may even, though perhaps somewhat fancifully, argue that the connection between the moral and physical nature of man is subtle and obscure, and that allegiance to dietary laws may have some undefinable but real moral influence. Such an attitude is quite justifiable, but largely modern. It does not really touch or affect the question as it presented itself either to Jesus or to the Rabbis.

16 has probably been interpolated from iv. 9, 23.

17–23. This is the commentary upon, or explanation of, verse 15. It is closely parallel to, and modelled on, the section iv. 10–20, which explains the parable of the sower. 'L'élaboration de la présente péricope appartient à la même couche traditionnelle.' Thus M. Loisy, who goes on to make the following interesting remarks. 'The question of the disciples excites the same astonishment in the Saviour as in the section of the sower; they are then as destitute of intelligence as the crowd! This kind of appreciation of the intellectual resources of the Galilæan apostles may very well be a more important and more certain trace of Paulinism than those which it has been sometimes sought to discover in the second Gospel. For the Christ goes on to show them that foods are neither clean nor unclean, that morality is not concerned with the material of nourishment; he teaches them therefore one of the doctrines which is dearest to Paul, and which it must be supposed that they afterwards forgot, if Jesus really said to them what Mark relates in this passage. But the doctrine of Paul is not treated in the manner of Paul; it is discussed from the point of view of common sense, and in that homiletical tone and rather heavy and diffuse style which

characterises the explanation of the sower....There is nothing in the idea which is not in conformity with the spirit of Jesus, but it is expressed with a kind of rude *naïveté* which we do not find in his discourses' (*E. S.* I. p. 964). W. says more laconically that 17–23 stands in the same relation to 1–15 as iv. 10–20 stands to iv. 1–9 (*Einleitung*, p. 55).

18 repeats or explains 15. Only the heart, the will, can be really good or evil. Only the will, the heart, can be profaned or defiled. Kant's famous dictum, 'There is nothing good but a good will,' is another form of Jesus's principle.

19 is grammatically hard. The nominative participle *καθαρίζων* seems to agree with the accusative *ἀφεδρῶνα*.

The word *ἀφεδρών*, only found here, is usually translated 'privy,' though why the 'privy' can be said to cleanse food is not quite easy to see. Perhaps it is said to do so, as Schanz holds, because it receives and removes all those parts of food which the human body cannot assimilate and are unsuitable for the maintenance of life. W. says that *ἀφεδρών* means bowel (*Darmkanal*). The bowel purifies food, in that it ejects what is 'unclean.' Suidas says that *ἀφεδρών* signifies *τὸ μέρος τοῦ σώματος τὸ περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον*. The manuscript 'D' has *ὀχετός*, which means the intestinal canal. The S.S. has a different, and, as Merx thinks, a truer reading, which would mean that food does not cause impurity, inasmuch as it simply passes through the body, is evicted, and does not enter the heart.

Some commentators have thought that *καθαρίζων* refers back to *λέγει*. 'Thus spake he—, making all foods clean.' But *καθαρίζων* seems too far off to go with *λέγει*, though it makes fine and trenchant meaning if so interpreted. It is thus taken by R.V. The words 'making all things clean' may, thus regarded, be a note by an editor who sees the wide effect of Jesus's words. The addition necessitates the resumption of the speech by *ἔλεγεν δὲ ὅτι* in 20.

20. The outward material thing cannot cause spiritual or religious impurity. The seat of impurity, as of purity, is the heart, the will. Thence spring evil thoughts and passions, which result in evil words and deeds. These go out of a man and defile him. Menzies holds that 20 is 'a word of Jesus bearing on the subject in hand and suitably placed here. The three following verses seem to be added by the Evangelist, in illustration. The list of sins is very similar to those in Galatians v. 19–21 and Romans i. 29–31.'

'The thought of the Evangelist is clearly defined, though his style is confused. He condemns the whole system of uncleanness and legal purification, in order to place the idea of cleanness and uncleanness, of good and evil, where it ought to be, that is in the conscience of man, not in the materiality of external objects. He is thinking, moreover, only of Jewish observances, and he did not mean that greediness was not a sin; for excess in eating and drinking comes from a perverse will, and it is not for what he takes, but for the excess committed when he takes it, that man is to be blamed. Nor did he mean to condemn fasting, which does not imply the moral reprobation of the food from which one abstains, and which gets all its value from the will which inspires it. Merit and sin have their principle, not in the things themselves, but in the persons who use them' (*E. S.* I. p. 966).

Looking back upon the whole incident after 1900 years, we see that while both parties had a certain right upon their side, though neither could persuade the other, Jesus was more profoundly right and more essentially true. The future was with him, not with the Rabbis and Pharisees. His principle would gradually win the day. It represented a higher and purer conception of religion than the opposing principle which is embodied in the Pentateuchal law. Liberal Judaism has consciously accepted it. Jesus himself, with his keen moral and religious intuitions, went straight to the essential truths of religion. He probably did not realize the conflict between the principle, which he had laid down with such clear conviction, and the teachings of the Law. Such conflicts between new and old are often invisible to those who, while ardently possessed of new creative truths, have not thought out their relation to old doctrine in which they still partially believe. In this respect the Rabbis saw, likely enough, more clearly than Jesus. But for all that, his conception of religion was in this point, just because the Rabbis were tied to the perfection and divineness of a heterogeneous code, profounder and truer than theirs.

Prof. Pfleiderer, I notice, says much the same. He holds that Jesus was unaware of the implications of his own principle, and that he did not consciously intend to attack the *Pentateuchal* law. 'It is the nature of all, and especially of religious heroes and reformers (think of Luther!) in the most exalted moments of their struggle against the old to utter thoughts, the far-reaching range of which is concealed even from themselves, and compared with which the conservative moods of their quiet days lag far behind. Hence the manifold contradictions in the life and thought of the men, in whose minds two epochs struggle against one another' (Pfleiderer, *Urchristentum*, I. p. 356).

24–30. The Northward Journey and the Phœnician Woman

(*Cp.* Matt. xv. 21–28)

4 And from thence he arose, and went into the district of Tyre.
And he entered into an house, and wished that none should know
5 it: but he could not escape notice. For, straightway, a woman,
whose young daughter had an unclean spirit, and who had heard
6 of him, came and fell at his feet: (now the woman was a heathen,
a Syrophœnician by race); and she besought him that he would
7 expel the demon from her daughter. But Jesus said unto her,
'Let the children first be filled: for it is not meet to take the
8 children's bread, and to cast it unto the dogs.' And she answered
and said unto him, 'Yes, Lord: yet the dogs under the table eat
9 of the children's crumbs.' And he said unto her, 'For this saying
10 go thy way; the demon has gone out of thy daughter.' And
when she came to her house, she found her daughter lying upon
the bed, and the demon had departed.

What lay before Mark as his authority for the story of the Canaanite woman? B. Weiss insists that the story was already included in Q, and that it is Q's version which we find in Matthew. Loisy is more cautious. But he and others hold that verse 27 in Mark with its addition ('Let the children be first satisfied') is secondary as compared with Matt. xv. 26. Hence Mark must have found the story already 'rédigée,' and possibly Matthew may have known and used the source, 'plus simple et plus succincte,' which is at the base of Mark. But even if we accept the very plausible view that Matt. xv. 26 is primary, it might be that little more or no more than this saying was known to Matthew, and that for the *story* he entirely depends upon Mark.

24. ἐκεῖθεν. That is, probably, from Gennesaret (vi. *fin.*). The section vii. 1–24 is interpolated. What is the motive for this journey? It has been variously interpreted. Was it to enable Jesus to be alone with his disciples and to teach them especially as to the lot which was to befall their Master? This seems very doubtful, in view of their subsequent amazement and incomprehension. Was it to avoid the plotting Pharisees, who sought to kill the innovating teacher? This is conceivable, but not probable. Did he seek for rest and quiet to meditate upon his

future prospects and chances? The entire journey (*i.e.* not only 24 but 31) is more probably due to the reasons given on vi. 30–33. But it is strange that Jesus, instead of going to Bethsaida as he had intended, changes his route and goes north. The territory of Tyre formed the northern border of Galilee. Is this particular journey of Jesus placed here, as J. Weiss thinks, to indicate that, in true consistence with what we have just heard, Jesus did not consider the heathen as unclean? Wernle (who thinks that Mark had little before him but isolated stories, sayings, and traditions) supposes that the journey is fabricated. 'Mark had before him the story of Jesus's meeting with the Gentile woman and the help which he gave her; this needed a scene in a Gentile district, and accordingly Jesus must have journeyed into the neighbourhood of Tyre' (*Sources of our knowledge of the Life of Jesus*, translated by Lummis, 1907, p. 123).

26. She was a Phœnician by race and nationality, a Greek, *i.e.* a heathen, by religion.

27. Jesus very clearly and somewhat unkindly states that his own mission is restricted to the Jews.

'Dog' was a frequent term of abuse and contempt used by Jews about Gentiles. If it be true that *κυνάριον* means the house, or domesticated, dog, it is improperly put into the mouth of Jesus. The language of the statement is assimilated to that of the reply, where it is in place.

'Let the children be satisfied first': Matthew omits these words, and apparently this is more original. They are a softening of the uncompromising reply and suggest the woman's answer. They are often said to be due to Pauline influences (*cp.* Romans i. 16, ii. 10, ix. 24). In any case it does seem pretty clear that they give a theoretic basis for the later view that, while the Jews were to be offered the gospel first, the Gentiles were to receive it next. The food of salvation is destined for them also. The 'children' in the interpolated clause anticipate the use of the word in the original response. How could Jesus, says Loisy, have told the woman that her child would be healed when he had completed all the miracles he had to accomplish in Israel? Mark has allegorized the saying and the story. He looks to the future: the original saying did not. B. Weiss notices that *οὐ καλόν* is specifically Marcan: Matthew's *οὐκ ἔξεστιν* is more original. For another view see the note on Matt. xv. 28.

28. Only here is Jesus called *κύριε* in Mark. It is a heathen woman who calls him so. The appellation, however, *may* mean

no more than our 'sir.' For the real meaning of the word mistranslated 'crumbs' (rather 'bits of bread') see note on Luke xvi. 21. The admirable reply of the woman is both touching and brilliant: 'there is a place for dogs in the household, and there is a place for Gentiles in God's world' (Gould).

29. Jesus is moved by her humility and courage. He declares that her request has been granted because of her noble reply. Matthew makes Jesus praise her faith, the greatness of which induces (and perhaps enables) him to grant her prayer. The emphasis upon faith most authorities regard as specifically characteristic of Matthew, but B. Weiss attributes it already to Q. It is too subtle an explanation when he says that Mark by his change wishes to indicate that Jesus fulfils the woman's request because, as her reply shows, she recognizes the prerogative of Israel while pointing out how he may nevertheless heal her child. It is noticeable that the healing takes place 'from afar,' merely by 'word,' which is unusual in Mark. The other instance was the healing of the centurion's son. Both are cases of heathens being healed. Do the Evangelists mean to imply that the Gentiles will be 'saved' by the 'Word,' without the bodily presence of the Christ? So Augustine, and M. Loisy agrees. Yet he thinks that there must have been a traditional story or memory, which was originally quite independent of all symbolic interpretation (*E. S.* I. p. 977). But the highly miraculous character of the story makes its accuracy suspicious. For Jesus suddenly cures a third person, who knows presumably nothing about him. The child is cured through the courageous faith of its mother. This is sheer miracle. It seems to me an instance of false exegesis and a wrong way of trying to strip a narrative of its miraculous quality in order to preserve its historical character when Holtzmann says: 'The girl meanwhile had become quiet,' and upon her return the mother finds her 'lying upon the bed, probably exhausted after the last attack. It is only Matthew who speaks of an immediate and permanent result.' Surely Mark implies a complete and instantaneous cure no less than Matthew. Are we really to suppose that the story is historical so far as the request of the woman and the reply of Jesus are concerned, but false as regards the cure? The child was lying, after a severe attack, exhausted and quiet upon its bed. There was no cure. This seems an unsatisfactory solution.

Wellhausen notes that there can be no doubt that the principle, or line of action, laid down by Jesus in his reply, which he is induced exceptionally to abandon in this case, was seriously meant, and had hitherto been followed. Though he never says so expressly, and lays no stress upon it, Mark regards it as self-evident

that Jesus should limit his activity to the Jews, proclaim the Kingdom of God to them, and summon them to repentance. Such utterances as those in Matt. viii. 11 are never found in Mark. Only in the [late] eschatological speech, Mark xiii. 10, does Jesus predict the extension of the preaching of the gospel to the heathen. But has not W. omitted to notice the implication of xiv. 9? Yet this verse too is almost certainly later than Jesus.

Schmidt, I am inclined to think, tends to be a little one-sided when he refuses to believe that Jesus could have shared the usual Jewish limitations as regards the heathen world. Still, let my readers judge for themselves. Schmidt says: 'There is no reason to question the assistance Jesus gave to the child of a Phœnician woman. But the conversation that is said to have taken place is quite incredible. It is as impossible to believe that Jesus should have refused to help a sufferer in Northern Syria on the ground that it would not be right to help a dog of a Gentile, as that he would praise as an instance of marvellous faith her willingness to debase herself by accepting such a gratuitous insult in order to secure a favour. It is sad enough that a Jewish Christian was still capable of inventing this story. The more difficult it was to make his thought understood in these foreign parts, the more anxious Jesus must have been to commend his message by deeds of kindness' (*Prophet of Nazareth*, p. 276). J. Weiss has another explanation. Jesus has left Galilee because he realizes that the Jews are impervious to his teaching. They are hopeless. He wants to be alone; he is immediately troubled by this heathen woman. For a moment he is upset by the situation and answers gloomily. Yet the cloud soon lifts, and he is, as ever, ready to help a human being in the hour of need. J. Weiss knows too much, I fancy, nor was the object of Jesus's journey a desire to be alone because the Jews were impervious to his teaching.

Loisy thinks that the story is more or less historic; it rests upon fact, but the significance which the Evangelists give to it is theirs alone. Jesus had not the smallest intention to announce the Kingdom to the Gentiles; nor does he mean that the turn of the heathen will come later. Though Mark's account is more primitive than Matthew's, or rather, as Loisy would put it, though Mark has deviated less than Matthew from the original source which lay before them both, yet it is he, and not Jesus, who is responsible for the words, 'Let the children be satisfied first' in 27. Jesus means to say simply that his miracles are wrought for the Jews, the children of God, and not for the Gentiles, who stand towards God and the Jews as dogs stand to the master and children of the house. There is no thought of the future. Yet the situation of the story must be real. It was not invented for

the saying. That saying (about the dogs) must have been spoken on an occasion 'analogous' to that which is described in Mark and Matthew. Without it, Jesus would have had no interest to define his relation to the heathen (*E. S.* I. pp. 970–977).

The story is one of great beauty and charm. Whence this wonderful attractiveness of so much of the Gospel narrative, this marvellous combination of power and simplicity? Whence this impression of *firstclassness*, of inspiration? Surely because the Gospels are the early result of the impression produced by a great and inspired personality. However uncertain it may be whether what we read in any single passage was really said or done by Jesus, only a real Jesus could have caused the Gospel. Without Jesus, no Mark.

'The sublime figure of the Christ, portrayed to us by the first three Evangelists, was, in a certain sense, created by the Church. But if, in turn, we ask what was the moral and religious power by which the Church was created, only one answer is possible: it was the personality of Jesus, his faith, his truth, his love' (*First Three Gospels*, p. 326).

Nevertheless, do we know enough of the life of Jesus to speak of his character in the customary terms of absolute and unqualified eulogy? We hear that his life was a perfect exhibition of divine love, that it was one long and perfect sacrifice, in fact that it was a perfect life, the product of a perfect character. And so on, with endless variations. And yet we have to remember that Jesus lived only thirty-three years or so, and that of this short life we only know the events of a year or a year and a half. In the Galilæan period we do not know of much which required great sacrifice. There is no reason to suppose that Jesus lived a life of great pain, difficulty, and renunciation. A religious teacher who made a great impression upon many was well looked after. He had no difficulty in obtaining food or lodging.

Again, of the events of this year many are historically dubious, many are mixed up with incredible miracles. We do not know (to pass on to the Jerusalem period) whether Jesus went up to the capital to conquer or to die. Let us assume that he went to die, that he felt that his own death was the necessary preliminary for the full establishment of the Kingdom. It was a fine determination. Nobody would wish to detract from it, but I cannot perceive that even this act of self-sacrifice entitles us to say of his character that it was the *most perfect* character, and of his life that it was the *most perfect* life that has ever been lived. It is a life

(*a*) of which we know very little, and only during some eighteen months in all;

(*b*) of which the incidents are very few;

(*c*) which is very uncertain, and much mixed up with miracle and legend;

(*d*) which is recorded by biographers who seek to eulogise and exalt to the utmost of their ability.

While, therefore, willing to pay my tribute of admiration to the life and character of Jesus, so far as we know about them or can ascertain them, I cannot see any reason to speak of them as the acme and embodiment of every conceivable perfection. He is a great teacher and a noble man, whom we must greatly admire: our *adoration* will be reserved for God.

Yet through the mists of miracle and legend we see a character, not indeed perfect, for his attitude neither to his mother nor to his opponents seems to me without question, but yet noble; a character, moreover, finely balanced and tempered. Jesus was virile, but gentle; severe, but pitiful. He was confident, yet humble. Aloof from the world, yet not gloomy. What a grand grip he had upon essentials, upon the fatherhood of God, and upon the service of God in the service of man. How positive was his goodness. How he hated shams, meanness, hypocrisy, self-righteousness. These hatreds reveal the sort of man he was, filled with pity for the outcasts of society, with scorn for the respectably virtuous who so carefully avoided evil and yet performed so little good. I can quite realize that it is easy, and to those brought up in a Christian environment justifiable, upon the basis of what we know about Jesus, to conjecture and amplify and idealise. 'An ideal,' says Jowett, 'necessarily mingles with all conceptions of Christ.' This ideal, which varies from age to age, 'may be conveniently spoken of as the life of Christ.' But this ideal is not the actual character or actual life of the historic Jesus, 'of a person scarcely known to us,' as Jowett admits, whose biographies are full of doubt and uncertainty (*Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, Vol. II. pp. 151, 445).

31–37. Healing of a Deaf and Dumb Man

(*Cp.* Matt. xv. 29–31)

31 Then he left the district of Tyre, and came by way of Sidon
unto the lake of Galilee, through the midst of the district of the
32 Ten Cities. And they brought unto him one that was deaf and
stammered; and they besought him to put his hand upon him.
33 And he took him aside from the crowd, and put his fingers into

34 his ears, and touched his tongue with his spittle, and looking up
to heaven, he sighed, and said unto him, '*Ephphatha,*' that is, 'Be
35 opened.' And straightway his ears were opened, and the fetter
36 of his tongue was loosed, and he spoke plainly. And he enjoined
them to tell no one; but the more he enjoined them, the more
37 did they proclaim it. And they were exceedingly astonished,
saying, 'He has done all things well: he makes the deaf to hear,
and the dumb to speak.'

31. This verse would indicate, if it is accurate, that Jesus took a very extended journey before returning to the Lake of Galilee. He would have gone far northwards, and then eastwards and back again to the south. But so protracted a journey seems improbable. It appears likely that Mark wanted to place the miracles that follow upon heathen soil for the sake of his symbolism. They are wrought as Jesus passes through the Decapolis on his way back to the lake. They symbolize the salvation of the Gentiles to whom the gospel is also to be rendered. W. thinks that Sidon is a misrendering of Saidan, which was a variant for Bethsaida. The geography of Mark is somewhat confused, and gives rise to much discussion in the commentators, which I pass over in silence.

32. Is the man a Jew? According to Loisy, he was so in the traditional story which had no special place or time; to Mark he was a heathen, and he symbolizes the giving of the gospel to the Gentiles. The population of the Decapolis was mixed.

33. The healing process is here conducted in a strange, half-magical way. One wonders what is the measure of historical basis for this curious tale. Spittle was regarded in antiquity as possessed of healing properties. Tacitus records that Vespasian cured a blind man in Alexandria by wetting his eyes with his spittle (*Histories*, IV. 81).

34. He 'sighed.' The word here means that he was praying. For the prayer, *cp.* Elijah in 1 Kings xvii. 19–21 or Elisha in 2 Kings iv. 33–35.

It is amusing how the great authorities vary in their judgments. To W. healings by touch are older and more original than healings by the mere word. Mark usually makes Jesus employ a touch of one kind or another (as here), rarely a mere word. With Matthew it is otherwise. J. Weiss, on the other hand, thinks touching is secondary. According to the oldest view,

the healings of Jesus were accomplished by a mere word. Jesus 'orders' the 'demon' of sickness. The conception that he healed by touch is more reflective. Still more so is the idea that he used popular medicinal means (as here). The miracle becomes less spiritual; but also there is a sort of semi-rationalistic explanation. W.'s view seems to me more likely than J. Weiss's.

Loisy sees nothing necessarily unlikely in Jesus using these remedies, as in his eyes they were. Jesus does not want to be regarded, he does not regard himself, as an all powerful worker of miracles by his own mere personality. The case of demon-expelling stands apart, for the demons are personal beings, and they must be expelled by the mere order of God's messenger. But in the case of ordinary maladies Jesus either attributes his healings to the faith of those who implore his aid, or he acts like a doctor, who trusts in God and thinks that he effects his cures by ordinary remedies through divine help So with words. The 'Word' was also a remedy, a means of curing, just like touching a little saliva; nevertheless these means were not regarded as independent of the divine will. Thus Loisy denies that the term 'magic' is in place, and even my 'half-magical' should therefore, according to him, be deleted (*E. S.* I. p. 981).

36. Jesus would not have been the 'Menschenkenner' he was if he had thought that such a miracle, wrought in public, could remain unknown. All these prohibitions are part of Mark's theory, and, likely enough, have little historic basis.

These stories are partly told, and partly made up, with an eye to the fulfilment of prophecy. *Cp.* Isaiah xxix. 18, xxxv. 5, 6.

CHAPTER VIII

1–9. Feeding of the Four Thousand

(*Cp.* Matt. xv. 32–39)

1 In those days there was again a great crowd, and they had
nothing to eat. And Jesus called his disciples unto him, and
2 said unto them, 'I feel pity for the people because they have now
3 tarried with me three days, and have nothing to eat: and if I
send them away fasting to their own homes, they will faint by
4 the way: moreover some of them came from far.' And his
disciples answered him, 'Whence can one satisfy these men with

5 bread here in the wilderness?' And he asked them, 'How many
6 loaves have ye?' And they said, 'Seven.' And he bade the people to sit down on the ground: and he took the seven loaves, and spoke the blessing, and broke them, and gave them to his
7 disciples to set before the people; and they did so. And they had a few small fishes: and he spoke the blessing, and told them
8 to set these also before the people. So they did eat, and were satisfied: and they took up of the broken bits that were left,
9 seven baskets full. And they who had eaten were about four thousand.

W. notices that viii. 1–26 does not really carry the story forward from the point at which it had arrived in vii. 37. It runs parallel with vi. 34—vii. 37. It does not indeed cover the whole ground. viii. 1–9 corresponds with vi. 34–44 (the miraculous feedings); then in viii. 10–21 (itself composite and interpolated) we have a crossing back again to the other side of the lake, as in vi. 46–52, while 22–26 corresponds with vii. 31–37 (in each case a similar miracle). For vi. 53–56, vii. 1–23, vii. 24–30 there are no parallels. These sections are, however, 'vermutlich ein oder vielmehr zwei Zwischenstücke' themselves. Are we then to assume that Mark had already two groups of written passages before him, which he combined? It looks rather like it. But W. does not like to admit such a conclusion. He says: 'Der Umstand, dass hier nicht bloss einzelne Varianten, sondern zwei Gruppen von Varianten erscheinen, gibt zu denken. Doch sind die Gruppen klein, sie bestehn eigentlich nur aus drei Stücken, die schon von der mündlichen Tradition in dieser Reihenfolge hätten überliefert sein können.'

The miracle of the four thousand is a close variant of the feeding of the five thousand in vi. 31–44. Note that Jesus again shows pity for the material exhaustion of the people. In vi. 34 he pities their spiritual destitution. Neither pity is unhistorical. He clearly cared for people's bodies as well as for their souls. *Cp.* v. 43. Mark must, it is supposed, have found two separate miraculous feeding stories in his sources. Probably these were two *written* sources. Mark seems to use the two feeding stories for two different purposes. The one symbolizes the preaching of the 'Word' to the Jews; the other symbolizes its presentation to the *heathen*. Jesus alone gives the true Word, which the peoples cannot find elsewhere.

7. The parallelism of the two stories extends to the odd way in which the fishes are introduced, for in both they seem to come,

as M. Loisy says, 'quelque peu en surcharge' (*E. S.* I. p. 987, n. 3). It is a question whether there is a symbolism in the fish, and why they have been added.

8. Note that the word for 'baskets' differs in the two narratives. In the first it is *κόφινοι*; in the second it is *σπυρίδες*. This points to two different written sources.

10–12. A Sign Refused

(*Cp.* Matt. xii. 38–42, xvi. 1–4; Luke xi. 29–32)

10 And when he had sent them away, straightway he entered
into a boat with his disciples, and came into the district of
11 Dalmanutha. And the Pharisees came forth, and began to dis-
pute with him, demanding from him a sign from heaven, in order
12 to tempt him. And he sighed deeply in his spirit, and said,
'Wherefore doth this generation demand a sign? verily I say
unto you, There shall no sign be given unto this generation.'

As viii. 1–9 is a variant of vi. 34–44, so viii. 10 is the variant of vi. 45. In both cases, after the miraculous feeding, Jesus enters a ship and crosses over the lake.

10. Where is Dalmanutha? Nobody knows for certain: some think on the east, some on the west, side of the lake. W. thinks the former. J. Weiss the latter. He supposes that this scene with the Pharisees should really be connected with vi. 53–56, the healings in Gennesaret.

11. As the first miracle of the loaves is followed by the disputation with the Pharisees about ablutions, so the second is followed by a quarrel about 'signs.' Loisy supposes that the stories are inserted from the same motive in both cases. To the gospel, the true nurture of souls, is opposed the false Judaism, which is 'outward' and demands 'signs.' He also believes that 11, 12 come from Q. If they are a later insertion, as W. thinks, this would be all the likelier. The Pharisees are represented, as usual, in the worst light. They ask Jesus for a sign in order to tempt him. Apparently this means that they knew that Jesus ought to refuse them—*i.e.* that he ought to refuse to substantiate his special powers or his Messiahship by miracles. Or does 'tempting' mean that they believed he could not perform a miracle on

a grand scale, and that they tempted him to try so that he might fail? Dr Carpenter, however, holds that 'trying' or 'testing him' (πειράζοντες) is Mark's interpretation. The demand was a trial to Jesus because *he* felt *he* ought to refuse it. This is what Mark wishes to indicate, without reference to the purpose of the Pharisees.

In any case, they are the bad people in asking for a 'sign'; Jesus is the good man in refusing them. At the best they suffer from 'incurable *Wundersucht*.' But is not this unjust? Jesus, in the narrative as we now have it, had already performed two gigantic miracles, which were surely 'signs,' and are treated as such in 17–20. Moreover he had appealed to his miracles of healing, yet, by his own admission, there were Rabbinic exorcists as well as he. And successful ones too! Hence, when Jesus made assertions implying the imperfections of the Law, was it unreasonable to ask for a *special* miracle in order to prove these bold assertions contradicting the letter of the Law, which it was a dogma of faith to regard as true and perfect from beginning to end? Perhaps Deut. xiii. 1–3 should have made them refrain, but the passage scarcely applies, for Jesus, at all events, was not suggesting the worship of 'other gods.' It is right to remember constantly that there is a great deal to be said for the Pharisees and Rabbis, whose relations with Jesus we only hear of from their bitter enemies, who wanted to depict the Master as all light and his adversaries all darkness.

The reason why Jesus refuses the miracle, according to J. Weiss, is because he perceives in the demand the unbelief, the mockery and the hatred of his opponents. Hence he is filled with bitterness and defiance. To demand a sign is the proof of their ineradicable 'superficiality and outwardness.' The faith that Jesus required is of a quite different kind. To the modern Christian of J. Weiss's school, who disbelieves in miracles, this may be very comforting. But the superficiality is proved none the more. In the days of Jesus everybody believed in miracles, and Jesus was only too glad when people believed that his miracles were divinely ordered. His teaching and his miracles went together. But that teaching ran counter to the written and to the oral Law. Now the Law itself had foretold that prophets might arise who would 'dare to speak in God's name what God had not commanded.' Was it not likely that Jesus, who spoke against the Law, was such a prophet? The words in Deut. xviii. 20–22 may have moved many to reflection. If, however, Jesus were to foretell some sign which 'followed and came to pass,' then, perhaps, it might be safe to think that God, who of old had said that the Law was to be a 'statute for ever throughout your generations,' had really changed

his mind. The 'sign from heaven' is a miracle over and above mere exorcisms and healings.

W. thinks that 11 and 12 are a later insertion, and that 13 repeats 10. Those who were dismissed are the same in 13 as in 9. Jesus could not so lightly 'dismiss' the Pharisees. 'Again' (*πάλιν*) in 13 is a harmonising way out of the difficulty.

12. 'Wherefore' &c. 'Der Sinn der Frage bei Mc. soll wohl sein: sie begehren das Zeichen gar nicht wirklich, warum tun sie denn so?' (Klostermann). Or it may be that the meaning of the question is in an answer which is implied but not stated. 'They ask for signs with a wrong motive, therefore I will not give them.' We have here one more example of the fact that neither Jesus nor the Pharisees could understand each other. From their point of view the Pharisees were justified in showing the utmost caution towards, and the utmost suspicion of, a teacher who either violated, or taught by implication the violation of, the Law. A sign from their point of view was reasonable enough. But though the Pharisees may have been justified in asking, it does not follow that Jesus was not right in refusing. There is something in Gould's view, though it is pressed, perhaps, too far or too hard. The miracles of Jesus were 'uses of divine power, but not displays of it.' He refused to prove his power by empty marvels *ad hoc*. 'He refuses to do anything as a sign, and yet his life was full of signs.' Note that whereas Isaiah offers a sign to Ahaz, who says that he will not tempt God, Jesus refuses a sign.

The Greek MSS. say Jesus 'sighed in spirit' (*ἀναστενάξας*), but the S.S. has, 'he was wrath in spirit,' which Merx thinks is more original.

13–21. The Lack of Bread

(*Cp.* Matt. xvi. 5–12; Luke xii. 1)

13 And he left them, and entering into the boat again, crossed
14 over to the other side. Now they had forgotten to take bread
with them, and they had not in the boat more than one loaf.
15 And he enjoined them, saying, 'Take heed, beware of the leaven
16 of the Pharisees, and of the leaven of Herod.' And they argued
17 with one another, 'We have no bread.' And Jesus perceived it,
and said unto them, 'Why do ye argue that ye have no bread?
do ye not yet perceive or understand? is your heart hardened?
18 Having eyes, see ye not? and having ears, hear ye not? and do

19 ye not remember? When I broke the five loaves among the five
thousand, how many baskets full of fragments took ye up?' And
20 they said, 'Twelve.' 'And when the seven loaves among the four
thousand, how many baskets full of fragments took ye up?'
21 And they said, 'Seven.' And he said unto them, 'Do ye still not
understand?'

W. remarks that 13 or rather 9, which 13 resumes and repeats, must originally have been followed by 22. The redactor having now two feeding stories in his narratives is able to reflect about them both in 14–21.

15. W. thinks that this verse has no connection with 14, 16–21. An isolated saying of Jesus is given a wrong place and connection. For the 'leaven' is not the teaching of the Pharisees or of Herod, but their evil disposition. They are united in their hatred of Jesus. The disciples are to beware of their hostility and guile, not of being infected by their teaching.

For the Rabbinic use of the word 'leaven,' see Additional Note 17.

Certainly the omission of 15 makes the connexion and sense much more natural. 16 follows well on 14, though, it must be admitted, only if we may render, like W.: '*Und sie machten sich Gedanken darüber, dass sie kein Brot hatten.*' But is this translation possible? It is, however, adopted by Klostermann. The usual interpretation of the words in 16 is that they discussed with each other what the warning of Jesus (in 15) precisely signified, and that they took it to refer to their neglect to take enough bread with them—a strained meaning, as must be admitted, but not out of accordance with the general theory of Mark as to the spiritual blindness of the apostles.

Jesus's rebuke seems at first sight to mean that the disciples are never to have a fear of material wants. By his miraculous powers Jesus, if they have faith, will always provide for them in every emergency. So Matthew understands the passage. The obtuseness of the disciples is awkwardly exaggerated. They do not even remember the surprising miracles of the feeding the 5000 and the 4000. But this explanation is clearly inadequate. There must probably be more in the rebuke than a mere reference to the miracles as outward events. More is intended than the mere injunction not to fear material want because Jesus can always, if need be, through his miraculous powers, provide the necessary food. There is a spiritual reference as well. Hence there seems more reason to accept the explanation of Loisy. He too holds that 15 contains

a historic saying of Jesus, but unlike W., he regards this saying as the source round which 14–21 has been formed. Moreover he interprets the saying, not as W. does, but spiritually. He, however, holds that Jesus only spoke of the leaven of the Pharisees, meaning by that their false piety, and not also of the leaven of Herod. (If he had spoken also of the leaven of Herod, then W.'s interpretation would be necessary. The interpolator who added 'the leaven of Herod' meant by it the false, irreligious, mundane, spirit of Herod.) The Evangelist or the redactor invented the forgotten loaves to make a connection for the saying about the 'leaven.' The disciples are then made to misunderstand this saying, and Jesus in his reply hints that the miracles of the loaves had a spiritual and symbolic meaning. The saying about the 'leaven' was meant spiritually. The miracles of the loaves, though true in fact, were also—so the redactor would inform us—meant symbolically. He perhaps would even have given a symbolic meaning to the forgotten food (in verse 14), namely, the inadequacy of the ancient apostles to bring about the expansion of Christianity. The multiplied loaves is a symbol of the salvation offered to the Jews and the Gentiles. And the intense stupidity of the apostles is once more shown to be 'a thesis of the Evangelist, rather than a fact of history.' It nevertheless symbolizes a reality, namely, that the disciples during the lifetime of Jesus never suspected certain facts which afterwards became apparent, *i.e.* the universal destination of the gospel, the abrogation of the Law, the institution of a new community of which Jesus was the centre, and of which the breaking of bread was to be both the symbol and the bond. Thus Loisy urges that Mark adds to the most ancient traditions, already partly written, considerations inspired by Pauline universalism and by the later developments of Christianity. The verses which give 15 its setting are written from the same point of view as those which give the explanation of the parable of the sower and the explanation of the saying of the true defilement. And note that the language recalls previously used expressions. *Cp.* iv. 12, vi. 52, vii. 18. Verse 18 is modelled on Jeremiah v. 21 and Ezekiel xii. 2 (*E. S.* I. pp. 1001–1006).

22–26. A Blind Man Healed

(Mark only)

22 And they came to Bethsaida; and they brought a blind man
23 unto him, and besought him to touch him. And he took the blind man by the hand, and led him out of the village; and he

spat into his eyes, and put his hands upon him, and asked him if
24 he saw anything. And he looked up, and said, 'I perceive men,
25 for I see them like trees, walking.' Then Jesus put his hands
again upon his eyes, and he looked steadfastly, and was restored,
26 and saw everything clearly. And he sent him away to his house,
saying, 'Go not into the village.'

Here, finally, is the variant to vii. 31–37. If we do not accept the view of W. given at the opening of the chapter, the question presents itself, why did the redactor add on and insert this 'variant'? Was it merely that finding it, and thinking it to be an extra, independent, fresh instance of the miraculous powers of Jesus, and not wishing that such an instance should be forgotten, he was anxious to secure a place for it in the Gospel? But its place near the second miracle of the loaves makes it possible that Loisy is right in seeing in the redactor's motive a more symbolic intention. 'La guérison de l'aveugle paraît figurer l'adhésion des apôtres à la foi messianique, tout comme la guérison du sourd-muet figure la conversion des gentils, et l'origine de l'Église hellénochrétienne.' And is the miracle inserted in this special place before the confession of Peter, to symbolize and prepare the way for that dissipation of spiritual darkness in the apostles which the confession is to reveal? (*E. S.* I. pp. 1007, 1008). It is noticeable that both variants are unused by Matthew. He objected, W. thinks, to the magical method of healing. It seemed to him unworthy of the Master.

J. Weiss, as in vii. 31–37, thinks the story is suspicious and secondary. The minutely described procedure makes the narrative no more credible. 'A semblance of naturalness is given to the miracle of almighty power by this exact description; it almost appears as if the cure was only started by the touching and the spitting, and then completed itself. But our confidence in the report is not thereby strengthened in the least. For these details do not make the sudden cure of ever such a mild disease of the eyes any clearer; they only betray to us that the narrator, in spite of all his belief in miracles, is already beginning to reflect how it was possible for Jesus to perform such an act. And it is a very simple-minded explanation of the miracle that the power of Jesus was successful, not, it is true, the first time, but still the second.'

viii. 27–ix. 1. Jesus the Suffering Messiah—Peter and Jesus

(*Cp.* Matt. xvi. 13–28; Luke ix. 18–27)

27 And from there Jesus went, with his disciples, into the villages of Cæsarea Philippi: and on the way he asked his disciples, saying unto them, 'Whom do men say that I am?'
28 And they answered, 'John the Baptist; and others, Elijah;
29 and others, One of the prophets.' And he asked them, 'But ye—whom say ye that I am?' And Peter answered and said
30 unto him, 'Thou art the Messiah.' And he sternly admonished them that they should tell no man of him.
31 And he began to teach them that the Son of man must suffer much, and be rejected by the Elders and the chief priests and the scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again.
32 And he spoke the word quite openly.
33 And Peter took him aside, and began to rebuke him. But he turned round, and looking on his disciples, he rebuked Peter, saying, 'Get thee behind me, Satan: for thou thinkest not the
34 thoughts of God, but of men.' And he called the people unto him together with his disciples, and said unto them, 'Whoever would follow after me, let him deny himself, and take up his
35 cross, and follow me. For whoever would save his life shall lose it; but whoever would lose his life for my sake and the
36 gospel's, he shall save it. For what can it profit a man to
37 gain the whole world, and to forfeit his life? For what can
38 a man give as the price of his life? For whoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he
IX. 1 cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.' And he said unto them, 'Verily I say unto you, There are some of those who stand here who shall not taste death till they see the kingdom of God come with power.'

Here begins a new section of the Gospel of the greatest importance and significance. W. calls viii. 27–x. the second portion of the second main division of Mark. He entitles it: 'Jesus on the way

to Jerusalem.' It is, however, doubtful whether these divisions and sub-divisions represent the intention or mind of the Evangelist. M. Loisy thinks that the confession of Peter does not to Mark form 'an essential division' of his book, though it must have formed 'un point capital' in the source from which the confession was taken. Moreover the correspondence of the blind man in viii. 22–26 with the blind man of x. 46–52 indicates a sort of 'sectionnement' in vi. 30–x. (which Loisy calls roughly the fourth part of the book) that would allow one to put a break at viii. 26, and treat viii. 27–x. as a separate section (*E. S.* I. p. 85, n. 1). We may also notice, with W., the curious parallelism between the opening of vi. 14–16 (with which W. begins his second division) and viii. 27 *seq.* In both cases the question is discussed who Jesus really is.

'Now only,' as W. says, 'begins the gospel as the apostles proclaimed it; before this one does not perceive much of it. The determination to go to Jerusalem causes a remarkable change. A transfigured Jesus stands before us, and the two miracles of healing, which are inserted, seem almost out of place. He no longer teaches general doctrine, but prophesies about himself. He speaks to his disciples rather than to the people. To them he reveals his nature and mission. But he does this esoterically. They are not to tell it to anyone till the predictions are fulfilled, and even they themselves do not till then understand it. The opportunity to reveal the secret is given by the confession of Peter, "Thou art the Messiah." Jesus induced that confession, and he accepts it with a correction; he is not the Messiah who is to restore the kingdom of Israel, but quite another Messiah. He does not go to Jerusalem to restore the Jewish kingdom, but to be crucified. Through suffering and death he enters into glory, and only thus—through this same path—can others follow him thither. The Kingdom of God is no Jewish kingdom; it is only intended for certain chosen individuals, *his* disciples. The idea of the possibility of a general repentance of the whole people is entirely abandoned. Instead of a summons to repentance addressed to all, we have the demand, "Follow me," the demand of discipleship, which only very few can fulfil. And the conception of discipleship itself assumes a new and higher meaning. It no longer merely implies following and accompanying Jesus in his lifetime, but, mainly, following him in his death. Discipleship as imitation is possible even after his death, and, indeed, it only then properly begins. His cross is to be carried after him. For the Kingdom's sake the disciples are to abandon people and family; they must sacrifice everything which binds them to life; they must sacrifice life itself. Reform is impossible; the enmity of the world cannot

be overcome. A violent breach with the world is demanded, leading to martyrdom. Thus the situation and the mood of the early Christian community is here reflected beforehand in Jesus, as he goes forward to meet his fate. Upon this depends that lofty pathos in which the introduction to the Passion excels the Passion itself.'

Clearly, therefore, if W. is right, there is a good deal of prospective history in this section, and less of historical record.

For Jesus seems to project himself not only into his own future, but also into the future of his community. His disciples, the members of that community, are threatened with persecutions; martyrdoms are hinted at; the sons of Zebedee are to suffer a similar fate to that of their Master, yet they are not necessarily to hold a higher rank in the future Kingdom of God. The general hope is narrowed. Only those who believe in Jesus and follow him may confidently expect to enter the Kingdom. The commands of the Law, as given to the Jews, are inadequate (W. presses x. 21 and 29). To his followers, and not to the general public, Jesus now addresses himself. They are told of the fate which lies before him, and are enjoined to be ready to follow in the same dark path.

Whether the confession of Peter had actually the epoch-making importance which Mark assigns to it is a question to which no final answer can ever be given. If Mark viii. 28 is accurate, Jesus had till then (*i.e.* for the greater part of his ministry) neither himself claimed to be the Messiah, nor had others, outside his chosen disciples, thought that he was so. And this is probably correct. Dr Martineau, on the other hand, thinks that the historic reality which verse 30 half conceals and half reveals was that Jesus, when Peter said 'Thou art the Messiah,' disclaimed and disavowed the title and office. He was *not* the Messiah. This seems a very hazardous interpretation of the verse. On the other hand, if Jesus had neither claimed nor been thought to be the Messiah till the scene at Cæsarea Philippi, it is not quite easy to understand how so very soon after we can account for the wording of x. 47, or, still more, for an event like that recorded in xi. 10, where Jesus is openly hailed as Messiah. Is the explanation adequate that, in spite of his earnest prohibition, the disciples now began to talk of his Messiahship, and so made the rumour of the coming Messiah pass quickly on to Jericho and Jerusalem? One may, of course, argue that the wording ('son of David') in x. 47 is not to be relied on, and that xi. 10 is not historical or that it has been 'Messianically' coloured.

The degree of importance which attaches to the question whether Jesus claimed to be the Messiah, and to his admission of his Messiahship at Cæsarea Philippi, is also influenced by the

possibility that, as W. says, Jesus accepted the name of the Jewish ideal, but altered its contents. But the uncertainties of the subject are reflected in what W. then proceeds to add: 'Jesus would not lose in importance for us, even if he did not do this, but only gave himself out as the fulfiller of the Old Testament. I moreover admit, first, that he had an outward cause to leave Galilee (see vi. 30–33), and that he did not go to Jerusalem with the mere intention of being crucified there; secondly, that the predictions about the Passion, in which the subject is the Son of man, are open to the suspicion of a later date; thirdly, that it remains unclear whether in Jerusalem Jesus himself openly appeared as the Messiah, or whether he was only taken to be the Messiah by the people, and therefore accused by the authorities before Pilate.'

The conclusions of W. may need some modification if we hold that the confession of Peter, with the promise of the near Parousia and the remarks about Elijah, were taken and elaborated by Mark not from oral tradition, but from a written source. This is Loisy's opinion (*E. S.* I. p. 114). That Q contained a 'Petrusbekenntniss' is urged by B. Weiss, but his arguments do not seem in this instance of much weight, and they largely depend upon unacceptable views about the Son of man. For Loisy the source is not Q, but the narrative source, which he assumes as Mark's second written authority. On the other hand, there are verses in the present section such as viii. 35, 38 which may, as will be seen, depend on Q. Whether, however, because they were in Q, the quotations from W. would be invalidated is another question. It does not necessarily follow that they would. Neither in Mark nor in Q, as Bousset reminds us, can we be sure that we find the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus. Both Q and Mark, the former as well as the latter, may often reflect the later thoughts of the community as it attempted to recall and record the words of the Master, crucified and in glory. The gigantic fact of the crucifixion, and what was believed to have happened to the crucified one after his death, involuntarily coloured and altered a good deal of what he had actually said.

27. The disciples had been away from Jesus, and had returned to him (vi. 30). Both during their absence and since their return they had had opportunities to hear what was said of him by the people with whom they came in contact. Jesus wishes, therefore, to know whether his Messiahship has been recognized. This seems the more obvious meaning of the question. He finds out that though some think him the forerunner, he is not supposed to be the Messiah. Then Jesus pushes the matter further. Do the disciples rest content with the opinions of others? Have they guessed no better? Such must be the meaning of Mark in this conversation.

But whether Jesus introduced the subject in this manner we have no means of knowing.

28. *Cp.* vi. 14, 15. 'A prophet'; that is, probably, not a prophet risen from the dead, but a new prophet on his own account. Luke, on the other hand, understands the words to mean a risen prophet, and it must be confessed that this makes a better parallelism. The three alternatives are precisely the same as those given in vi. 14–16.

29. Obviously, if Jesus had already told the disciples that he was the Messiah, the question would have had no meaning.

30. ἐπιτιμάω. In 32 and 33 this word means 'rebuke.' Here it seems to mean no more than 'admonish.'

Dr Weymouth renders: 'strictly forbade.' In verse 32 he renders the same verb (ἐπιτιμᾷν) 'remonstrate' and in 33 'rebuke.' A good deal turns on this verb. J. Weiss, at least, lays great stress on it. He thinks it must have the same meaning in all three verses. The scene at Cæsarea Philippi rests, to Weiss, upon Peter's 'reminiscences.' Peter 'remembered' that when he had told Jesus that the disciples supposed him (Jesus) to be the Messiah, Jesus instead of being pleased was agitated. 'Er herrschte sie an.' Why was this? J. Weiss holds that the reason was that Jesus discerned in Peter's 'gestures and tone' something which made him realize that the disciples had not advanced beyond the 'Jewish' conception of the Messiah. But Jesus knew that, if indeed he was the Messiah, he was not the political Messiah who was to conquer and triumph. If he was the Messiah, he was rather Daniel's heavenly 'Man,' who was at last to come down from heaven upon clouds. And in any case a heavy fate lay first in store for him. For he must suffer and die; and this it is which the disciples have to be told. The confession of Peter is a mere introduction to that which is to follow. The theory of J. Weiss is ingenious, but hardly convincing; yet surely it is improper to speak of it or of similar theories, as Merx does, as an 'unwürdige Albernheit für Kinder.' Klostermann holds that the 'rebuke,' or 'admonishment,' is only relative to the order of silence. Jesus accepts the title of Messiah, but it is not to pass beyond the inner circle of the disciples. At the same time he gives it a new content by what immediately follows. His active Messiahship must be preceded by suffering and death.

The disciples, then, from this time forth are to know that Jesus is the Messiah, but the people are still to be in ignorance of it. Those who deny that Jesus ever claimed to be the Messiah have to suppose that the verse means that Jesus forbade the disciples to

speak of his Messiahship because it was untrue; he was not the Messiah. Thus Schmidt (*Prophet of Nazareth*, p. 277): 'Jesus charged his disciples not to say that he was the Messiah. He did not wish that men should believe in him as the Messiah and confess him as such.' But then, if the language attributed to Jesus is what he really said, one wonders that he was not more definite. Rather than charging his disciples *not* to say he *was* the Messiah, it would have been simpler and clearer to have charged them to *say* that he was *not* the Messiah.

Why did Jesus not wish to be known as the Messiah? If he knew he was the Messiah, why should he not have said so openly, in order that all might have had the better chance of believing in him and in his message? Is there something in Dr Martineau's argument that 'the injunction to conceal the claim is inconsistent with his having made or sanctioned it,' that 'to keep it out of sight, not to press it passionately and always upon the nation at an hour so critical, were simple betrayal of the divinest trust' (*Seat of Authority in Religion*, 5th ed., p. 386)? Or may we not argue, as the evidence that Jesus claimed to be the Messiah is too great to be avoided, that the unhistorical part of the matter is the injunction to silence and to secrecy? Are not these rather due to Mark's theory than to history? Or may we assume that the order to keep silence is historical, but the reason not the one which Mark would have us suppose? May it not well be that Jesus knew the imminent danger which a proclamation and acknowledgment of his Messiahship would involve? He was determined at whatever risk to proclaim his Messiahship at Jerusalem, but he would not do so before. Or perhaps he thought that God Himself by some sudden act would reveal it, and that he must not anticipate the divine revelation. In that last case the Messianic entry must be regarded as unhistorical.

I have already alluded to the favourite theory that Jesus believed himself to be the Messiah, but in quite a new sense. He was a purely religious Messiah, who would have nothing to do with politics. He would not restore the Jewish kingdom. He was the Messiah in the sense that he was about to introduce the Kingdom of God. By his new teaching a certain number of persons were to be made fit for that Kingdom, while those who rejected him were to be excluded. Or, again, it is argued that he felt himself to be the servant-Messiah of Isaiah xlii. and liii. Only after suffering and death would his true Messiahship begin.

The Kingdom of God was intended for the Jews. It is acknowledged by W. and other great commentators that Jesus did not look beyond the limits of the Jews in his ministry and

teaching. The Kingdom is for Jewish believers. It is to correspond with the old Jewish Messianic age. But what part the Gentiles, and especially the Romans, are to play in that age is not stated. Here the commentators in their interpretations of Jesus's mind seem to fail us. All they emphasise and reiterate is that Jesus's Messiahship and Messianic age had nothing to do with the 'impure' political aspirations of the Jews. Jesus, then, does not desire to be known as the Messiah, so that the people may not think that their hopes are to be fulfilled and the yoke of the Romans shaken off. But if Jesus believed himself to be the Messiah in this new sense, why did he not say so plainly? Whatever some might think, or whatever he might think of the Son of man and his coming, it is certain that the bulk of the people connected the Messiah with political independence, with a condition of liberty, righteousness, and prosperity. So much, at any rate, was still adhered to in the predictions of the prophets and in their delineations of the Messiah. If Jesus believed that this Messiah of the prophets was 'impure' and false—that this Messiah would never appear—why did he not say so? Why did he dally with the Messianic idea at all and permit others to dally with it? Why, if we follow up J. Weiss's arguments, did he not separate off the Son of man idea more clearly from the Messiah idea? He might be a far higher person than the Jewish Messiah; he might even be the Son of God in a special sense; but why did he claim and believe himself to be the Messiah, or at any rate allow himself to be called so by Peter, if he did not fulfil the ordinary conditions, nay, if those very conditions were 'impure,' political, and never to be fulfilled?

We have seen that the clearest picture of the old prophetical Messiah in the Old Testament is Isaiah xi. But if the commentators are right, the prediction of Isaiah xi. is 'impure' and 'political.' Moreover, it will never be fulfilled, and Jesus never intended to fulfil it. One cannot help wondering what Jesus thought his own relation was to the Messiah described by Isaiah, or whether he definitely thought that Isaiah was wrong? Was there only to be a Messiah, like the servant in Isaiah xlii. and liii., who would suffer and die, and come again, and inaugurate a purely spiritual kingdom? Even so, the Romans were surely not to be the rulers in the new age after the Parousia and the Judgment. But, in that case, was there not a political element in the expectations of Jesus after all?

Or did Jesus, for that very reason, make no claim to be the Messiah? Did he rebuke Peter for suggesting that he was the Messiah? And if so, did he believe, though *he* was not the Messiah, that, nevertheless, the true Messiah would ultimately come?

Some great commentators have thought so, and the idea would explain many difficulties, but it would also create fresh ones. The whole story and fate of Jesus are difficult to understand if in some sense or other he did not claim to be *a* Messiah, or *the* Messiah, *a* king, or *the* king, of the Jews.

Dr Carpenter remarks here that it is a curious testimony to the ingenuousness of the records that it is possible to ask so many questions of them. If they were the result of *reflective* imagination, there *would* be answers, or suggestions of answers. No one is in any doubt as to the view of Rome and its fate in the Book of Revelation. As it is, one is wholly without clue to Jesus's politics. In fact, one cannot say that he had any; the interruption of the world-order by a great divine display is not a political conception, though it may destroy an empire. Thus on general principles it is doubtless right to say that there would be no Roman suzerainty in the new age. But this is not so much a political as a religious expectation. The overthrow of the Roman power would be by some dramatic *coup* from heaven. There is no question of revolt, or organised effort, in the sphere of politics. [I may mention that this 'dramatic *coup* from heaven' is the prevailing idea of the Rabbis in the Talmud as to the coming of the new age.]

Pfleiderer thinks that Jesus must have regarded himself as the Messiah in a theocratic sense, akin to the ordinary conceptions of the Messiah current among his disciples. He too asks why, if Jesus wanted or claimed to be a new spiritual Messiah, did he not give a clear explanation to his disciples? Why did he accept the popular ovations at his entry into Jerusalem? (Vol. I. pp. 662, 663.) Pfleiderer conjectures that Jesus was beginning to think seriously that he was or might be the prophesied Messiah at the time of the episode at Cæsarea Philippi. Yet, when Peter hails him definitely as Messiah, he is frightened and astounded. Hence his command of silence. On the journey to Jerusalem he becomes more and more familiar with the idea; he no longer prevents his Messianic vocation being known; at Jerusalem his words and actions all point in the same direction. It is obvious that all these theories are more or less conjectural. Pfleiderer himself allows that none can tell whether Jesus even to the last was wholly convinced of his Messiahship. To me his conviction seems more likely than his uncertainty. In any case the whole history of his later days seems unintelligible unless he sanctioned and countenanced the Messianic beliefs about him of his immediate followers. And he would not have sanctioned them unless he had shared them.

Dr Carpenter describes the growth of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus, as we find it delineated in Mark, in the following

words: 'The preacher who begins by announcing that the Kingdom of God is at hand is forced by degrees to consider his relation to it. So far from claiming the Messianic function at the opening of his career, he only slowly realizes it; and even when he finally accepts it, he resolutely refuses to make it known. This representation appears to be far more in accordance with historical probability—outward and inward—than that of Matthew' (in whose narrative Jesus is Messiah to himself and to others from the beginning of his ministry). 'It is not likely that Jesus would have been long allowed to proclaim the royal dignity which the assumption of the Messianic character involved both in the eyes of the people and of their Roman over-lords. Nor does it seem consistent with his early teaching about the Kingdom that he should have taken up at the outset any sort of official connection with it. The title which he at length accepted was rather thrust upon him by circumstance than deliberately chosen. It was adopted with reluctance, and an anxious avoidance of publicity; it involved so much which he could not share; it failed to express so much that he desired; yet no other designation spoke in the same way to his own soul, or to the heart of his time' (*First Three Gospels*, p. 208). Dr Carpenter has a wonderful way of making his conception of Jesus intensely plausible! My readers, however, will remember the dubious and meagre evidence for several of the above admirably worded sentences.

Jülicher points out that the disciples would not have found the death of Jesus a stumbling-block had they not believed him to be, and had he not claimed to be, the Messiah; the death of a prophet was not fatal to the truth of his prophetic inspiration. On the contrary. Nor could the belief in the Messiahship have arisen from a void. At Cæsarea Philippi Jesus, according to Mark's story, wanted to provoke the Messianic confession in order to be able to explain that he had to suffer, die and rise before his Messianic reign would begin, and that therefore nothing must be said as to his Messiahship in public. Tradition (reflected in Mark) busied itself to establish two points as regards the life of Jesus. First, to show that his miracles and prescience proved him to have been the Messiah; secondly, to show why his Messiahship was not widely known, and why even the disciples had failed to understand him. Jülicher thinks that there is historic reality at the back of the tradition. Jesus in actual fact (not having the same conception of the Messiah as his contemporaries) did not want his Messiahship proclaimed and trumpeted abroad, and he did more or less clearly foresee or *forefeel* the likelihood of his own violent death (*Neue Linien in der Kritik der Evangelischen Ueberlieferung*, 1906, pp. 23–28).

31. The first prediction of his sufferings or Passion. M. Loisy holds that the confession of Peter is historic and the order for silence also. The announcement of suffering and death and resurrection is not. *The true sequel of* 30 *is* ix. 1. He is disposed to agree with Schmiedel, who says (*E. B.* II. Col. 1887): 'The confession must have been one of the supreme moments in the joyous consciousness of Jesus—the discovery that he was finding recognition as the Messiah and winning his battle. Suffering and death are the very opposite of all that is looked for in the Jewish Messiah, and what Jesus at that moment could have looked forward to for himself.' The reason of the order for silence was because Jesus's conception of the Messiah was that of the Messiah in his glory, and the Messiah in glory was not realized in him while he yet preached the Kingdom. He had a short preliminary task to fulfil, before the Messiahship could be announced or openly conferred by God. Soon, however, he would show himself as Messiah in Jerusalem. At this period he did not predict, or even foresee—so I gather that M. Loisy means—his own death. 'Jésus n'allait pas à Jérusalem pour y mourir; il y allait pour préparer et procurer, au risque de sa vie, l'avènement de Dieu.' Even the evening before his death he does not do more than (xiv. 25) say to his disciples that he would soon be with them in the Kingdom: he announced to them his near Coming, in spite of death—if he must undergo it. The resurrection was 'sous-entendue' in the hypothesis of death. The precise predictions are due to redaction and not to history (*E. S.* II. pp. 17–20, and especially I. pp. 212–215).

δεῖ, 'must.' What was the 'must'? In the eyes of the writer, doubtless because the divine purpose in sending Jesus to earth could only be fulfilled by his death.

The 'Elders and the chief priests' represent the clerical and lay aristocracy in Jerusalem.

'After three days,' so in ix. 31, x. 34. In Matthew and Luke, 'on the third day,' which is not necessarily the same thing. The origin of 'the third day' is to be found in Hosea vi. 2. It is less easy to see how 'after three days' can be accounted for, except by the Jonah sign: Jonah i. 17, Matt. xii. 40. The two different expressions may imply variants in the 'schéma' of the resurrection (Loisy, *E. S.* II. p. 171) or they may mean the same thing. The first and third day need not be taken as full days. In order to maintain the thesis that Jesus predicted his resurrection, but did not predict anything so precise as when it would exactly happen, the theory has been suggested that 'after three days' means merely 'in a short time,' 'soon after death,' and that after the event the phrase was altered by oral tradition to 'on the third

day.' Hence the identity of Matthew and Luke here as against Mark (so B. Weiss, *Quellen*, A, p. 39). But the correspondence of Matthew and Luke may be explained as due to later correction.

Jesus calls himself here, not the Messiah (he never uses this title of himself), but the Son of man. On any critical basis either (*a*) we must assume that the prediction has been greatly elaborated; at the outside, Jesus, at this crisis, may have begun to believe that his end would be death; he may have attained the thought that this death was God's will, and that he must not cease from his teaching in order to escape it; he may even have come to believe that he would suffer in Jerusalem: or (*b*) we may hold that the expectation of death was not yet present to his mind, and that the entire verse is premature.

If Jesus foretold his own resurrection, it is odd that the disciples should have been so surprised when it took place, or when they thought that it took place. If he believed that he was to die a shameful death, why did he say on the cross, 'My God, why hast Thou forsaken me?'

Dr Carpenter thinks that the cry on the cross may be explained as a kind of final confession of faith, for the Psalm contains the most triumphant affirmation that the Kingdom is the Lord's (*First Three Gospels*, p. 393).

J. Weiss supposes that Jesus did anticipate and predict his sufferings and death. Why should he not have foreseen that the bitter opposition of the Scribes, the fickleness of the people, the fears of the authorities, would make this end inevitable? Sometimes he may have hoped that he would succeed without martyrdom; even at Gethsemane he prays that this may be possible; but usually his mood and conviction are different. The details of his Passion—these have been filled in after the event—he did not foresee, but only the hard necessity of ultimate triumph being prepared and made way for by suffering, conflict, and death. For through, and in spite of, death the prophecy of Daniel will be fulfilled. 'In ihr wird irgendwie auch sein Schicksal beschlossen liegen. Wie es sich verwirklichen soll, das wird er Gott anheimgestellt haben.' In this sense Weiss holds both the prediction of the Passion and of the resurrection to be historic. 'Der Wortlaut im Einzelnen gehört der Überlieferung zu.' An attractive theory, the vagueness of which (as regards Jesus's view of his precise relation to, or identity with, the 'Man' of Daniel) is perhaps its best recommendation. But still only a theory.

It is interesting that on this difficult question scholarship has hardly advanced beyond the temperate words in which Strauss summed it up over seventy years ago. 'If Jesus in any period of his life thought himself to be the Messiah, as to which there can

be no doubt, and if he called himself the Son of man, he was bound, it would seem, to expect that "coming on the clouds" which was predicted of the Son of man in Daniel: the only question is if he thought of this as a transfiguration (*Verherrlichung*) which would happen during his life, or as something which would only befall him after his death. According to statements like Matt. x. 23, xvi. 28 [Mark ix. 1], one might conjecture the prior alternative; yet it is always possible that if, later on, his death seemed certain to him, his conception assumed the latter form, from which point of view Matt. xxvi. 64 [Mark xiv. 62] would have been spoken' (*Das Leben Jesu*, II. p. 373 first ed.).

32. 'Openly.' Most commentators say this means 'clearly,' 'deliberately,' to all the disciples. M. Loisy calls this chicanery. One has, he thinks, to suppose that Mark has already forgotten the order of 30, that the crowd, mentioned in 34, is already assumed to be present here. There was no need for Peter to take Jesus 'aside,' if there was no crowd. The other disciples share his sentiments. But at Cæsarea Philippi there was no crowd. The disciples were alone with Jesus. This harsh criticism of the current explanation of 'openly' does not seem quite justified. Peter at any rate might have taken Jesus aside in order not to rebuke his Master in the hearing of the other disciples.

The rebuke of Peter because he did not realize, as Paul realized, the essential importance of the death and resurrection of Christ in the 'economy of salvation' is, Loisy holds, as fictitious as its environment. It rests upon Mark's theory of the spiritual dulness of the disciples. 'The Evangelist has not only introduced a new conception alongside of the story of the acknowledgment of the Messiahship, but he has also broken the connection of this story, not recollecting that Jesus was alone with his disciples near Cæsarea Philippi, and that no crowd could be around them there. The announcement of the Passion and the rebuke of Peter are therefore set in a fictitious framework: the rebuke is not historically guaranteed any the better than the prediction which occasioned it, or than the framework in which it is placed. It is connected with Mark's thesis of the mental dulness of the apostles. All that follows the Messianic acknowledgment (31–38) has the same unreal and adventitious character which marks the previous passages where the same idea is put forward. In the source, in which the confession of Peter was first narrated, there was no announcement of the Passion, no rebuke of Peter, no speech to the people, but very probably the confession was followed by the saying which we now find after that speech (*i.e.* ix. 1),

wherein, no regard being paid to what has just been said of the Passion and the resurrection, the near coming of the Kingdom of God is foretold' (*E. S.* II. p. 20).

For what did Peter rebuke him? It would seem that Peter is appalled at the revolutionary idea of a suffering and dying Messiah. He wants to lead Jesus away from such thoughts. A Messiah who does not conquer, but is himself conquered, who does not overcome others, but is himself overcome, is to him a monstrous impossibility, a contradiction in terms. Away with the thoughts and conceptions and policy which could make the Master's career issue in such a shameful end. Thus he is a tempter, like the devil in Matt. iv. 10. W. says that the right translation is not 'Get thee behind me,' but 'Away from me.'

33. *οὐ φρονεῖς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ*, &c. A Pauline expression (Romans viii. 5). The political Messiah is human; the religious, spiritual, suffering and dying Messiah is divine. It is a noble answer. And yet, as we have seen, and shall again see, it is not easy to explain and account for the death of Jesus unless he was, at any rate, *thought* to be, or to wish to be, a *political*, theocratic Messiah.

34–38. The second intercalation between 30 and ix. 1. It contains a short and highly important lesson on renunciation and the conditions of discipleship. But though it is intercalated, as Loisy, perhaps justly, supposes, yet Mark may very probably have drawn some of its material from Q. For Matthew and Luke reproduce two parallels to it. Not only have we Matt. xvi. 24, 25 as the equivalent of Mark viii. 34, 35, but we have also Matt. x. 38, 39; and not only have we Luke ix. 23, 24, but we have also Luke xiv. 27 and xvii. 33. And for parallels to Mark viii. 38 we have Matt. x. 33 and Luke xii. 9 as well as Matt. xvi. 27 and Luke ix. 26. And many scholars hold that the passages, *e.g.* in Matt. x. 33 and Luke xvii. 33, which came from Q are more original than, and are the direct source of, their parallels in Mark viii. 35 and 38. See further the notes on 34, 35 and 38.

34. As to the crowd who suddenly appear here, *cp.* the note on 32. It may indeed be argued that the secret of the Messiahship (*i.e.* that Jesus is the Messiah, and that he is to suffer and die) is for the disciples only, but that the lesson of renunciation is for all. But whence the crowd came is unexplained. Swete says: 'Even in the villages of Cæsarea the Lord was recognized and followed by the Jewish population.' This makes things rather too easy. But in truth Jesus really turns away from the multitude though he summons them, because he lays down the most difficult demands, which only very few could satisfy.

J. Weiss thinks that 'the people' were added mistakenly by a later redactor, who perhaps was thinking of Luke xiv. 25. To avoid tautology W. translates:

'He who would follow me, let him deny himself and take up his cross; so will he follow me.' He says that the Aramaic original of *καὶ ἀκολουθείτω μοι* would justify this, certainly more sensible, rendering. But J. Weiss justifies the usual view. There is a kind of pun. The first 'follow' means merely 'be my disciple'; the second means 'follow me upon my road of suffering' (*cp.* Luke xiv. 27).

'Let him deny himself.' Self-renouncement is required; that is, as Gould simply puts it, the disciple 'is to cease to make himself the object of his life and action.'

Jesus says: 'It is not he who follows me in life, but he who follows me to death, who is my disciple.' In Lam. iii. 27 we read: 'It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth.' For the yoke we here have 'the cross.' This can only refer to Jesus's crucifixion; the disciples are to suffer martyrdom willingly. This metaphorical application of the crucifixion, which has not yet happened, is most peculiar at this place and time, for it must have been wholly unintelligible to his hearers. The cross appears here already as the symbol of Christianity. But Jesus has not carried it for all: each must carry it after him. *Cp.* x. 39, 'the cup which I drink, ye must drink' (W.). The section from 34–38 is elaborated, according to Loisy, from an authentic utterance of Jesus which Mark found in his source—*i.e.* Q, or the 'recueil des discours'—and placed in this environment. The original 'nidus' of the speech is contained (*a*) in the saying, 'he who would save his life must lose it,' &c., and (*b*) in the witness which Jesus will render to the divine Judge as to those who denied or acknowledged him (Matt. x. 32) (*E. S.* II. p. 23). The second parallel to 34 in Matthew is x. 38 and in Luke is xiv. 27. The question is, therefore, whether these passages came from Q in the form in which we now read them. Of course B. Weiss ardently thinks so (*Quellen*, A, p. 144; B, p. 46). In that case the allusion to the cross was also in Q. Loisy is more cautious. 'Neither Matthew nor Luke in these two verses have a primitive colour. Perhaps the original was: "If any wishes to follow after me, let him deny himself." Nevertheless, Mark viii. 34 may have been all deduced from 35. And 34 may have influenced Matt. x. 38 and Luke xiv. 17 either directly or through the intermediary of their common source' (*E. S.* II. p. 23, n. 4). So complicated are the questions raised by the Gospels!

35. He who finds martyrdom in this life will live again in the

Kingdom. He who avoids martyrdom, and thus saves his life in this world, will lose it in the next world.

The passage 35–37 is purely eschatological. It does not mean that to gain the higher life we must forego the lower life. Nor do any of the parallels in the Synoptics, Matt. x. 39, xvi. 25, Luke ix. 24, xvii. 33, mean this. Perhaps John xii. 25 may have this signification, but the Synoptic passages have not. They teach, as Menzies says of those verses in Mark, 'the conditions of obtaining the better life beyond.' The parallel in the Talmud (Tamid 32 A) seems to have a less distinctly eschatological meaning. How early, we would like to know, did the saying of Jesus receive a purely spiritual signification, without reference to anything which may happen to us after death?

'For me and the gospel.' The gospel is added, says Holtzmann, to make the saying applicable even after Jesus's death.

W. says that the gospel here means much the same as 'me,' for in Mark Jesus is not the proclaimer, but the content of the gospel. The gospel is the Christ preached by the apostles. The version in Q (Matt. x. 39 and Luke xvii. 33) seems more original relative to Mark than the parallels to the previous verse. The higher simplicity and originality of Luke xvii. 33 is strongly urged by Bousset (*Theologische Rundschau*, 1906, p. 10). The addition 'for me and the gospel' is wanting in Luke. Matthew has only 'for me' (as also in xvi. 25 and Luke ix. 24). The whole question of the use of τὸ εὐαγγέλιον is interesting and complicated. In spite of its absence in Luke (who only uses the verb εὐαγγελίζεσθαι), in spite of Matthew's omission of the noun in Matt. x. 39 and his substitution in other places of τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο, or τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας, W. holds nevertheless that Mark is always older than any other source of Matthew and Luke. What Matthew and Luke do is that they consciously try to avoid or modify the obviously proleptic usage of Mark. But they only make the anachronism greater. For Jesus is made to proclaim a gospel which consists in this that he is the actual, present (*gegenwärtige*) Messiah, and that he brings the actual, present (*gegenwärtiges*) kingdom upon earth (see *Einleitung*, p. 111).

36 repeats the same idea as 35. The immortal life is worth more than the whole material world. The grandest life on earth is purchased dearly if it be at the cost of the life of the great world to come, the life after the reappearance of Christ, the life of the New Jerusalem and the Messianic age. This, I take it, is the simple meaning of this verse. 'Le vocabulaire,' says Loisy, 'est tout paulinien: l'idée du "monde" est à peu près étrangère à l'enseignement du Christ synoptique' (*E. S.* II. p. 23, n. 2).

37. This verse is an echo of Psalm xlix. 8, and hence we may account for the word 'give' where 'receive' would make a better sense. For the meaning is, what can a man obtain in exchange for giving up his true, eternal 'life'?

38. W. argues that though 38 belongs to the same school of thought as 35, it is of older date. For the demand upon discipleship made in 38 does not go so far as that in 35. It is less absolute. Moreover, the Son of man in 38 is a different figure from the Son of man in 31. For in 31 he is synonymous with Jesus as about to suffer and die, whereas in 38 he is the glorified figure of Daniel and of Jewish eschatology. Nor in 38 is he to be entirely identified with Jesus; he was, at least originally, contrasted with him. For the phrase: 'he who is ashamed of *me*, of him the *Son of man* will be ashamed,' sounds oddly if 'I' and 'Son of man' (*i.e.* Jesus and Son of man) were intended by the original author of the sentence to be one and the same person. Hence the deduction would be that 38 was written when the identification of Jesus with the Son of man was not complete. 35 and 31 would represent a more developed Christology than 38. The transitional phraseology whereby Jesus is partly distinguished from, and yet partly identified with, the Son of man is further, as it would seem, illustrated by the strange use of 'Father' in the phrase 'in the glory of his Father.' The Son of man is here modelled upon the Son of man in Daniel, but the words 'in the glory *of his Father*' would not fit that figure. On the other hand, except in xiii. 32, Jesus never (in Mark) calls God *his* Father. He never uses such a phrase as 'in the glory of my Father.' Once only does he address God in the vocative as Father, but the meaning there is the same as in the Lord's Prayer (*cp.* Luke xi. 2, 'Father,' not 'Our father'). It is, however, quite possible that 38, like 35, is based upon a saying which was recorded in Q and is preserved in Matt. x. 32, 33. Bousset (*loc. cit.*) is strongly of this opinion. In Mark the 'Son of man' has been substituted for the personal pronoun in Matthew. And in Mark, Jesus, the Son of man, is clearly the heaven-sent judge, whereas in Matthew he only gives evidence before God, who is Himself the Judge. Bousset denies that in Mark viii. 38 the Son of man can ever have been meant to be distinguished from Jesus. If Jesus believed that he was the Messiah, as even W. admits, how can there have been room in his mind for another quasi-Messiah, the Son of man?

Loisy takes much the same line. In the older passage, Matt. x. 32, 33, 'Jesus had said that he would confess before God those who had confessed him before men and that he would deny

those who had denied him; now (in Mark) he threatens those who should be ashamed of him and his words "in the midst of this adulterous and sinful generation," that is to say those who, failing to understand the mystery of the Passion, should regard the death of Jesus as a reproach, and should thus be ashamed of the gospel before the Jews. The spirit and even the language of Paul can be recognized in this development (*cp.* Romans i. 16). The antithesis has thus lost its clearness, for if it is plain what denial by the Christ means, it is less easy to understand in what his being ashamed will consist. Jesus appears as judge and not as witness; he does not present men to his Father, he comes in the glory of the Father and is accompanied by the angels. This apocalyptic *mise-en-scène* is also in accordance with the taste and ideas of Paul. The Christ-judge has no more witness to give; his attitude towards those who have yielded to the scandal of the cross will be that of a divine monarch, offended in his dignity' (*E. S.* II. p. 25).

The angels accompany the Son of man (here undoubtedly identified with the Messiah) when he comes down from heaven for the Last Judgment.

ix. 1. Some hold that this verse is an addition to viii. 38. 'And he said' marks the addendum. It is, moreover, argued by W. that it means that the date of the Judgment is postponed. For viii. 38 declares that those who rejected, or were afraid to acknowledge, Jesus would be rejected by the Son of man at the Judgment Day. It is implied that the Judgment will take place during the lifetime of all those who have rejected him. Here (in ix. 1) it is said that Jesus will not come as soon as that; but he will, at all events, come before all his disciples have passed away. Thus the date of the verse must be a time when most of Jesus's disciples had died, but when the hope was still clung to that the few survivors would witness the long-expected Parousia.

On the other hand Loisy, as we have seen, thinks ix. 1 the true sequel of viii. 30. It is primitive and old, though probably even this 'old' saying we have not in its first and most authentic form. Probably the assertion had a more absolute character. 'They who are here will not die.' But many apostles were already dead when the text received its present form. 'Coming in power' may also not be original; it may be a Pauline expression (Romans i. 4). In any case ix. 1 says nothing of Jesus's death and does not imply it. It is at least doubtful, says M. Loisy, and he has clearly shown which way his own convictions tend, whether Jesus, at the time of the confession of Peter, had conceived his death as the indispensable condition of the coming of the Kingdom.

But whatever the date when 38 and ix. 1 were written, they do not in one important respect greatly misrepresent the dominant thought of Jesus. The Kingdom was near—the Kingdom in its true eschatological sense.

'The coming of the Kingdom of God in power': ἐν δυνάμει means the Kingdom in its completed development; in the full realization of its strength. The Kingdom in one sense has already begun; it exists potentially. The final and perfect realization will take place at the Parousia.

Is it possible that the historic Jesus did of a truth predict his death and spiritual resurrection, but that he did *not* predict his return or manifestation on or above the earth as the holder of the Great Assize? That he predicted his ἀνάστασις but not his παρουσία? Or did he also say something about his own part in the general resurrection and Judgment? The former alternative seems less unlikely than the latter.

W., on the other hand, if I understand him aright, holds that the historic Jesus predicted neither his resurrection nor his (second) advent (παρουσία). But the doctrine of his resurrection was believed in and taught before that of his (second) advent or coming in glory. Hence men began sooner to make him predict, and to say that he predicted, his death and resurrection than his (second) advent. That his resurrection and ascension betokened the near coming of the Kingdom was believed before it was believed that he himself would come again upon earth to inaugurate and establish the Kingdom and to act as judge at the Great Assize. The 'Son of man' in Mark xiii. 26 was originally not Jesus; he was even for a short time not Jesus when this Jewish apocalypse was taken over and Christianised. The differentiation between 'me' (Jesus) and the 'Son of man' in viii. 38 points to a time when the Son of man was not yet identified with Jesus. Hence it is to be explained that in this section of Mark (viii. 27–x.) Jesus only predicts his death and resurrection, and not his Parousia. 'Of his Parousia he only speaks in the Christian appendix to the old Jewish apocalypse in xiii. and enigmatically in xiv. 62. But it by no means follows from this reluctance of the oldest Gospel to allow Jesus to predict his Parousia that the belief in it was not already firmly planted in the Christian community. Only from this belief can we account for the inconsistency that Jesus in Mark viii. 27 *seq.*, though he does not predict his Parousia, yet calls himself the Son of man in a specifically Christian and anti-Jewish sense.'

The identification of Jesus with the Son of man arose, W. thinks, with the growth of the belief in the return (the Parousia). 'Jesus, it was held, must have predicted his Parousia. Never-

theless, a scruple was felt to make him say straight out, "I shall shortly reappear as Messiah in power and glory." So that at first he was made to say: "The Son of man will appear in the clouds of heaven." He could say that without definitely meaning himself. It was left to Christian interpretation to understand that he *did* mean himself, and on this point there was no lengthy hesitation. The next step was to make the Son of man the subject of predictions of the Passion and the resurrection, where the words could obviously be only a synonym of Jesus. And, finally, the phrase became in the mouth of Jesus a mere equivalent for the first person singular, even in passages unconnected with such predictions. This last usage we find in Matthew and Luke and John, in Mark only once.' (Apparently W. refers to x. 45; he does not count ii. 10, 28. See the notes on those passages.)

Looking back upon the words of the famous passage beginning 'He who would follow me' (verse 34), one sees what a profound ethical and religious influence they have had upon the world. Like many other words of genius, they have this sovereign quality, that they are capable of wide and varied application. It may be true that their original meaning is strictly eschatological. One can reduce them to the rather bald statement: he who would enjoy eternal life must be willing to abandon this earthly life, or even to suffer martyrdom. But though this be the original meaning, the words were soon more liberally and variously interpreted.

First of all comes the conception of 'following Christ': the conception of leading a life of hardship and poverty, of purity and sacrifice, for his sake, for the sake of truth, for the sake of man, for the sake of God. Jesus kindled an unceasing personal devotion for himself; but he also has represented the other terms. To follow him has been for endless noble souls to labour and renounce for the sake of truth, for the sake of man, for the sake of God. No one can fail to recognize what a rich addition to the moral and religious store of the world this following of Christ has been and has brought about.

Its distinctive and moral note was upon the active and positive side. For it might be said that from the Maccabæan age (Psalm xliv. 22) the Jews have suffered and renounced and undergone martyrdom and persecution, for the sake of truth and for the sake of God. And this is quite true. But the Jewish devotion has been rather passive than active. Sooner than give up or abandon the truth, sooner than renounce the Law and the Unity of God, they would suffer or die. The new note in the following of Christ is its activity. The best disciples have wanted not merely to endure, but to battle with evil, to win proselytes, to transform the

world, to redeem the fallen, to cure the sick, in the name and for the sake of Christ.

Then come the two simple Greek words, *ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτόν*, 'let him deny himself.' Here again we have what is practically a new conception. Self-denial was not unknown before Christ; but the clear conception of it and the ideal which it suggests *were*, I think, new, and they in their turn have exercised an immense influence upon men's thoughts, aspirations, and actions. More restricted, but not less intense, has been the effect of the next words: 'let him take up his cross.' The true follower of the Master, in proportion to the perfection of his discipleship, must endure and renounce, suffer and die.

When we come to the rest of the passage, beginning, 'For whosoever would save his life shall lose it,' some shadows, I fancy, mingle with the light. So far as the passage has made men realize that what we may call the things of the spirit—truth and righteousness—are not only rather better than the things of sense, but on a different plane, better in kind, it can only have done good. Or, again, so far as it has made men realize that the ultimate right thing for each one of us is to develop his own best self to the utmost, that in the long run the cultivation of the soul is the final end of all education and development, it has lifted men above temptation and nerved them to higher things. The doctrine it preaches is the same as that preached by Plato. To him the only thing a man should care for is his soul. Her he must, as his true life's work, seek to array 'not in some foreign attire, but in her own proper jewels, temperance and justice and courage and nobility and truth—in these adorned, she is ready to go on her journey to the world below when her hour comes.' It is quite true that on the hypothesis of a future life, or even perhaps without it, it cannot profit a man to gain the world and lose his soul, foregoing the highest of which he is capable.

But while all this is true, it may be questioned whether the passage and others like it have not induced the false individualism which has sometimes marred certain phases of the Christian life—that false individualism whereby the religious life has sometimes been set in antagonism to the life of the family and the life of the State. There may be such a thing as a selfish or even morbid anxiety about the saving of one's soul, leading to exaggerated asceticism, hermit-like withdrawal from the world, or neglect of the closest duties of man. Judaism has rightly, I think, never sanctioned or admired a double kind of religious life. Its ideal is that a man should be in the world, though not *of* the world. To neglect, abandon, or disobey your parents for the sake of the State or the community may be, under certain circumstances,

advisable and justifiable; to do so for the sake of your soul is extremely dubious. Again, the saving of one's soul is sometimes a little like happiness; it is best found when least sought. It is not always the safest, surest, and healthiest way to save one's soul to think too much about it.

But these reflections do not detract from the magnificence of the passage, nor do they tend to make us question the valuable religious and moral effects which the passage has produced in the history of the world.

CHAPTER IX

2–13. The Transfiguration

(*Cp.* Matt. xvii. 1–13; Luke ix. 28–36)

2 And after six days Jesus took with him Peter and James
and John, and led them up on to an high mountain, apart by
3 themselves. And he was transfigured before them, and his
raiment became shining, exceeding white, so as no fuller on earth
4 could whiten it. And there appeared unto them Elijah with
5 Moses: and they talked with Jesus. And Peter said to Jesus,
'Master, it is good for us to be here: let us make three tents;
6 one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah.' For he
7 knew not what he should say; for they were sore afraid. And a
cloud arose and overshadowed them: and a voice came out of the
cloud, saying, 'This is my beloved Son: hearken unto him.'
8 And suddenly, when they looked round, they saw no one any
more, except Jesus only with themselves.

9 And as they came down from the mountain, he commanded
them that they should tell no man what they had seen, till the
Son of man had risen from the dead.

10 And they kept the command, but among themselves they
11 disputed what 'rising from the dead' might mean. And they
asked him, saying, 'How is it, then, that the scribes say that
12 Elijah must come first?' And he answered and told them,
'Elijah verily cometh first, and putteth all things in order; yet
how then is it written of the Son of man, that he must suffer
13 much and be despised? But I say unto you that Elijah hath

come already, and they have done unto him whatsoever they wished, as it is written of him.'

The transfiguration follows dramatically upon the previous scene. The Messiahship is divinely confirmed. Moreover, the resurrection also is implied and guaranteed. Jesus is shown as he will be when he has risen. For the moment his material earthly body is transfigured into what it will be after the resurrection. How old is the tale? And whence did Mark obtain it? No one can say with certainty. B. Weiss, not very successfully, as I venture to think, claims it for Q in a somewhat shortened form (see *Quellen*, B, p. 65, and A, pp. 184–187). Loisy ascribes it, like the tales of the baptism, of the temptation, and of the miracle of the loaves, to an 'intermediate redaction' of his old, narrative source (*E. S.* I. p. 115). It is not the work of Mark himself, and its original purpose was not, as now for Mark, to emphasise the Messiahship, and the salvation of the world by the death of Jesus, but to counterbalance the scandal of his death by the anticipation of the glory, and to picture the fulfilment of the Law and the prophets in the Christ of the gospel' (*E. S.* I. p. 92).

2. Note 'after six days.' Why this singular statement? Wellhausen's explanation is given below. But the more obvious explanation is that the story is based upon Exodus xxiv. 12–18. It is 'after six days' that Moses enters into the midst of the cloud. The transfiguration in 3 is intended to outdo the shining of Moses in Exodus xxxiv. 29. Where was the mountain? In such a story as this we need not ask. It is the same mountain as in Matthew xxviii. 16. Note that Jesus takes with him Peter, James and John, as he does in v. 37 (Jairus's daughter) and in xiv. 33 (Gethsemane). 'Les trois récits, dans leur forme actuelle, appartiennent à la même couche de rédaction, et les mêmes préoccupations théologiques et apologétiques, le même art symbolique ont dû avoir part à leur formation' (*E. S.* II. p. 31).

3, 4. Moses, like Elijah, is supposed not to have died as other men. He is in heaven, not in Sheol. There is an old apocalypse called the Assumption of Moses. But there is another reason for the choice of these two men. Their joint appearance with Jesus is to show that the great representatives of the Law and of prophecy recognize Jesus as the Messiah, and do him homage.

5–7. The unity of the story is broken, says Loisy, by the 'inept' remark of Peter, who wanting to retain Jesus in his glory, would unconsciously desire to prevent the Messiah from redeeming

mankind through the cross. It may, therefore, be that the verses were added by Mark.

5. 'Rabbi' instead of the usual Greek διδάσκαλε. So xi. 21, xiv. 45.

Several commentators think that the right translation is, 'It is well that we are here' (not 'it is good for us to be here,' it is pleasant here): *i.e.* it is fortunate that we are here, for we can make three huts for you and Elijah and Moses.

6. Peter and his colleagues do not understand that Jesus must die in order that the prophecies may be fulfilled. He wants to see the Messiah in his glory all at once; he does not understand the mystery of salvation through the cross. For the transfiguration is clearly connected with the predictions of the Passion; it justifies and explains them.

7. The cloud is the supernatural cloud which in the Pentateuch conceals and reveals the presence of God. For 'overshadowing them' one of the Syriac translations has 'him' (Jesus), which W. thinks is correct. But it seems an unnecessary change. 'Them' means Jesus, Elijah, and Moses. At the baptism God had spoken only to Jesus as to his sonship; now the disciples are also informed. It is probable that 'Son' here goes beyond 'Messiah' and means more. Both baptism and transfiguration may, as Loisy thinks, represent later stages of Christological development than the confession of Peter.

8. Moses and Elijah vanish. Before the new authority, the higher revelation, Law and prophecy must yield and give place. The glory of the Christ makes the glory of Moses and the prophets disappear. Compare the argument in 2 Corinthians iii. (Pfleiderer, *Urchristentum*, I. p. 365).

9–13 are an appendix to the transfiguration story. The last three verses are very hard.

9. In accordance with the general theory of Mark, the full revelation and affirmation of the Messiahship are only to be made known after the resurrection. But not only this. For why may not even the other apostles know? says the relentless Loisy. To the historian it is as clear as day: before the death of Jesus no one had ever heard of the transfiguration. The story grew up out of the resurrection story; it is a product of the later tradition (*E. S.* I. p. 93, II. p. 40).

10. 'They kept the saying': *i.e.* *either* they observed the command that they were not to talk about the transfiguration, *or* they kept hold of and remembered this saying about his resurrection.

'Questioning among themselves': *i.e.* discussing among themselves. A Messiah who should suffer and die and rise from the dead was an enigma to them.

11–13 do not seem connected with 10. Perhaps Mark put the passage here because he somehow connected the question about Elijah with his appearance at the transfiguration, but originally 11–13 seem to have nothing to do with that story, and to refer rather to ix. 1, with which they make a good connection.

πρῶτον. Before the appearance of the Messiah in glory Elijah must come. Apparently the difficulty which the disciples imply is this, that before the coming of the Messiah, Elijah, according to the teaching of the Scribes, must come 'and restore all things': *i.e.* put things to rights. To this Jesus replies, that Elijah was indeed to come first and that he was to put all things to rights, but he asks the disciples to remember the other prophecy of the suffering Messiah. The final explanation is given in verse 13. Elijah had already come, but he could not put things to rights because he was prevented from doing so. And this very prevention was also in accordance with prophecy. Thus Elijah has appeared already, though he was not able to do what was expected or predicted of him (Malachi iv. 5, 6). Nevertheless, Jesus asserts that the seeming failure of Elijah (= John the Baptist) was also predicted in the Scripture. By this he apparently means that the seeming failure of Elijah in 1 Kings xix. typifies and foretells the seeming failure of John the Baptist. To the suffering and dying Messiah there corresponds a suffering and dying precursor. Jesus seems to accept the ordinary interpretation of Malachi iv. 5, 6, but to say that its non-fulfilment by John (who *was* Elijah) was due to the fault of the unbelieving Jews. And the ultimate reason why John-Elijah could not put all things to rights was because to have done so would have interfered with what was to follow: the Passion and death of the Messiah.

W.'s explanation is a little different. He puts a note of interrogation at *πάντα* in 12, and makes Jesus deny that putting all things to rights was to be the function of Elijah. '(Do you say that) Elijah must first come and restore all things? But in that case what becomes of the prophecy that the Messiah must suffer and die? (*i.e.* if all things are put to rights, the Messiah cannot suffer). Jesus disposes of the belief of the Scribes by appeals to prophecy. But in 13 he says that Elijah *has* already

come (*i.e.* as John), and he has suffered in accordance with prediction.

But neither explanation is very satisfactory. It is hard to think that the passage has not been touched up and confused. Several scholars, J. Weiss, for example, and Völter, and Loisy, have supposed that the words, 'and how is it written of the Son of man that he must suffer and be set at naught' have been added. They break the connection. 'Ce qui s'oppose à la venue future d'Élie n'est pas la nécessité de la passion, mais cette venue déjà acquise à l'histoire. L'annonce de la passion vient en surcharge et accuse une retouche dans la redaction primitive' (*E. S.* II. p. 43). Even so the argument is not good, for Jesus first of all admits the opinion of the Scribes that it was foretold of Elijah that, on his reappearance he was to put all things to rights, but he then goes on to say that his being prevented from doing so and his violent death were *also* scripturally foretold. Without the interpolation of 12 *b*, Loisy thinks that the passage is historical. There is nothing said of the Messiah's death or his own. John has come; prophecy has been fulfilled. 'Rien, par conséquent, ne s'opposait à l'avènement prochain du royaume. Que le Messie lui-même dût attendre un sort semblable à celui d'Élie, c'est-à-dire de Jean, le texte ne le faisait pas supposer. La mort d'Élie ne répugnait pas au programme apocalyptique; elle pouvait même y être comprise, tandis que celle du Messie n'y était pas prévue. On trouverait donc un sens complet à la réponse de Jésus, sans faire intervenir la moindre allusion à sa mort. La référence aux Écritures n'atteint pas les prophéties anciennes qu'à travers la tradition apocalyptique concernant le sort d'Élie, les persécutions subies par celui-ci ne pouvant figurer qu'assez imparfaitement la mort du Baptiste. Jésus aurait vu l'accomplissement des prophéties dans la mort de Jean, et n'aurait pas attendu l'apparition personnelle du prophète avant la manifestation du royaume' (*E. S.* II. p. 44).

In verse 12 we have the highly important statement that the sufferings of the Son of man (who must here equal the Messiah) are predicted in Scripture. This is the only passage in Mark in which such a prediction is alluded to. The allusion can only be to Isaiah liii. It was only gradually that this chapter assumed its Christological importance. If the historic Jesus had really thought that he was not the ordinary Messiah, but the servant of Isaiah xlii. and liii., should we not have had more allusions to and quotations from these chapters in the oldest Gospel? Would not Jesus himself have quoted them, and would not his citations have been remembered and chronicled?

For the Rabbinical view and tradition about Elijah, see *Jewish Encyclopædia*, 'Elijah.'

W., and, independently of him, Dr Kohler, in the *Jewish Encyclopædia* (article 'Jesus'), have suggested that the transfiguration was originally a story of the resurrection. So too Loisy. W.'s note runs as follows:

'It was, according to Romans i. 4, through the resurrection that Jesus was proclaimed the Son of God. He appears in the company of Elijah and Moses because they too passed straight from earth to heaven, and are not, like all other men, in Sheol. The six days (in ix. 2) one might be inclined to identify with the six days of the Passion. It would not be inconsistent with the narrative in Mark xvi. if Jesus had ascended into heaven immediately after death. But as the story speaks, not of the act of resurrection, but of the appearance of the risen one to the three disciples, one can interpret the six days as the interval between the death of Jesus in Jerusalem and his appearance in Galilee. According to 1 Cor. xv. 5, Jesus first appeared to Peter alone. With this it would suit that Peter (viii. 29) first recognizes him as the Messiah. The transference of the transfiguration (*i.e.* resurrection) to this place is easily intelligible; it is in keeping with the whole section, viii. 27–ix. 13. For throughout viii. 27–ix. 13, as in the transfiguration story itself, Jesus is really already transfigured, the crucified and risen one.'

J. Weiss pleads that the story rests upon a true vision of Peter, which was enlarged and expanded into the present story. It is a true 'reminiscence.' The 'Petrine' origin of the stories in Mark has to lead those who cling to it to very dubious lengths.

Excellent remarks on the transfiguration are to be found in Dr Carpenter's *First Three Gospels*, pp. 143–151. As Moses and Elijah represent the Law and the prophets, so does the transfiguration represent pictorially the relation of Messiah to these two great powers of the Jewish Church, and their supersession by the new dispensation. Dr Carpenter thinks that the transfiguration is Pauline. Peter would like to find room for Moses and Elijah along with Christ. But this is not the view of Paul. By the death and resurrection of Jesus the need of Law and prophets has disappeared. Jesus is, and should be, alone. The transfiguration shows us poetic imagination seeking to give shape to the thought of Paul.

14–29. The Epileptic Child

(*Cp.* Matt. xvii. 14–20; Luke ix. 37–43, xvii. 5, 6)

14 And when they came to the disciples, they saw a great crowd around them, and some scribes disputing with them.

15 And straightway all the crowd, when they beheld him, were
16 greatly amazed, and running to him, welcomed him. And he
17 asked them, 'What are ye disputing with one another?' And
one of the crowd answered and said, 'Master, I brought unto thee
18 my son, who is possessed by a dumb spirit; and wherever the
spirit seizes him, it tears him: and he foams, and gnashes his
teeth, and wastes away: and I asked thy disciples to cast it out,
19 but they could not.' Then Jesus answered and said to them,
'O unbelieving generation, how long shall I be with you? how
20 long shall I bear with you? bring him unto me.' And they
brought him unto him: and when he saw Jesus, straightway
the spirit convulsed him; and he fell on the ground, and rolled
21 about, foaming. And Jesus asked his father, 'How long ago is it
since this has happened to him?' And he said, 'From childhood.
22 And ofttimes it has thrown him into the fire, and into the
water, to destroy him: but if thou canst do anything, have
23 compassion on us, and help us.' Jesus said unto him, 'If thou
canst, sayest thou? All things are possible to him that believeth.'
24 And straightway the father of the child cried out, and said, 'I
25 believe; help thou mine unbelief.' When Jesus saw that more
people kept running up to him, he rebuked the unclean spirit,
saying unto it, 'Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I command thee,
26 come out of him, and enter no more into him.' And the spirit
shrieked, and rent him sore, and came out of him: and he was as
27 one dead; insomuch that many said, 'He is dead.' But Jesus
took him by the hand, and lifted him up; and he arose.
28 And when Jesus had gone into the house, his disciples asked
29 him privately, 'Why could not we cast it out?' And he said unto
them, 'This kind goes not out except by prayer [and fasting].'

A comparison of this section with the corresponding sections in Matthew and Luke makes it probable that (1) Mark has enlarged his source with a view to symbolism, and (2) that this source (Q, according to B. Weiss, *Quellen*, A, pp. 187–189, B, p. 66) was also known to Matthew and Luke.

The setting of the miracle seems to have been partly influenced by the narrative in Exodus xxxii. 1–6. The Israelites wrangle with Aaron while Moses is still upon Mount Sinai. If they behave ill in the absence of Moses, the disciples are helpless without their

Master. B. Weiss makes a good point by showing that there are traces in Matthew and Luke that in the source the child was not possessed of a demon at all. He had epilepsy, and of this Jesus healed him. Perhaps Mark added on the demon and the possession to make the child thus represent 'humanity delivered by Jesus of its spiritual deafness and rendered capable of praising the God whom Jesus has revealed to it.' So Loisy (*E. S.* II. p. 50).

14. The Scribes are very out of place. They are not mentioned again. Nor is the subject of dispute. W. would like to omit them, and to translate, 'he saw a great crowd around them, and that they were disputing with one another.' (So in 16 he translates reflexively, 'What are ye disputing about among yourselves?') The dispute is as to why the disciples are unable to effect the cure. The ordinary view is that those whom Jesus questions in 16 are the crowd. He asks: What are ye disputing about with them (the disciples)?

15. 'They marvelled.' Why? Some commentators say because Jesus arrived so suddenly and just at the appropriate moment. But are not others justified in thinking that the wonder is rather due to visible remnants of the transfiguration still clinging to the face and form of Jesus? *Cp.* Exodus xxxiv. 30. Swete objects to this view because (1) Mark drops no hint of such a phenomenon, (2) it would have betrayed what Jesus wants to keep secret, (3) the result is just the opposite of what happened in the case of Moses. In his case the people feared to come nigh: in the case of Jesus they ran up to him. But this 'contrast' may be intentional.

19. To whom is Jesus's outburst addressed? Who are they who have awakened his anger? It is not easy to say. The request of the father showed no incredulity: on the contrary. Does he specially address the disciples, because their lack of faith had made them fail to cure the child? Would Jesus have said of them before the crowd that he longed to be quit of them? Or did he address himself to the crowd, either because they wanted to try the powers of the disciples without believing in them, or because they were always anxious for a miracle? Both the last explanations seem very strained and unlikely, and to be without any justification in the text. On the whole, the lack of faith in the disciples seems the best explanation. Jesus generalizes, and includes in their want of faith the whole generation of which they form a part. As Loisy says, the reproach to the disciples is not more severe than what Jesus had already said to Peter. And everybody could be associated in the same rebuke, in so far as Judaism and the judaizing apostles were concerned. It is the Paulinizing Evangelist

who speaks, rather than the historic Jesus. The exclamation of Jesus, inexplicable from the point of view of actual history, is justified from the point of view of symbolism. And the father is included in the rebuke, so far as he represents the unbelieving crowd. In the primitive story the incapacity of the disciples was explained by the especial maliciousness of the demon or the peculiar difficulty of the malady, and neither father nor crowd was blamed (*E. S.* II. p. 53).

The words ascribed to Jesus are doubtless meant, as J. Weiss says, to indicate that Jesus feels sure that his earthly career is soon to be closed. He even yearns to be called away from his fruitless labours. As W. quaintly puts it, Jesus, in true accordance with the conception of him in this section, has one foot already in the other world, and can hardly adapt himself to the earthly turmoil to which he has returned.

23. Note the insistence of Jesus upon the sovereign power of faith. According to what has been said before about the lack of the disciples' faith in the powers of healing which Jesus had granted to them, the exclamation, 'If thou canst! sayest thou; all is possible to him who believes,' should refer to Jesus himself. 'I, at all events, have enough faith; therefore I can heal.' But this is not what Jesus means here. He means: 'If you (the father) have enough faith, then I, Jesus, shall be able to heal your son.'

It may be noted here that the noun *πίστις* (faith) occurs some five times in Mark, the verb *πιστεύω* some ten times, while *ἀπιστία* occurs once, and *ἄπιστος* twice. The faith which Jesus possesses and demands is trust in God and in the powers which God has given. Here, for instance, the father has to have faith that God has really granted to Jesus the power to heal (or to expel demons). Jesus did not ask for faith in his own person as such, or in his Messiahship. It was Paul who first made this faith —faith in Christ as redeemer—the test of salvation. He changed, as Professor Wahrmund rightly says, the words 'Follow me' into 'Believe in me.' And thus the first significant step was taken on that road which led from inwardness to externalism, from liberty to servitude. Jesus sat at table with sinners and tax collectors: in the circle of Pauline Christianity, the question is already raised: 'What has the believer to do with the unbeliever?' (*Religion und Klerikalismus*, p. 14).

24. One cannot but be struck with the nobility of the outcry, 'help thou my unbelief': *i.e.* if my belief is still not adequate, help me to increase it. The beseeching request to help his unbelief is itself a confession of faith. But it is possible that the

words should be taken to mean: 'what is wanting in my faith do thou helpingly supply': *i.e.* though I do not believe enough, nevertheless help me.

25. *ἐπισυντρέχει.* Apparently this means (not that Jesus had taken father and child apart, and that the people are running up to them, but) that the crowd keeps becoming greater. To put an end to their importunity, Jesus waits no longer, but proceeds to work the miracle. On the other hypothesis, Jesus cures the child before the crowd, eager to see the wonder, has arrived. For 27 *seq.*, *cp.* Chapter v. 39–42, The one passage may have been imitated from the other.

28–29. An appendix to the story. When Jesus gives private explanations, we know that the Evangelist himself is at work. We have seen how difficult it is to account for Jesus's rebuke if it was addressed to or included the disciples. As an instance of 'reading into' the text, I may quote the explanation of Swete. 'The disciples had trusted to the quasi-magical power with which they thought themselves invested: there had been on their part no preparation of heart and spirit.' And it seems strange to-day to read: 'Spirits of such malignity were quick to discern the lack of moral power and would yield to no other.'

29. The power requisite for such healing can only be obtained by earnest and assiduous prayer. Some MSS. add also *καὶ νηστείᾳ*, 'and through fasting' (Matt. xvii. 21). Here the position taken up in 23 seems changed. It is not faith that works the miracle, or gives the power to work it, but prayer. To combine the two views one would have to say that the prayer produces the faith. But the natural order is for the faith to produce the prayer. Hence, perhaps, W. is right in thinking the verse hardly conceivable as a saying of Jesus. He points out that Matthew must have found it difficult, for he seems to have substituted for it his xvii. 20. Undoubtedly 28 and 29 are on a lower religious plane than 23. 'The immediate feeling of certain conquest and ascendancy peculiar to the primitive Christian enthusiasm is seen in the process of disappearing; circumstantial preparations and ritual acts are needed in order to become master of the evil spirits' (J. Weiss). Klostermann rightly says that the reply of Jesus (even without the 'fasting') is very obscure. 'Does he mean to reproach the disciples with having omitted to pray, and relied instead on the mere magical power of working miracles?'

What are we to say of the faith preached and praised in this story?

It seems at first remote from us because it is so connected with the miraculous. We certainly do not believe that faith can work miracles in the ordinary sense of the word; and it seems almost impossible to believe that, through the faith of A, B, who is unaware of that faith, can be healed. We do not clearly see why, if Jesus could miraculously cure the epileptic boy, so that he never had epilepsy again, and fully and permanently recovered his speech, he could not have done so whether the father of the child believed in his miraculous powers or not. It may, however, be argued that the faith of A, who is intensely interested in the cure of B, may help C to perform it.

But we are in truth attempting the impossible in such inquiries. We can never know what measure of historical truth underlies the tale. And with regard to Peter and Jesus walking on the sea, we neither believe that the story happened, nor that such a thing could happen. No amount of faith that he would be able to walk on the sea would enable a man to do it.

But because we cannot use the sayings of Jesus about faith literally in the form in which we have them, it does not follow that they are valueless or false. The power of faith and the value of trust are still enormous. Jesus as the prophet of faith and trust has still a message to the world.

30–32. Second Prediction of Suffering, Death and Resurrection

(*Cp.* Matt. xvii. 22, 23; Luke ix. 43–45)

30 And they departed thence, and passed through Galilee;
31 and he desired that none should know it. For he taught his disciples, and said unto them, 'The Son of man will be delivered into the hands of men, and they will kill him; and after he has
32 been killed, he will rise after three days.' But they understood not the saying, and were afraid to ask him.

The journey to Jerusalem now begins. Jesus passes through Galilee incognito. For the reason see the note on vi. 30–33. What he told the disciples in 31 is made the reason for the secrecy of 30, but it does not properly explain it. In the oldest form, or in the source, of Mark, one may conjecture, with Loisy, that ix. 1, 11, 12 *a*, 13, 30, 33 *a* followed hard upon each other. The French scholar is in full agreement here with W.: 'S'il traversait incognito la Galilée, c'était pour ne pas attirer l'attention

d'Hérode; il n'était pas autrement préoccupé de sa mort prochaine ni de l'instruction des disciples' (*E. S.* II. p. 61).

The predictions of his death are repeated several times. They are inserted without any close connection with their context, nor do they refer to each other. The predictions can only in the most limited sense be historical. Pfleiderer thinks that Jesus's entry and action in Jerusalem, as well as his last words upon the cross, give the undoubted impression that he went to Jerusalem not to die, but to fight and to conquer. Defeat and death may have crossed his mind as a possibility, but not more than this, just as they cross the mind of a general upon the eve of battle (*Urchristentum*, I. p. 360).

32. The disciples, as usual, are obtuse. In ix. 11 they ask questions; here they are represented as afraid to do so.

33–50. Who is the Greatest?—Of Stumbling-blocks and other Matters

(*Cp.* Matt. xviii. 1–9; Luke ix. 46–50, xvii. 1, 2)

33 And they came to Capernaum: and when he was in the house, he asked them, 'What did ye discuss among yourselves on
34 the way?' But they held their peace: for on the way they had
35 argued among themselves who was the greatest. And he sat down, and called the Twelve, and said unto them, 'If any man
36 desire to be first, let him be last of all, and servant of all.' And he took a child, and set him in the midst of them: and he embraced
37 him, and said unto them, 'Whoever shall receive one of these children in my name, receiveth me: and whoever receiveth me, receiveth not me, but Him that sent me.'

38 And John said to him, 'Master, we saw one casting out demons in thy name, and he does not follow us: and we sought
39 to prevent him, because he did not follow us.' Bnt Jesus said, 'Prevent him not: for no man who doeth a miracle in my name,
40 will readily speak evil of me. For he that is not against us is
41 for us. For whoever shall give you a cup of water to drink in my name, because ye belong to Christ, verily I say unto you, he
42 shall not lose his reward. And whoever shall cause one of these little ones that believe to stumble, it were better for him that a

millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the
43 sea. And if thy hand cause thee to stumble, cut it off: it is
better for thee to enter into Life maimed, than having two hands
45 to go into hell, into the fire that shall never be quenched. And
if thy foot cause thee to stumble, cut it off: it is better for thee
to enter lame into Life, than having two feet to be cast into hell.
47 And if thine eye cause thee to stumble, pluck it out: it is better
for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, than
48 having two eyes to be cast into hell: where their worm dieth not,
49 and the fire is not quenched. For every one shall be salted with
50 fire. Salt is good: but if the salt have lost its saltness, wherewith
will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and keep peace with
one another.'

This section can be split up into three or four sub-divisions, but these are not clearly marked. We may mark off 33–37, 38–41, 42–48, 49–50. There is a certain parallelism between 33–37 on the one hand, and x. 35–45 and x. 13–16 on the other. The lesson given in ix. 35 is almost verbally the same as that given in x. 43, 44, and it has therefore been inferred, with much probability, that different settings have been given by Mark to one and the same saying which he has taken from his source (*i.e.* Q, according to B. Weiss, Loisy and other scholars). Again the incident with the children is twice repeated. It occurs in ix. 36 and x. 16. Doubtless it is one and the same incident which has suggested both forms of the story. It is even held that the occasion and setting of the lesson given in ix. 35 and x. 42 was a single incident which only the Evangelist has doubled.

34. 'Who was the greatest?' But the words may mean not greatest now, but who *will* be greatest in the Kingdom. So Matthew (xviii. 1), and, what is very important, so the S.S. *Cp.* also, for the wording, Luke xxii. 14, which may be the original form of the opening of the story.

35. 'He called the Twelve.' This is odd, for in 33 Jesus is indoors with his disciples. Why need he 'call the Twelve'? Yet there seems no distinction to be made between the Twelve and those disciples who have been mentioned in 33.

Jesus is here supposed to read the hearts of the disciples. He knows about what they have been talking. In Matthew the disciples openly ask him the question, which is more natural.

The saying in 35 means: The only test of superiority in my

Kingdom is service. He who serves best shall be regarded as the greatest. It is these simple and profound sayings which seem best to reflect the historical Jesus. How can anyone fairly and honestly argue that such a sublime saying is not an ethical and religious gain over and above the great ethical and religious stores in the Old Testament? And if it could be shown that all the great sayings of Jesus were verbally and textually contained in the Talmud, it might still be justly argued that the lack of familiarity with the New Testament is a great loss to the Jews. For most Jews do not know the Talmud. Their religious literature is confined to the Old Testament and the Prayer-book. And in the huge bulk of the Talmud the great passages are overwhelmed and lost to view by the mass of trivial, worthless or second-class matter. Moreover, no collection of Rabbinical sayings that I am acquainted with can rival the sayings of Jesus in impressiveness, profundity, and power. To have been familiar with them from childhood must surely be an important ethical and religious asset in people's lives. And once again we mark in this verse the note of active devotion and personal service. Kindness and charity (*gemiluth, chesadim*) are familiar enough in the Rabbinical literature. But I do not think I am wrong in supposing that this touch of eager personal service, especially towards the sinner and the outcast, was a special characteristic of the religion of Jesus, and a new thing when he preached it.

J. Weiss, while holding that the *original* meaning of Jesus's saying was that true greatness consists in service (*cp.* Mark x. 43), thinks that the saying has *here* received another stamp. It is a judgment sentence. He who seeks to be first in the Kingdom shall be degraded. He shall be the last, the servant of all. Not the apostles, but the child is the true representative of Jesus.

The saying of 35 reappears many times in the Synoptics. *Cp.* Mark x. 43, 44; Matt. x. 26, 27, xxiii. 11; Luke ix. 48*b*, xxii. 26. The simplest (perhaps most original) form is Matt. xxiii. 11.

36. W. argues that 36, 37 is 'a separate whole,' and that it is not closely connected with 33 and 34. [35*b* is wanting in the MS. D, and W. suggests that it may have been added here to make a better connection between 33, 34 and 36, 37.] For what 36 and 37 say is how others are to be treated by the disciples, not how they are themselves to behave. The child is not here a type of humility and 'Anspruchslosigkeit' (as in x. 15), but the type of the poor and the simple who are to be welcomed and served in the name of Christ. 37 can be connected with 35, inasmuch as the servant of all, who is the greatest of all, is also he who receives the smallest and humblest for the sake of Christ.

How, says Loisy, could a real child so represent Jesus that in 'receiving' it one receives him? Matt. x. 40 suggests, Loisy thinks, the real meaning. The child is an apostle. 'Ce n'est pas le premier enfant venu que peut se prévaloir du nom du Christ: car, pour être reçu "au nom" du Christ, il faut porter ce nom avec soi. L'enfant à recevoir est donc envoyé de Jésus, comme Jésus est envoyé de Dieu. C'est l'apôtre, comme on le voit en Matthieu, où cette sentence a place dans le discours de mission. Marc fait recommander aux Douze d'avoir égard aux "petits" apôtres; on peut croire qu'il a surtout en vue le "petit" Paul, le "moindre des apôtres," qui n'était "pas digne d'être appelé apôtre," mais qui croyait avoir autant fait que "les grands apôtres" et ne leur être inférieur en rien' (*E. S.* II. p. 69). If this hidden meaning is the true one, which seems to me somewhat doubtful, the connection between 33–35 and 36–37 would be found. Both teach the same lesson to the same people.

37. *Cp.* Matt. x. 40; from Q. Did Mark also take his verse from that source? He adds 'in my name.' Is this a translation of the Hebrew idiom, meaning 'for my sake'? Or does it mean: 'because I desire it,' 'as a part of Christian duty'? In Mark the phrase is put into the mouth of Jesus in ix. 37 and 39, (perhaps also in ix. 41), and in xiii. 6 (*cp.* xiii. 13, xvi. 17). The 'name,' W. asserts, is not Jesus, but Christ; but if the phrase is a mere translation of the Hebrew idiom, it is neither the one nor the other. For then it merely means 'for my sake.' Merx holds that the meaning is: 'for the reason, or on the ground, that he belongs to me.' The phrase is correctly interpreted in 41, 'because ye belong to Christ.' Heitmüller, who in his excellent book *Im Namen Jesu* has given all these 'name' passages the most thorough investigation, holds that even here the usual meaning, *i.e.* the invocation of, the absolute calling upon, the name of Jesus can still be maintained. 'He who, invoking my name, receives one of these children.' But he thinks that perhaps in this particular passage 'for my sake' may be the right rendering.

'Receiveth me.' If the service is done for the sake of the Master, and because he desired it, it is reckoned as if it had been done to the Master himself. The dynamic effect of this saying has been enormous. All social service wrought in Christ's name and spirit is wrought to him. Who can measure or count the deeds of sacrifice and love to which this saying has prompted?

'Him that sent me.' What are we to make of this? Is it part of a unique self-assurance in Jesus, part of his consciousness that he was a superior being, the Messiah, the Son of God, perhaps himself divine? There seems no absolute necessity for

this. Isaiah, no less than Jesus, believed that God had 'sent' him. Doubtless Jesus believed that he was sent by God, and he probably held that he was the Messiah. Yet the saying, which Mark records, 'Why callest thou me good? Only God is good,' shows that he did not ascribe to himself a sinless pre-eminence of perfection. Social service is the right service of the Messiah, and it is also the right service of God. If Jesus said this verse, I would venture to think that he did not mean that *any* service rendered to himself was a service rendered to God, but rather that the *service of the poor* was the service both of himself *and* of God.

'Receive.' In what sense is the word used?

The literal meaning need not be pressed. To receive the child may mean to serve it, to show it kindness. But possibly, if the child is a type of a lowly and despised man, then to 'receive' the child means to accept and receive such a man into the Christian brotherhood.

But in what sense can Jesus himself be 'received'? In what sense can God be 'received'?

Do the words mean more than that a good deed done for the sake of Jesus is like a good deed done to him, a good deed done for him is like a good deed done to God?

But the use of the word 'receive' suggests mystical meanings. The indwelling spirit of Christ or of God may be said to be 'received' through goodness, self-sacrifice, and love. God and Christ may both be said to 'dwell' in man or be united with man. If the verse occurred in the fourth Gospel, that would be its meaning, but it is scarcely likely that this mystical meaning is the correct interpretation of a passage in Mark. There is no doubt that in the precisely identical parallel passage of Matthew, the word 'receive' has a far simpler sense (x. 40). For there the saying occurs as part of the discourse to the apostles when Jesus despatched them upon their missionary journey (*cp.* Luke x. 16). If, as Loisy thinks, Mark has taken it from the common source, *i.e.* Q, which may have contained Matt. ix. 37, 38, x. 5 *b*–8 *a*, 9–16, 23–25, 40, then the meaning of the word 'receive' is quite simple and natural. It includes the giving of hospitality, the acceptance of the teaching of Jesus through the mouths, and in the persons, of his emissaries. It must be admitted that the simpler sense of 'receive' would seem to make Matt. x. 40 (Q) more primitive than Mark ix. 37 (Loisy, *E. S.* I. pp. 896, 897). Loisy indeed holds that the whole section, Mark ix. 33–50, presents the character of an 'artificial and awkward compilation.' This theory is the very antithesis of W.'s as quoted at the end of this chapter.

Even if, in this passage, we are to consider the child as the type for the lowliest and most despised person who would belong

to Christ, the incident to which our passage goes back, and which recurs in Mark x. 13, may be regarded as historical. The affection which Jesus shows towards children is probably a historic and characteristic trait. It, too, has had its good effect in the history of the world. Only Mark mentions that Jesus took the child in his arms. *Cp.* x. 16, where only Mark records that Jesus embraces and blesses the children.

38–40. The section 38–40, or rather 38–41, presents some difficult problems, and has been very variously interpreted. One has to start from 41. This verse is clearly parallel with Matt. x. 42. Now we have seen reason to believe that Mark ix. 37 is based upon the source of Matt. x. 40 and that Matt. x. 40 represents the original, and not Mark ix. 37. How about ix. 41? Is that verse the original for Matt. x. 42, or does Matt. x. 42, like x. 40, also come from Q, and is it more original in form than Mark ix. 37? If Matt. x. 42, like x. 40, is drawn from Q, why does the change of 'you' into 'little ones,' which *Mark* made, for his own purposes, in ix. 37, appear now in *Matthew*? And on the other hand, why does Mark have 'you' in ix. 41 instead of 'little ones'? If, on the other hand, Mark ix. 41 is the original of Matt. x. 42, the change of Mark's 'you' into 'little ones' is also rather curious.

Though Mark ix. 37 has 'little ones' (literally 'one of these little children'), and ix. 41 has 'you,' there seems to be some connection between the two verses: both speak of doing good, or being kind to others 'in the name of Christ,' or because the recipients are Christians. And if 41 no less than 37 is based upon Q, then the link between them becomes greater. What then about 38–40? Why are these verses intercalated?

Some hold that there is a mere verbal connection. 38 has been hung on to 37 on account of the words 'in my name.' This is rather unsatisfactory on account of 41 which one would like to put nearer to 37. Dr Carpenter (*First Three Gospels*, p. 228) says that 'the incident described in Mark ix. 38–40 so obviously shatters the sequence of 33–37, and 41–47 that it has been widely regarded as a late insertion founded on Luke ix. 49, 50.' But on p. 210, n. 1 he states that Mark ix. 38–41 (and not 40), breaking the connection of 37 with 42, seems to have been added from some other source (*cp.* Luke ix. 49, 50).

Very ingenious is the theory of Loisy. He holds that Mark ix. 41 is the original of Matt. x. 42. B. Weiss, of course, thinks the contrary, and I am inclined to agree with him. Moreover Loisy's own theory seems strengthened upon this hypothesis. He points out that though 41 is connected with 37, and though these

'idées connexes ne devraient former qu'une seule sentence,' yet that the 'you' of 41 is linked to the sentence 'he who is not against us is with us.' [Still more would it be so linked if with the MS. D we read 'you' for 'us' in both parts of the saying. And if 41 is based upon Q, and if Q's wording is kept in Matt. x. 42, then 40, especially in D's form of it, would explain the change from 'little ones' to 'you' in 41.]

Why then did the Evangelist put 38–40 between 37 and 41? Once more Loisy brings in Paul to provide the explanation. The Evangelist could not express his meaning openly, but he thought his readers would perceive it. The story is very unlikely as history, and the saying, 'He that is not against us is for us' is modelled upon the authentic, 'He that is not for me is against me,' which Mark has omitted (Matt. xii. 30).

'If the little one who must be received as if he were Jesus himself is in some way the apostle Paul, it is easy to imagine that John the son of Zebedee here represents the Judaizers who opposed him....But the Saviour condemns the attitude of John; it is not possible that a man who does miracles in his name should speak ill of him, or should not be in the true faith of Christ, since he has the Spirit of God which works in Christ. The reasoning is Pauline in substance and even in form (*cp.* 1 Cor. xii. 3). The words "He who is not against us is for us" would be open to suspicion if taken in a general sense; they are the sentence, "He who is not for me is against me" turned round into a defence of the apostle. And the conjunction, artificial as it is, of this reflection with the words concerning the cup of cold water, becomes quite natural, if it is Paul who is not against the gospel but for it, and Paul again who, bringing to the saints of Jerusalem the alms of the Gentiles, has a right to his reward before God' (*E. S.* II. p. 74; *cp.* I. p. 95).

Note that 'in my name' means in 38 and 39 something very different from what it meant in 37, if in 37 it meant 'for my sake.' In 38 and 39 it means merely the utterance of the actual name, as part of an exorcist's formula. It has here its old and regular meaning of 'invoking the name by saying it aloud.' The 'name' of Jesus was believed to possess as strong a power in protection or exorcism as the name of God. There is no difference in meaning between the two different Greek prepositions in 38 and 39.

The situation suggested by 38 could hardly have happened in Jesus's lifetime. It reflects a later age, when the reputation of the Christian community was great enough to tempt outsiders to try their fortune as exorcists by using the name of Christ. Such people are not to be checked; perhaps one thing may lead to

another, and they may become full members of the new brotherhood. The statement that a man, who is no disciple of Jesus, nevertheless exorcises demons by the name of Jesus, is extremely peculiar and interesting. We are intended to suppose that the exorcisms were successful. The 'name' is enough. It has a magical force, and compels the demons to yield to its power. Radical criticism has made great use of this passage, as proving that Jesus the Saviour was a known god or demi-god before Jesus of Nazareth was born. But of this there is no room to speak here.

J. Weiss thinks that Jesus's reply in 40 is half ironic. 'Let him be; the man will not readily revile the name from which he earns his bread. We have, at all events, one friend in the hostile populace.' [But was the populace yet so hostile?] 'It is something, or even much, that he does not oppose us and hinder our work.' The saying, Weiss holds, has a pessimistic tenor. Things are so bad that it is something even to have this negative sort of friend.

Finally, W. thinks that though 38 makes as it were a fresh beginning, it yet continues the thread of the preceding verses. For it also teaches humility to the Twelve. He who exorcises demons in the name of Christ, and thus acknowledges him, is not to be repudiated, even though he does not join himself to the Twelve. [It is, however, doubtful whether the man's employment of the name as an exorcising formula is meant to imply any real acknowledgment. And it must be admitted that the use of such a formula, during Jesus's lifetime, is extremely unlikely.]

Whatever the first meaning and origin of the saying, 'He who is not against us is for us,' it was soon capable of extended applications. It can indeed be used for most broad and liberal interpretations. Swete says: 'The man who is not a declared enemy of the Christian brotherhood may be provisionally regarded as a friend.' And one can go further still. The man who is in sympathy with the fundamental teaching of Jesus is his true follower, whether he acknowledges him or no. Or again: all men who love goodness and God belong to the same religion and are allies in the same cause.

41. If Loisy's hypothesis be rejected, and Dr Carpenter's also, one can connect 41 with 40 by saying that the smallest service rendered to the disciples, just because they are disciples, will be recognized and rewarded. At least it indicates an inclination to and friendliness towards Christ, even if the doer of the service does not yet bear his name.

'In my name, because ye belong to Christ.' Another reading

is 'in the name, because ye belong to Christ.' Heitmüller thinks that this other reading (without 'my') is right, and that the meaning is 'on the ground that ye are Christians.' But if 'my' is read, then he holds that one must render: 'for my sake, because ye belong to Christ.' It is to be noted that the formula, 'because ye belong to Christ' is Pauline (*cp.* 1 Cor. iii. 23). The wording of Matt. x. 40 'in the name of a disciple' may be nearer to the original. Swete makes the remark that Christ without the article is never elsewhere used by Jesus in the Synoptics.

42–48. This section deals with stumbling-blocks, but 42 treats of the moral seduction of others, while 43–48 treats of the moral seduction of oneself. It appears to be based upon material which is also found in Q; it may be directly taken from Q.

42. This verse makes a link between the preceding section and 43–48. But it connects best with 37 (*cp.* Dr Carpenter's second hypothesis that 38–41 is a later insertion, *First Three Gospels*, p. 210, n. 1). It has been argued (*e.g.* by Bousset) that the original form of the verse is best preserved in Luke xvii. 1, 2 (Q). Where Mark has 'one of these little ones who believe,' Luke has, more simply, 'one of these little ones.' The absolute use of *πιστεύω*, to mean the Christian believer, is secondary and late. Nevertheless it is probable that Mark's addition is a correct interpretation. Humble adherents and believers were probably referred to, even in the original, not children, as Holtzmann and J. Weiss believe. The sin condemned is that of seducing humble believers from their faith, making them apostatise. *σκάνδαλα* and *σκανδαλίζειν* are expressive words, for which, as W. points out (on Matt. xiii. 41), there is no precise German (or English) equivalent. 'Cause to stumble,' 'seduce,' &c., are none of them quite satisfactory renderings for the verb, nor will 'stumbling-block' do well for the noun.

To seduce others from their faith is the greatest of sins. The Rabbis thought the same. To them Jeroboam was the type of the greatest sinner, because he not only did evil himself, but 'caused Israel to sin.'

43–47 are connected with 42 by the word *σκανδαλίζειν*, but deal with quite a different subject. The temptations here referred to are not brought to others, but occur, through the weakness of the flesh, to oneself. These verses are perhaps earlier and more authentic. They occur in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 29, 30) as well as in Matt. xviii. 8, 9. B. Weiss thinks that the entire section about 'stumbling-blocks' existed in Q in the

order in which we find it in Mark, *i.e.* Luke xvii. 1, 2 was succeeded by Matt. v. 29, 30. Even if this was not the case, it may nevertheless be that 43–47 are based upon Q.

The advice which Jesus here gives is clearly not to be taken literally. But the form of the maxims rests upon the conception —still widely prevalent—that in the life of the resurrection a man's outward form is the same as that which he had when he died. If you die with one eye, you will only have one eye when you 'rise.'

The term 'life' is used as equivalent to the 'Kingdom of God.' It has a somewhat late look used thus absolutely: the term is not used in Matt. v. 29, 30, though we find it in Matt. vii. 14, where it is, however, used in contrast to 'destruction.' Here it seems to wear almost a Johannine air. 'The fire that shall never be quenched' seems added as an explanation of 'Gehenna.'

The 'life,' and therefore the Kingdom, are thus regarded as future, not present. When were the hearers of these maxims supposed to enter the Kingdom? Apparently after death, at the resurrection, when Jesus in his risen glory, appearing upon earth again, would admit the good into the full beatitude of the perfected Kingdom, and send the bad to everlasting hell.

The advice which Jesus here gives is that we are not to provoke danger and call it forth. Far better to nip it in the bud, and to pray, 'Lead us not into temptation.' The word 'Gehenna' only occurs here in Mark. For the origin and Rabbinical use of the word see *Jewish Encyclopædia.*

48. The reference is to Isaiah lxvi. 24. The worm is the decomposed body, which is to continue to feel pain, and to be burned with constant fire. The quotation, wanting in Matthew, seems to be added here only in order to make a verbal connection for the following verse. 'That the reference here is to an eternal fire is certain; whether eternal pain for the condemned is thought of or connected therewith is doubtful.' So J. Weiss, who adds, characteristically: 'This is the foundation passage (*Grundstelle*) for the horrible doctrine of the everlasting pains of hell, a doctrine which is, indeed, consonant with the outward Jewish dogma of retribution, but not with the gospel of the God whose nature is love.' Yet Christianity has made much greater use of the horrible doctrine than Judaism, and Judaism has freed itself from it more easily and completely than Christianity. The doctrine of divine forgiveness is so fundamentally Jewish that it was quite easy for Judaism to see that the horrible doctrine of eternal punishment was in flagrant violation of its own clearest and chiefest teaching. It is amusing to think that from the Jewish pulpit, under which

I sat for many years, the horrible doctrine of eternal punishment and eternal pain was habitually referred to as characteristically Christian. So apt are we to attribute opinions which we dislike to our neighbours! It is needless to tell my Jewish readers that J. Weiss's words are merely the product of prejudice. His scholarship is, I hope, reflected in what follows, which I trust is true, though I feel extremely doubtful. 'Happily,' he says, 'it is very unlikely that Jesus himself gave any occasion (*Anlass*) to this horrible doctrine. For the judgment of fire, according to Jesus, is a rapid process, which leads to annihilation. In the Judgment it is a question of *death* or of life.' May it be so!

49. Many attempts have been made to connect 49 with the preceding passages, but they have not been very successful. The 'eternal fire' seems to have suggested the idea of purification by another sort of fire.

The verse has been taken to mean that everyone must be purified by the fire of tribulation. But this seems somewhat strained. Loisy takes it to be a sort of false connecting link between 48 and 50, and to refer to the final crisis of the world, the universal conflagration, in which the wicked would perish, but which the just would pass through purified and unharmed (*E. S.* II. p. 84). Many MSS. add: 'And every sacrifice shall be salted with salt,' which seems to mean '*just as* every sacrifice is purified (salted) by salt.'

50. This verse, again, seems merely outwardly hung on to 49. Indeed, the two halves of it seem to have been originally independent. For the first half *cp.* Matt. v. 13; Luke xiv. 34. The salt in Mark, as in Matthew and Luke, is meant to be the disciples. They are to season and purify the world. If the purifying condiment has lost its purifying quality, its environment cannot freshly season or purify it. The hope of the world lies in the disciples: if they become proud and impure, who can make them pure and humble?

The second half of the verse uses the metaphor in a different way. The disciples themselves are not salt (as towards the world), but they are to *have* salt in themselves, and to be at peace one with another. This may mean, perhaps, that they are to be pure and humble, uncontaminated by the soilure of the world. But perhaps it means that they are not to quarrel, the end of the long section returning to the subject with which it opened (33). 'The compiler of the discourse, wanting to bring Jewish and Greek Christianity into accord, gives to the former counsels of goodwill and charity' (*E. S.* II. p. 83).

With regard to the many disconnected sayings in the last verses of this chapter W. observes:

'Very characteristic and without doubt of a primary nature in order of time are the isolated, disconnected and paradoxical sayings of Jesus in Mark ix. 48–50. They have the appearance of undigested morsels (*unverdaute Brocken*). Yet how could Mark have wished or wanted to tear them out of their context, and thus make them unintelligible, if in his time they had already possessed a context? It was only later on that they were better understood, arranged, and brought into good connection' (*i.e.* in Matthew and Luke and, before them, in their special source Q or the 'Redenquelle'). Compare also W.'s remarks in his *Einleitung* on p. 85. The same argument, with Bousset's reply to it, has come before us on iv. 25. And here it is strongly disputed by Loisy. To him all this section of Mark presents the character of an artificial and maladroit compilation. Not by such passages can one prove that Mark is primitive relative to Q.

CHAPTER X

1–12. Of Divorce

(*Cp.* Matt. xix. 1–12)

1 And he arose from thence, and came into the district of Judæa
beyond the Jordan: and crowds collected unto him again; and he
taught them again, as he was wont.
2 And the Pharisees came and asked him, in order to test him:
3 'May a man divorce his wife?' And he answered and said unto
4 them, 'What did Moses command you?' And they said, 'Moses
permitted him to write a bill of divorce, and to send her away.'
5 And Jesus said unto them, 'To suit the hardness of your hearts
6 he wrote you this precept. But from the beginning of the creation:
7 He made them male and female: therefore shall a man leave his
8 father and mother, and cleave to his wife; and they two shall be
9 one flesh: so then they are no more two, but one flesh. What
therefore God hath joined together, let not man separate.'
10 And in the house his disciples asked him again about this
11 matter. And he said unto them, 'Whoever divorces his wife, and
12 marries another, commits adultery against her. And if the woman
divorce her husband, and marry another, she commits adultery.'

This passage is one of the most important in the Gospels. In no other point was the opposition of Jesus to the Rabbinic law of profounder significance. The religious position of woman and the law of divorce form the least attractive feature in the Rabbinical system. If the general status of women among the Jews has, nevertheless, been tolerably satisfactory, this is scarcely because of their laws, but in spite of them. The unerring ethical instinct of Jesus led him to put his finger upon the weak spots and sore places of the established religion. Of all such weak spots and sore places this was the weakest and the sorest. And the weakest and sorest it still remains. The reform, or rather the renouncement, of the Orientalisms in the laws about women is one of the greatest necessities of orthodox Judaism. Fast bound in the bondage of a code, from which it cannot shake itself free without losing its own identity, orthodox Judaism (like other 'orthodox' creeds) is in a difficult and unenviable position. On the other hand, as a wise friend has pointed out to me, it is a remarkable fact that both in ancient and modern orthodox Judaism woman has often, and even usually, received a high place of honour. It has been held that the duties of wifehood and motherhood were in themselves sanctioned and sanctified by God, and thus rightly dispensed a woman from many ritual enactments. Her place within the family has always been high and revered. 'Comparisons are odious,' but it is pretty certain that among the very poor the Jewish woman is not less honoured in her home than is her Gentile neighbour in hers. So true is it, as Mr Abrahams has said, that 'Judaism is the great upsetter of the probable. Analyse a tendency of Judaism, and predict its logical consequences, and then look in Judaism for consequences quite other than these' (*Judaism*, p. 69).

The Rabbinic law of divorce starts from Deut. xxiv. 1. It is, and remains, doubtful what the verses precisely mean. What is the 'unseemly thing' which if a man find in his wife, he may divorce her? To his eternal honour, Shammai, an older contemporary of Jesus, said it meant, and only meant, unchastity. But to his eternal dishonour Hillel said it meant all kinds of other reasons as well. The Rabbinic law most unfortunately followed Hillel, and it allowed, and still allows, divorce for many and many a reason over and above and outside of adultery. See Additional Note 18.

Though the words in Deuteronomy are doubtful, it would seem as if mere adultery could not be the only meaning. For by the Law (Deut. xxii. 22) the adulteress was to be put to death.

The version of this section in Mark differs in important respects

from the version in Matthew (xix. 1–12). In Mark the question is asked quite generally, 'May a man divorce his wife?' In Matthew the question is, 'May a man for any reason divorce her?' In other words, the question there is, What attitude does Jesus take up on the point at issue between Hillel and Shammai? The parallel passages (Matt. v. 31, 32; Luke xvi. 18) must also be taken into account.

At first sight it might seem as if Mark can only then be supposed to give the more original and accurate report of what Jesus really said, if W.'s interpretation of Mark be accepted. That interpretation robs the difference between Matthew and Mark of any considerable importance. It assumes that Jesus did not mean to say that, even if a woman had committed adultery, she must not be divorced, and that in the lifetime of that guilty woman the guiltless husband must never marry again. It supposes that adultery was not in question. For though Shammai held that unchastity ought to be the only ground for divorce, there is no reason to suppose that the ordinary custom and law from the earliest period onward had not been in accordance with the opinion of Hillel, namely, that a man was able to send his wife away for a number of reasons unconnected with unchastity. Adultery was a separate affair, which was not dealt with by anything so mild as a mere bill of divorce. The penalty of adultery was death. See Additional Note 18.

On this view the discussion in Mark must be supposed to exclude adultery, though it does not mention adultery. Matthew, to avoid any unclearness, adds words which make adultery the exception to the general canon which Jesus lays down. Gould seems to agree with W.

1. 'He arose from thence,' *i.e.* from Capernaum. See ix. 33. It is assumed that a period has just elapsed during which Jesus had withdrawn himself from the people. He now resumes his public teaching. But he finally leaves Galilee. Prof. Bennett says: 'Jesus left Galilee, and crossing the Jordan came to the eastern districts opposite Judæa. He now felt safer than in Galilee. The eastern borderlands were less settled: the population was largely of Gentiles, and was more directly under the government of Rome. There was less opportunity for official persecution or popular fanaticism, and the desert offered a refuge from danger. Hence Jesus resumed His public ministry' (p. 144).

Some think that the καὶ after Ἰουδαίας should probably be omitted. So in the MS. D, in the S.S., and in the parallel verse in Matthew. Peræa would thus be described as 'the Judæan land beyond Jordan.' Others think that Jesus preached first in Judæa,

then in 'Peræa,' whence he made his way to Jerusalem for the Passover.

2. The MS. D and the S.S. omit 'the Pharisees,' perhaps rightly. Matthew brought them in according to his wont, and then they may have been added in Mark.

'In order to test him.' What does this mean? Was the question asked because the answer was anticipated? Did the questioners want Jesus to say something definitely against the Law? So Menzies and Loisy. Perhaps the conversation arose from no such intention, but casually. Dr Carpenter thinks that the words 'testing him' may mean no more than that they wanted to see what attitude he would take up on a difficult and disputed subject. So Gould: 'testing him. This was a test, not a temptation.'

3. Jesus replies to the question by grasping the nettle boldly. He asks, What did Moses order upon the subject? But, as Loisy has pointed out, the 'Moses' passage he meant was not the 'Moses' passage which the Pharisees at once thought of. 'Les Pharisiens tendaient un piège à Jésus, maintenant c'est lui qui les guette, et il est sûr de les prendre' (*E. S.* II. p. 197). In Matthew the arrangement is different.

5. The expected reply having been given to his question, Jesus then proceeds to state that the 'command' in Deuteronomy was only given in view of the Israelite 'hardness of heart.' 'σκληρός [here] means *hard*, in the sense of *rough* or *coarse*, rather than *unimpressible*. καρδία is the common word for the inner man generally in the New Testament. The whole word [σκληροκαρδία, 'hardness of heart'] denotes the rude nature which belongs to a primitive civilisation' (Gould).

The Mosaic law was in certain cases a kind of second best. The highest law could not, or would not, have been obeyed. So there was a concession made to human weakness or 'hardness.' The divorce enactment was not a law, but a dispensation. This is a fine interpretation of much of the Mosaic law, and may be compared with Maimonides's view of sacrifice. Both are equally unhistorical, though, from a sort of universal or world-historic point of view, one can see that Jesus was in the right.

6. Jesus now proceeds, as it were, to correct Moses by Moses. The fundamental law of marriage is not destroyed by the dispensation of divorce. That was a temporary concession, and has no validity or meaning for the true children of God. The right translation of 6 is doubtful. W. takes the first three Greek

words to equal 'In the beginning of Genesis' (*i.e.* the first book of the Pentateuch). After these words he supposes that one must supply, 'Moses wrote.' Thus one gets: 'In the creation story, however, (Moses wrote): Male and female,' &c.

The ordinary translation is given in the Authorised and Revised Versions: 'But from the beginning of the creation, male and female made he them.' In either case, from 'he made' down to 'one flesh' is a citation by Jesus from Genesis.

9. Marriage is the highest unity. Man and wife are one flesh. One flesh by divine decree. Monogamy is assumed, as in Genesis.

(This unity, on W.'s hypothesis, can be broken by adultery, but in no other way whatsoever.)

What, then, God has so joined together man has no right to sunder (*cp.* 1 Cor. vii. 10).

The 'man' who sunders would be the husband when he gives the letter of divorce. But those who would attempt to reply to Jesus by asserting the divineness of the Pentateuchal law, would doubtless urge that it is not man who sunders, but God; for it God, through Moses, gave the command, it is God who permits and sanctions the sundering divorce. Nowhere more than here does Jesus go nearer to denying the absolute divinity, permanence and perfection of the Law. Yet one can see that he was not himself conscious of doing so. Or, at any rate, the theory of the hard heart was devised to soften the blow, to preserve the inspiration of the Law, while at the same time maintaining its ethical inadequacy.

10–12. As in vii. 18, Jesus gives a further explanation to the disciples privately. These two verses have therefore to be put on the same level as the explanations of the 'sower' and of spiritual defilement. Nevertheless the saying they enshrine may be old and authentic in substance. One need not be troubled by 'the house,' or ask whose house it was. It may well be the house where Jesus was staying at, the particular place where he then happened to be.

A saying about divorce is also found in Matt. v. 32 (Sermon on the Mount) and in Luke xvi. 18. It may be, as Loisy says, that Mark has drawn his saying from the same source whence Matthew and Luke drew theirs (*i.e.* Q). It may also be, as he also suggests, that, in better conformity with its environment, the saying is a traditional gloss on 8 and 9, which sought to complete the teaching of Jesus by that of Paul. 'Le caractère pratique de cette glose lui aurait valu d'entrer, avec adaptation au judéo-christianisme, dans une rédaction secondaire du recueil de discours,

où Matthieu et Luc l'auraient connue' (*E. S.* II. p. 199). An argument in favour of the first hypothesis would be that of all the four forms in which the prohibition of divorce appears in the Synoptics, that of Luke seems the most original. See below.

11. In 11 and 12 Jesus adds something new. To divorce your wife is a sin, but that sin is not adultery. If, however, in addition to divorcing her, you marry another woman, then to the sin of divorce you add the fresh sin of adultery. But Harnack does not think that this distinction between (*a*) the sin, which is *not* adultery, of divorce, and (*b*) the sin, which *is* adultery, of divorce *plus* remarriage, is intended by Mark. He says (*a*) this view contradicts the context of 1–9, (*b*) is artificially introduced into the wording of the passage, and (*c*) ignores the fact that in Oriental life remarriage regularly followed divorce.

μοιχᾶται ἐπ' αὐτήν, he commits adultery in respect of his first wife. The assertion of adultery following on divorce occurs four times in the Synoptics, but in each of the four passages there are varieties in detail. Mark predicates adultery (*a*) of the *man*, who having divorced one woman, marries another, (*b*) of the *woman*, who having divorced (or being divorced from) her husband, marries again. Matt. v. 32 predicates adultery (*a*) of the *woman*, who being divorced, marries again, (*b*) of the *man* who marries a divorced woman. [Mark's second case is the same as Matthew's first case, though Matthew assigns the evil to the man who by his action causes the woman to sin.] Matt. xix. predicates adultery (*a*) of the *man*, who having divorced one woman, marries another, and there is no second case (*b*) mentioned. Finally, Luke predicates adultery (*a*) of the *man*, who having divorced his wife, marries another, and (*b*) of the *man* who marries a divorced woman. There are thus three different cases, *A*, *B* and *C*:—two in which adultery is predicated of men (*A* and *B*), and one in which adultery is predicated of woman (*C*). Mark has *A* and *C*, Matt. v. has *C* and *B*, Matt. xix. has *A*, Luke has *A* and *B*. The case of the woman is mentioned twice; the case of the man divorcing and marrying again thrice; the case of the man marrying a divorced woman twice. I am inclined to think that B. Weiss is probably right. The oldest and most original form of the saying is Luke's. Jesus spoke to men, and where women are not specially before him, it is probable that he would allude to man's sin rather than to woman's. Moreover, it is man who divorces, and it is man's divorcing that Jesus blames and would stop. Hence it seems likely that he should predicate adultery for each remarrying possibility, *i.e.* whether you yourself divorce and then marry another woman, or whether another man having divorced, you

marry the divorced wife. If B. Weiss is right, the first hypothesis of Loisy's becomes the more probable, and the divorce passage in Q (the form of which was Luke xvi. 18 rather than Matt. v. 32) is probably older than Mark. Holtzmann says cautiously that Luke's version is either a happy combination of Matt. x. 32 with Mark x. 11 'oder—das Ursprüngliche.'

12. The preceding verse is clear and intelligible. But the 12th, according to the usual and most authorised text, gives rise to great difficulties. It says: 'And if the woman divorce her husband, and marry another, she commits adultery.'

But, according to Jewish law, the woman could not divorce the man. It is this disparity which is the second great blot and evil of the Jewish law of divorce. The woman, in true accordance with Oriental conceptions, is the subordinate of the man. The Jewish law—to its credit be it said—made some improvements in her insecure and unequal position; but she remained, and remains, religiously and legally, the inferior. Her husband can divorce her even if she has not committed adultery; she cannot divorce him even though he has committed adultery.

In these circumstances it seems inconceivable that Jesus could have made a statement so inconsistent with Jewish law and life. It is hardly likely that Mark could have written such a statement (as to 1 Cor. vii. 13, Paul often writes as if he had never been familiar with the Jewish religion). But the important MS. D (Codex Bezæ), upon which W. so often relies, reads *καὶ ἐὰν γυνὴ ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἄλλον γαμήσῃ*: *i.e.* If a woman is divorced from her husband and marries another man, she commits adultery. W. thinks this reading the original. Thus the man and the woman are put by Jesus, so far as he could, upon an equality. If the divorced woman marries again, she commits adultery as well as the man. If this reading is correct, it is then certain that the case of the woman who had *already* committed adultery must be excluded. For if she had been divorced for adultery, it would not be said that she commits adultery if she marry again. If the usual reading is retained, we must explain, with Menzies and others, that 'Mark, writing for Gentile readers, with whom the wife can claim divorce as well as the husband, adds a sentence to meet the case.' *Cp. First Three Gospels*, p. 220.

Thus Jesus breaks away from and condemns the prevailing and dominant Jewish law of divorce. He associates himself with Shammai in asserting the inviolability of marriage except where the woman has committed adultery. And he goes further than Shammai, because he says that not only should it be forbidden for a man to divorce his wife except for adultery, but that if he

does so, and if either he or his wife marry again, both he and she are themselves guilty of adultery.

But there is another interpretation of x. 11, 12, which holds that the qualification made by Matthew, 'except for unchastity,' misrepresents the Master's teaching. According to this interpretation Jesus rejects all divorce, whether for adultery or for any other cause whatever.

One cogent argument against W.'s view of our passage is that, when Jesus lived, adultery was in all probability no longer punished by death. The harsh law of the Pentateuch had already fallen into desuetude. If a woman committed adultery she was, in all probability, no longer killed, but given a bill of divorce.

If this be really so, then Jesus may consciously have included adultery as one of the reasons which do not justify divorce. He may have meant to urge that the marriage bond is inviolable. The one flesh can never be made two. This is the interpretation which the Roman Catholic Church has given to his words. See further the note on Matt. v. 32.

Prof. Burkitt holds that there is a special allusion to a special case in x. 12. The *exact* wording of the text may not represent what Jesus said, because a woman, according to Jewish law, cannot divorce her husband. But suppose the words ran more like this: 'If a woman leaves her husband and marries another, she commits adultery.' Such a case had happened. Herodias had left her first husband, Herod (erroneously called Philip in Mark vi. 17), in order to marry his half-brother Antipas. Prof. Burkitt supposes that this famous case was alluded to by Jesus (*op. cit.* pp. 98–101).

The Syriac version puts the woman before the man; it reads: 'The woman who leaves her husband and becomes the wife of another does indeed commit adultery, and that man who leaves his wife and takes another does indeed commit adultery.' Here the man and woman are put on the same level. And the doctrine of the one flesh may be taken to imply that the same conduct which is invalid and wicked and illegitimate in a woman is invalid and wicked and illegitimate in the case of a man. If a woman cannot and may not divorce or leave her husband, a man cannot and may not divorce his wife. This reading of the Syriac version is in accordance with the reading of the MS. D, quoted above, and is accepted by Jülicher. Compare the note on Matt. xix. 8.

Mr Allen holds that the text of Mark is logical, consistent, and defensible as it stands. It is true that 'no woman could divorce her husband by Jewish law. But that is no reason why the Lord should not have expressed Himself as Mark records. There were exceptional cases of divorce by women in Palestine. *Cp.* Salome, Josephus, *Ant.* book xv. ch. vii. 10: "She sent him

(Costobar) a bill of divorce, though this was against the Jewish law (and dissolved her marriage with him)." And there is no reason why He may not have been acquainted with the possibility of divorce by women in the West, or why, even if He had not this in view, He may not have emphasised His point by stating the wrongfulness of divorce on either side of the marriage tie.'

If Jesus absolutely forbade divorce, he went further than most of us can follow him. We may even hold that the rigid interpretation of his words has been productive of grave evils. But we shall cherish his championship of womanhood. He does seem to have felt that woman had been hardly dealt with, and that she should not be treated more harshly than man. The exquisite story of the woman taken in adultery in John viii. 1–11 seems to touch a similar note. The story is out of keeping with the rest of the Johannine gospel, and ought to have found a place in the Synoptics. In spite of its small MS. authority, and of the fact that it is only found in John, it may possibly be historical. And here we seem to find Jesus, not condoning or belittling sin, but yet nobly unwilling that the woman should be singled out for scorn and punishment.

13–16. Jesus and the Children

(*Cp.* Matt. xviii. 3, xix. 13–15; Luke xviii. 15–17)

13 And they brought young children to him, for him to touch
14 them: and his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was indignant, and he said unto them, 'Let the little children come unto me, and prevent them not: for of
15 such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall
16 surely not enter therein.' And he embraced them and blessed them, putting his hands upon them.

A touching section, the humanity and grace of which are marred by Matthew. Like the passage about divorce, it has no relation with its context. We have seen that there is a certain parallel to a part of this section in Mark ix. 36. Verse 15 has its parallel in Matt. xviii. 3. In this place Matthew omits it. Whether this implies that the dispute as to precedence (Mark ix. 33) did really include in its earliest form the incident of Jesus putting a child before the disciples (ix. 36) and then saying to them what we now read in x. 15 and Matt. xviii. 3, I will not

attempt to decide. Such is the opinion of B. Weiss. It is conceivable that Matt. xviii. 3 (Q) is the source of Mark x. 15, but it does not appear to be one of the most likely of these supposed borrowings of Mark from Q. It does not seem to me impossible that the child of ix. 36 and the children of x. 13 may both be historic. W. argues that the human traits of x. 13–16 prove its priority to the variant ix. 35–37, but it does not seem to be quite necessary to assume that the two passages are variants at all.

13. *Cp.* 2 Kings iv. 27. Is there a magical element about the Master's mere 'touch' which is unsympathetic to Matthew? With him the touch is turned into Jesus putting his hands upon their heads. But probably Mark meant by 'touching' what Matthew has said (*cp.* verse 16). Putting the hand upon the person's head was a regular accompaniment of the act of blessing (*cp.* Genesis xlviii. 14). It is reasonable enough to suppose that Jesus was genuinely fond of children. At the same time there is here, as so constantly in all the stories about him, the curious parallel with, or contrast to, the stories of Elijah and Elisha. Compare Mark x. 13–16 with 2 Kings ii. 23. See also Additional Note 19.

14. 'Of such,' *τῶν τοιούτων*. Does Jesus refer to real children too? Loisy thinks he does, as well as to those who have a pure, child-like mind. The indignation shown or felt by Jesus is mentioned by Mark only. The earliest Evangelist is not afraid or unwilling to indicate that the Master was a man, who could be moved by strong emotions. Dr Carpenter says: 'The Jesus of Mark is a man with a man's wrath and disappointment.... The leading outlines of the immortal story are drawn from the life.' For 'it remains probable that the main facts of Mark were derived from Peter.' In Mark, far more than in Matthew and Luke, 'Jesus thinks, prays, feels, speaks, acts, as a man' (*First Three Gospels*, pp. 217, 231).

The child symbolizes or represents the temper in which the Kingdom must be received. Humble trust, a complete lack of assertiveness, no consciousness of 'merit' or desert, simple confidence and purity—these are the qualities which Jesus means to indicate in the character of the true child. The Kingdom can only be entered by those who can approach it in such a spirit. To those who have it, the highest good, as the direct gift and grace of God, can and will be given.

W. points out most aptly how Shakespeare has felt the contrast between this section and the section which follows it. For

here the Kingdom is a gift which one must accept as a child, *there* it is only to be won by effort and self-denial.

The passage from Shakespeare occurs in the famous soliloquy of Richard II. just before his death (Act V. scene v.):

> ...No thought is contented. The better sort,
> As thoughts of things divine, are intermixed
> With scruples, and do set the word itself
> Against the word:
> As thus, 'Come, little ones,' and then again,
> 'It is as hard to come as for a camel
> To thread the postern of a small needle's eye.'

15. Are we to assert that the Kingdom is present, because the text speaks of receiving it as a child? The second part of the verse shows that this would be an error. As Wrede points out, the passage means that he who has not the childlike mind at the time when the Kingdom arrives will not be suffered to enter it. Loisy, however, says: 'The Kingdom of God does not here refer exclusively to the Parousia, still less to the preaching of the gospel, but rather to the scheme of salvation in its entirety. Hence it is possible to say that a person receives the Kingdom and that he enters into it: "to receive" better suits the preaching of the gospel and the divine grace which gives it; "to enter" looks rather to the eternal felicity to which the righteous will be admitted. To receive the Kingdom is properly speaking to accept the announcement of it with the faith and the sentiments which are fitting' (*E. S.* II. p. 205).

16. ἐναγκαλισάμενος is peculiar to Mark. *Cp.* ix. 36. But by W., as we have seen, Mark x. 13–16 is regarded as more original than ix. 36, where a single child is placed for didactic purposes before the disciples, as a sort of concrete, though symbolic, example of the 'little ones who believe.' κατευλόγει. The word is only found here in the N.T. 'The force of κατά seems to be intensive—He blessed them fervently, in no perfunctory way, but with emphasis, as those who were capable of a more unreserved benediction than their elders. Instead of the mere touch for which their friends had asked, He laid his hands on them' (Swete).

The picture of Jesus embracing and blessing the children has rightly sunk deep into the human heart. It would be unjust to contrast with it, as has sometimes been done, the picture of 2 Kings ii. 23. For in the one the children are brought to Jesus to be taught; in the other they mock at the prophet on the road. Yet the beauty, the significance, the ethical force and the originality of the Gospel story, as of the great saying in 15, can also only with injustice be overlooked, cheapened, or denied.

17–31. The Danger of Riches—Wealth and the Kingdom

(*Cp.* Matt. xix. 16–30; Luke xviii. 18–30)

17 And as he set forth upon his way, one ran up, and knelt
and asked him, 'Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit
18 eternal life?' And Jesus said unto him, 'Why callest thou me
19 good? no one is good except God alone. Thou knowest the commandments, Do not commit adultery, Do no murder, Do not steal,
Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, Honour thy father and
20 mother.' And he said unto him, 'Master, all these have I
21 observed from my youth.' Then Jesus looked at him, and felt
love for him, and said unto him, 'One thing thou lackest: go thy
way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give it to the poor, and thou
22 shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me.' But he was
sad at that saying, and went away grieved: for he had great
possessions.

23 And Jesus looked round about, and said unto his disciples,
'How difficult is it for them who have riches to enter the kingdom
25 of God! It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a
24 needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.' And
the disciples were astonished at his words. But Jesus spoke again
and said unto them, 'Children, how difficult it is to enter into the
26 kingdom of God!' And they were appalled beyond measure,
27 saying among themselves, 'Who then can be saved?' But Jesus,
looking at them, said, 'For men it is impossible, but not for God:
since for God all things are possible.'

28 Then Peter began to say unto him, 'Lo, *we* have abandoned all,
29 and have followed thee.' And Jesus answered and said, 'Verily I
say unto you, there is no man who hath abandoned house, or
brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands, for
30 my sake, and the gospel's, who shall not receive back an hundredfold: now in this age, houses, and brethren, and sisters, and
mothers, and children, and lands, though with persecutions; and
31 in the world to come eternal life. But many that are now first
shall be last; and the last first.'

'L'anecdote du riche a dû être conservée pour elle-même à la tradition, sans attache spéciale au voyage de Judée. Marc l'a placée en cet endroit pour remplir le cadre qu'il a ouvert au ministère de Jésus en Pérée' (*É. S.* II. p. 207).

17. That which in ix. 43 had been called simply 'life' is here called 'eternal life.' Both are equivalent to, and identical with, the Kingdom of God (ix. 47 and x. 14, 15). Here, once more, the Kingdom is something which man must seek to inherit, and can inherit, by his own right-doing. *Cp.* the note on x. 14.

18. The reply of Jesus is of the utmost significance. It is obvious that no divine being would or could have answered thus. Jesus knew himself to be a man. The verse is naturally extremely inconvenient to orthodox Christian commentators who think that Jesus was God or was divine. It is interesting to see how they deal with it. It appears that one traditional way out is to say that 'Jesus, as often, answers from the point of view of the questioner.' So Schanz, the capable Roman Catholic commentator, who honestly insists on the correct translation of the verse, but adds that the words do not exclude 'dass Jesus seiner höheren Natur nach selbst zu diesem göttlichen Wesen gehören kann.' It is pleasant to know that Jesus was a better and purer monotheist than Schanz would have him to be. Even Mr Allen, though he honestly acknowledges that the changes in Matthew are 'probably intentional,' says that the meaning in Mark 'seems to be: Why go out of your way to call one whom you regard as a human teacher good?' W. Wagner has contributed an interesting article upon the exegesis of the verse to the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1907, pp. 143–161. Wagner himself strongly urges that 'good' to both questioner and respondent means, not 'morally perfect,' or 'sinless,' but beneficent, '*gütig*.' Thus Jesus has not denied his sinlessness or moral perfection in this passage! It is only the quality of 'beneficence' which he reserves for God and refuses for himself! (*Cp.* also what Spitta says in the same *Zeitschrift*, 1908, pp. 12–20, who presses certain details in the order of the narrative in Luke, and its relation with what immediately precedes it.) It may indeed be true that 'good' means here, as W., too, says, rather beneficent than sinless, but surely the historic Jesus would have been equally disconcerted at the idea of sinless moral perfection being ascribed to him. The simplest meaning that can be attached to the word 'good' is also the truest. Jesus meant no more and no less than what any unsophisticated and unprejudiced reader would understand him to mean. 'Merit lives from man to man.' Only God is good in the sense of faultless. If Jesus was

in the human sense 'good,' he was also humble, and where, in the Gospel narratives, he is represented as least humble, he seems least good. The divine being may know himself sinless; a *man* can only sin in fancying that he is without sin. We know too little of Jesus to describe his character fully; his eulogistic biographers do not allow anything which seems to them a fault to obscure their hero. The invectives of Jesus against his opponents and those who differed from him in religious opinion are to his biographers wholly admirable. We shall judge otherwise. Yet it is a noble character that peeps through the fragmentary and one-sided records—none the less noble because we may be sure that of Jesus, both in fact and in his own estimate of himself, the adage was true: 'there is no man that sinneth not.'

19. The order of the commandments seems strange. No less so that 'thou shalt not covet' is omitted, and 'thou shalt not defraud' put in its place. But the S.S. omits 'thou shalt not defraud,' which appears to be not original. It is perhaps specially introduced as suitable for a rich person.

Over and above the order of the commandments, the entire reply of Jesus is strange. An enumeration of merely negative commandments, even though they form part of the famous Ten, is unusual with him. He is keen to avoid the negative morality, the mere avoidance of wrong, which is one of the dangers of legalism. If he had replied by quoting Deut. vi. 5, Leviticus xix. 18, it would have seemed more natural. Did he mean to indicate that he was no bringer of a new morality? The old commandments were good enough for men's salvation if only they were followed? For I think W. is right in saying that, in spite of 21, Jesus meant what he said; he meant that a faithful observance of 'the commandments' was enough to secure 'eternal life.' Yet 19, so interpreted, would scarcely seem consistent with the inadequacy of the old commandments as proclaimed in the Sermon on the Mount.

20. Some MSS. read, *ἐφυλαξάμην*, *i.e.* 'I have kept myself from doing these things'; if this is right, we may suppose that the command 'Honour thy parents' has been interpolated. Some read, *ἐφυλάξα*, 'I have observed.'

The man is disappointed. He had expected Jesus to say something new. Moreover, though he has kept the ordinary commandments, he does not feel by any means sure that he has 'deserved,' or that he will attain, eternal life. He is conscious that he has done nothing out of the common. He has made no great or special effort. He ought to do something more if he is to

obtain the great gift or guerdon. To know what this something more should be he comes to ask Jesus.

21. One must not make a general principle out of what Jesus here says. The reply is relative (*a*) to the particular individual, (*b*) to the particular epoch. The man's morality had been somewhat negative; he had committed no wrong, but he had attained to no high standard of right. He had injured no man, but he had not benefited many. His abstentions from wrong-doing had made no great calls upon him. He had not shown much self-sacrifice and self-denial. He was, perhaps, dimly conscious himself of this inadequacy or imperfection. Not all was right within him, though he had done no wrong. It is not surely unwarrantable to suppose that Jesus realized this. The old commandments, of which Jesus selects a few as typical or as examples, are sufficient for salvation if they are fully and actively carried out. It all depends upon the 'how'; it all depends upon the will and the heart. Jesus, therefore, to test the real ethical quality of the man, bids him make a big and complete sacrifice. Let him give up his fortune and private ties, let him become a disciple. If he will do that, there is no doubt that his heart is keen on goodness, his will powerful enough to put the desires and ideals of his heart into operation. If he will do that, there can be no doubt, and he need feel none, that he has fully kept the commandments, and that he will inherit eternal life. The above seems the more probable explanation of what Jesus says here. But it may also be that in accordance with what he has already laid down, he is simply telling the man the conditions of discipleship, and adding that such discipleship is the highest life, sure to result in, though not the absolute condition of, the heavenly and eternal life.

Loisy goes a little further; he says: 'Although the programme marked out by Jesus is, in actual fact, a programme of perfection which is not suitable for all men, since its universal application would throw all the arrangements of life into confusion, it is not announced as an optional programme and a work of supererogation; it is imposed upon those who intend to follow the Saviour, that is to say, on those who intend to take an active part in the coming of the Kingdom of heaven, to represent the gospel in the eyes of the world, to co-operate with Jesus in the salvation of their brethren, and to assure for themselves beforehand a place in the city of the elect. At the moment when Jesus spoke, whosoever sincerely desired the reign of God was bound to leave everything in order to follow him who was bringing it upon the earth' (*E. S.* II. p. 214).

But it is not a fair criticism of Jesus's words to suppose that he here lays down the one means or canon of salvation for everybody

throughout the ages. It is also a false criticism when the counsel of Jesus is condemned because it would not be to the benefit of existing society if all of us were to give all we possessed to the poor. The point here is not what would benefit society, but what will be a difficult thing for the individual. And who can deny that for the average excellent citizen it would be a hard sacrifice to sell all he has and give it to the poor? The questioner did not refuse to comply with the advice which Jesus gave him because the advice was 'quixotic' or 'impracticable,' or 'not for the benefit of society,' or 'not even good for the poor,' but because he did not want to give up his possessions and make the sacrifice. Jesus divined where the shoe would pinch. If the man was really keen about goodness, let him make the one great sacrifice which would prove his keenness. Or was he merely a professor? 'The words are not a general counsel of perfection, but a test of obedience and faith which the Lord saw to be necessary in this particular case' (Swete). This seems fair exegesis.

Then, too, one must remember that Jesus believed that the end of the existing order was imminent. In the new order there would be no need of wealth and no social inequalities. But, lastly, we must also admit that Jesus, as we see from what follows, and as we gather from other passages, did regard personal poverty as a mark of the ideal. He had a bias in favour of poverty, and against riches. At the same time, what was said for a particular purpose at a particular time to a particular individual must not be turned into a universal rule, and then laid to the account or charge of him who said it. As to the effects in history of Jesus's words, that is another matter. The effects have been immense, and both for good and for evil.

The fragment from the Gospel of the Hebrews is interesting. How can a man be said to have fulfilled the commandments of the Lord when he lives in comfort and wealth, and so many of his brethren are in distress? 'And the Lord said to him: how canst thou say I have fulfilled the law and the prophets. For it is written in the Law, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, and behold many of thy brothers, children of Abraham, are covered with filth, and thy house is full of good things and nothing goes from it to them.'

'Treasure in heaven.' See Matt. vi. 20. The human touch that Jesus felt an affection for the man, who was honest, if narrow, is omitted by Matthew and Luke.

The 'one thing which was wanting' was the ideal; an enthusiasm or passion for righteousness. The man possessed, if one may say so, ordinary morality; he could not rise to ideal morality. Jesus would seem to imply that God in his mercy will not refuse

'salvation' to those who, though without great or complete self-denial, yet obey the fundamental commands of morality; but to be a *follower* of Jesus demanded complete self-surrender. Or even: to be a follower of Jesus demanded a breaking away from the ordinary ties and interests of the world.

23–31. The paragraph which succeeds to the refusal of the man to make the sacrifice which Jesus asked seems written from a still sterner point of view. And we also see from it how the conception of the 'Kingdom' seems to vary. The Kingdom in one sense is already being realized in the small number of persons who have gathered round Jesus. They have accepted its conditions, 'received its yoke,' and made the sacrifice it demands. But, in another sense, the Kingdom is only to be realized after the end of the old order, at and after the resurrection of the dead. It is equivalent to the 'world to come,' or 'life everlasting.' And the conditions which secure the entry to the Kingdom, as realized in and among the followers of Jesus, are transferred to the other Kingdom beyond the grave, or at all events after the Judgment and resurrection. The conditions of the Kingdom in the one sense are made the almost imperative conditions for the Kingdom in the other sense. This is a most significant increase of severity, but one can see how the varying sense of the conception of the Kingdom could bring it about.

W. has a very important note dealing with these differences about the conditions of 'eternal life' or the 'Kingdom of God.' He says:

'In spite of the words "one thing thou lackest," Jesus regards the fulfilment of the commandments as adequate for the acquisition of eternal life (*cp.* Luke xvi. 29). Only for his disciples and followers does he demand something more, or rather something totally different: a complete severance from the world. But finally he declares that this complete discipleship, with its abandonment of all earthly ties and goods, is the general and indispensable condition for everyone who would enter into the Kingdom of God. That is a tremendous increase of demand. The distance from the one stage to the other is so great that it only becomes intelligible on the supposition that a historic development lies between the two (*unter Voraussetzung eines dazwischen liegenden Prozesses*).'

23–25. An important question here arises. In 24 Jesus says generally (according to the best MSS.), 'how difficult it is to enter the Kingdom.' In the previous verse he had said, 'how difficult it is for the rich to enter the Kingdom.' Are we to understand that, in spite of the omission of the qualifying words 'for the rich,'

24 means the same as, and no more than, 23? This seems to be the opinion of some commentators. If, on the other hand, 24 is general, and is, with Holtzmann, to be compared with such statements as Matt. vii. 13, 14, then there is much to be said for W., who, with the Codex Bezæ (D), would transpose 24 and 25. We then get an intelligible intensification. Jesus first speaks of the difficulty of the rich (in 23 and 25). The disciples are 'astonished.' Not satisfied with this, Jesus begins again, and makes the statement general: 'how difficult for all men it is to enter the Kingdom.' At this they are amazed still more, and say, '*Who* then can be saved?' Such a question would have far less force and meaning if, as in the ordinary text, it immediately followed the verse about the rich and the camel.

There are thus two statements to be considered:

(1) How hard it is for the rich to enter the Kingdom.

(2) How hard it is for anyone to enter.

As to (1), it seems a fact that Jesus had a bias against property and in favour of poverty. A similar bias, less definitely expressed, is visible in the Psalms. One has to criticise the statement of Jesus differently, according as one interprets the Kingdom to mean: (*a*) the life of 'heaven,' 'salvation,' and the like, or (*b*) the highest life on earth. If it means the former, we should (to my mind) justly regard the saying of Jesus as harsh, unjustifiable, and presumptuous. It is not for man to know the manner and the laws of the life beyond the grave. But to exclude whole classes, or indeed permanently to exclude any, from its blessedness conflicts with our conception of the goodness of God. The horrible doctrine that most men are 'lost' and that few are 'saved' seems to have been held by Jesus as well as by the author of the fourth book of Ezra. The latter had natural qualms against the odious doctrine, which do him the highest honour. It remains a mournful religious puzzle that Jesus, if such verses as Matt. vii. 13 were said by him, with all his pity and love for the sinner and the outcast, had no such qualms.

On the other hand, if the Kingdom merely means the highest life on earth, then there is a good deal to be said for Jesus's statement. It *is* a difficult thing for a rich man to lead the highest life. But there is little reason to suppose that Jesus meant this. For the Rabbinic view on riches, see Additional Note 20.

The second and wider statement, 'how hard it is for anybody to enter the Kingdom,' cannot be discussed here. It would take too long. One must, at any rate, distinguish. It *is* hard for anyone to live the highest life. Goodness is *not* easy. But we may also

say that by his own actions it is hard for *anyone* to 'merit' the blessedness of eternal life. For 'merit lives from man to man,' and not from man to God. The eternal life must be a grace granted, not a guerdon won. Yet the hope is universal, and any dogma which would permanently exclude many, or even any, from a blessedness to be allotted to some is both repugnant in itself as well as flagrantly inconsistent with the goodness of God.

Merx, mainly following the reading of the S.S. (which reads both in 22 and in 24 'who trust in their riches,' and thus agrees with the old 'Textus Receptus,' followed by A.V. and here by R.V also), thinks that Jesus was not speaking about the general difficulty of entering the Kingdom at all. Nor even was he speaking of wealth without qualifications. Only those who *trust* in their wealth have these difficulties. The text was more than once altered in an ascetic direction. On the other hand, many commentators think that the reading of the S.S. and the 'Textus Receptus' was a deliberate attenuation of the old drastic assertions. Perhaps 23 and 25 are what is really primitive; 24, says Loisy, 'appartient sans doute à une rédaction secondaire, mais les *vv.* 26, 27 semblent appartenir à la même couche que 24' (*E. S.* II. p. 216, n. 4). Loisy thinks that Mark has combined a reflection as to the general difficulty of salvation with a reflection on the special difficulty of salvation for the rich. The remark in 27 applies to the general reflection. The grace of God will help the inadequate powers of man, and some will be 'chosen' for salvation. Loisy suspects behind 27, 'the doctrine of Paul on divine "election" and on the power of grace' (*E. S.* II. p. 217).

27. Jesus qualifies his own statement. It is hard, but not impossible. By his own effort the rich man, or any man, can 'hardly' enter; by God's grace he may. Here we have the same antinomy as is alluded to by Shakespeare; the highest exertion is demanded, but the result is due to the grace of God. At least to some extent, Jesus here gives back what he had before taken away. In our modern Jewish faith we go yet further. By God's grace we hold that all human souls shall ultimately enter the Kingdom of Heaven. We are convinced 'Universalists.'

28–31. Peter's remark and Jesus's reply seem joined to what has preceded by an 'artifice rédactionnel' (*E. S.* I. p. 94).

28. Peter's interjection means that he and his fellow-apostles, who *have* divested themselves of everything for the sake of Jesus and his cause, must and ought therefore surely to inherit the life eternal.

29. To this Jesus replies that they will. All who have made the sacrifice of family ties and of personal property for the sake of the gospel will receive their reward.

The meaning of 29 and 30 is brought out a little more clearly if, with W., a colon is put after *ἑκατονταπλασίονα*. He and others also suppose that the original saying ended with this word. The 'hundredfold' reward is simply eternal life, understood not expressed. Afterwards the 'hundredfold' was interpreted. We are now told that the reward is twofold: the main reward is the life eternal, but even in this world the faithful disciples will receive, in lieu of the property or family they give up, their place and their share in the Christian community, although this collective property and family can only be shared in amid persecutions. (*Cp.* Acts ii. 44, 'All that believed were together, and had all things common; and they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, as any man had need.' So, too, iv. 32, Romans xvi. 13, 'Salute Rufus...and his mother *and mine*'; and *cp.* 1 Cor. iii. 22, iv. 15; 2 Cor. vi. 8–10.)

Notice the omission of the 'wife.' Is it implied that one may and must at the gospel's call abandon brother, sister, mother, child, but one's wife one must not abandon? See Burkitt's *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 119.

Loisy gives another explanation: 'It would have been awkward to mention the wife in the second clause along with the brothers, sisters, and children, who were to be restored an hundredfold; perhaps too the Evangelist considered that the married apostles had not really left their wives, and that, if they had, this sacrifice would have been without direct compensation in this world. In the spiritual sense in which Jesus means it, there can be no allusion except to brothers, sisters, mothers, children. Fathers might also have been mentioned, but perhaps Mark refrained from including them in the second enumeration, because the Christian language of his time did not admit the use of this word in the plural' (*E. S.* II. p. 219).

The verse is an interesting confirmation of Acts ii. 44, but was surely said and written in the first period of persecution of the infant Church, many years after the death of the founder. But note that the words 'with persecutions' are wanting in the parallel passage in Luke and Matthew. 'They seem to betray the later hand of one who had, indeed, found anew in the hearts and homes of believers the dear relationships which he had himself surrendered, but who knew likewise at what price of danger and suffering they must be won' (Carpenter, *First Three Gospels*, p. 210).

J. Weiss also thinks that the passage is not authentic. For Jesus supposed that the end of the old order was at hand. There

was therefore hardly time for any earthly reward of those who had made renunciation. O. Holtzmann, on the other hand, thinks that we have here the conception of a Messianic Kingdom before the eternal and future world (a distinction known also to the Rabbis and prominent in 4 Ezra): 'am Ende dieser Welt irdische Güter, in der künftigen Welt das ewige Leben' (*Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, p. 393).

B. Weiss argues with some force that the original of Mark x. 29 is Matt. xix. 29, which, of course, he assigns to Q. See *Quellen*, A, p. 123, B, p. 68. Loisy rejects this view, holding that only Matt. xix. 28 is primitive. See below.

31. Many persons who are now rich and prominent shall in the life to come be last—*i.e.* excluded; while many who are now poor, and in the world's view last, shall be among the first and the most prominent in the life to come. The disciples who have 'lost' all on earth shall be foremost in the Kingdom of God. *Cp.* for other uses of the saying Matt. xx. 16; Luke xiii. 30. From another point of view there is to be no pre-eminence of station or merit in the 'Kingdom.' 'Whosoever would be first among you shall be servant of all.' See below, verse 44.

Mr Allen thinks that 'it seems best (with Swete) to understand the words as a rebuke to the self-complacent spirit implied in Peter's words: It may be difficult for the rich to enter into the Kingdom, but we who have left all are in no danger of exclusion. Christ's words are a warrant for this confidence, and at the same time a rebuke and a warning. The ambiguity lies in the "first" and "last." Does He mean, Many who first became my disciples will find greater difficulty of entry than many who followed me at a later period? Or is "first" used of rank rather than of time: Many who now seem to hold a position of privilege will then find themselves in the lowest place?' M. Loisy has special and interesting views on this section. The adage in 31 is very authentic: to Jesus it seems to have meant that tax-collectors and sinners will enter the Kingdom, and that self-righteous Pharisees will be excluded. But to Mark it means a hit at Peter and the anti-paulinists. It is not only the Twelve who will have a high place in the Kingdom, but all who have 'renounced' for its sake, as Paul had done. The Twelve who think themselves first will have to yield place to those who come later. 'Paul et ses pareils deviendront premiers, et dans l'Église et dans le royaume éternel' (*E. S.* II. p. 221). Loisy regards 30 as certainly secondary. A double felicity, a reward in this world, and not only in the world to come, is not the oldest point of view. The Christian fraternity was not the recompense Jesus had in view, but Paul found a reward in it, though it

came with persecutions. [This view assumes that one cannot break up 30 and interpret 'hundredfold,' as W. does.] What Matthew has in xix. 28 is certainly authentic. Matthew preserved it and combined it with what he found in Mark. Mark omitted it on purpose. The primitive story probably contained only this: Peter's question in Matt. xix. 27 (Mark x. 28) and the reply in Matt. xix. 28.

32–34. Third Prediction of Suffering and Death

(*Cp.* Matt. xx. 17–19; Luke xviii. 31–34)

32 And they were on the way going up to Jerusalem; and Jesus went on in front of them; and they were amazed; and they that followed were afraid. And again he took the Twelve aside, and
33 began to tell them what would happen unto him. 'Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man will be given up unto the chief priests and unto the scribes; and they will condemn him to
34 death, and will give him up to the heathen. And they will mock him, and spit upon him, and scourge him, and kill him: and after three days he will rise again.'

32. Here, for the first time, Jerusalem is distinctly stated to be the goal of the journey and the scene of the final catastrophe. One must assume that, in addition to the Twelve, there were others who also accompanied Jesus upon his fateful path. *Cp.* x. 1. The S.S. omits *πάλιν*, which alludes to ix. 31. Is Merx right in saying 'Der Text ist eine Doppelung, die durch *πάλιν* markiert ist'?

34. It is strange that each prediction is, as it were, independent of the other. Jesus here tells what is going to happen to him as if he had never mentioned the subject before. That the prediction in its present detailed form is a *vaticinium post eventum* needs no proving. Yet Jesus may have had some dark ominous feeling that he was destined to suffer and die in Jerusalem. That he had more is not very probable. For though the cry on the cross can be explained away, it is perhaps rather more likely that the great *dénouement*, which, in the Gospel story, Jesus is represented as expecting to happen soon after his death, at his Parousia, he really expected to happen after his arrival at Jerusalem, and without the necessity of his death. The conception of his death as a ransom was not his own. In his mind

it was surely through his life and his teaching that he hoped to benefit his people, not through his death. For another view *cp.* the note on 45. M. Loisy thinks that these predictions in Mark are founded upon a narrative in which the eventuality of death was merely indicated, and when the hope of a near triumph was prominent (*restait au premier plan*). Jesus went to Jerusalem, led by a great hope, but without dissimulating to himself the possible danger. The disciples saw chiefly the danger; Jesus encourages them with hope. This was the real historical situation, which 32 still faintly shows (*E. S.* II. pp. 223, 233).

35–45. The Sons of Zebedee

(*Cp.* Matt. xx. 20–28; Luke xxii. 24–27)

35 And James and John, the sons of Zebedee, came unto him,
saying, 'Master, we wish that thou wouldst do for us whatever we
36 ask thee.' And he said unto them, 'What do ye wish that I
37 should do for you?' They said unto him, 'Grant unto us that we
may sit, one on thy right hand, and the other on thy left hand, in
38 thy glory.' But Jesus said unto them, 'Ye know not what ye ask:
can ye drink of the cup that I am to drink of? and be baptized
39 with the baptism that I am to be baptized with?' And they said
unto him, 'We can.' And Jesus said unto them, 'Ye shall indeed
drink of the cup that I am to drink of: and with the baptism
40 that I am to be baptized with shall ye be baptized: but to sit on
my right hand and on my left hand is not mine to give; but it
shall be for them for whom it is destined.'
41 And when the ten heard it, they began to be indignant with
42 James and John. But Jesus called them to him, and said unto
them, 'Ye know that they who are supposed to rule over the
nations lord it over them; and their great ones play the tyrant
43 over them. But it is not so among you: but whoever wisheth to
44 become great among you, let him be your servant; and whoever
45 of you would be the first, let him be the slave of all. For the
Son of man came not to be served, but to serve, and to give his
life as a ransom for many.'

'Comme la seconde annonce de la passion, la troisième est suivie d'une querelle entre les disciples, touchant les premières places du royaume des cieux. L'analogie des situations pourrait

expliquer celle des incidents qui se produisent; mais l'emploi des mêmes éléments traditionnels doit faire admettre comme seule vraisemblable l'idée de combinaisons parallèles, sur un fond commun de matériaux diversement arrangés' (*E. S.* II. p. 235). Again the question of grades and ranks in the future Kingdom is raised, but from a rather different point of view. The section gives the impression of a mixture of history and legend, of early and late, which can never be unravelled. It rests probably on some vague recollections of a conversation between Jesus and the two apostles, but what actually took place cannot now be ascertained. M. Loisy doubts the historicity of the incident. It seems to rest, he thinks, upon Jesus's predictions about the thrones which Matthew preserved and Mark omitted (Matt. xix. 28). The language is not so simple as the usual language of Jesus; it is also especially noteworthy that the disciples, who fail to understand what Jesus means in his direct predictions (*e.g.* ix. 32), here understand perfectly (verse 39) the two metaphors. 'It is very significant that in Mark Jesus refuses two thrones to the sons of Zebedee just after he has, according to Matthew, promised thrones to the Twelve. May we not, therefore, conjecture that the demand of the sons of Zebedee and the refusal of Jesus replaces the promise of the twelve thrones, in order that none may make use of that promise against Paul and his missionary colleagues?' (*E. S.* I. p. 96). 'Has not one the right to conjecture that the evangelist is continuing his polemic against the "judaizers," and that it is these who are aimed at in the lessons which Peter, James and John receive?' (*E. S.* II. p. 223).

37. It is not said that the 'glory' referred to is the 'glory' of the Parousia after the death and resurrection. But we must suppose that this is assumed.

38. Jesus can only promise them a death of suffering like his own. The places of honour in the world to come are not his to give. Is it implied:

(*a*) That the highest distinction which *his* true disciples should aim at or desire is to suffer like their master—a pre-eminence in suffering, not in glory?

or,

(*b*) That only through such suffering can any pre-eminence in the future world be obtained?

Perhaps both thoughts were in the mind of the writer.

The cup is used in the Old Testament as a metaphor for affliction; *cp.* Isaiah li. 17; Jer. xlix. 12, &c. The waters of affliction are also familiar, especially in the Psalms.

The question means: Can you face the pain and the death

such as I am about to undergo? Can you face martyrdom? The baptism is of blood. It is a baptism of death, which will usher in the everlasting glory. 'Can they stand at his side in all those afflictions which are coming upon him? That is the fellowship he has to offer them. This pathetic question shows more accurately than the set predictions the anticipations Jesus now had in his mind. The questions are only intelligible if he did not clearly realize the details of his impending sufferings.' So Menzies. It is an important note, as giving a fair argument for the theory that Jesus did foresee a calamitous end at Jerusalem, though the words in which he spoke about it have been frequently modified and made definite to suit the actual result.

39. In this passage martyrdom seems predicted for both James and John. If only James had been martyred (Acts xii. 2), the prediction that both would die the martyr's death would perhaps not have found a place in the gospel. Hence this passage suggests doubts as to the trustworthiness of the tradition that John died peacefully at a very advanced age.

J. Weiss also supposes that both John and James were dead when this passage of Mark was written, and their death by martyrdom has influenced its form. They asked for a high honour, and this, in a sense, has been granted them in a way other than they meant. Through death they have reached their Master's heavenly throne. They ask for what they did not understand. For unconsciously they ask for their own death. On the other hand, Harnack thinks that in this verse we have a prediction of Jesus which was only half fulfilled. Hence Luke suppressed it.

41–45. Authentic words of Jesus seem expanded and put by the Evangelist into an artificial connection with the preceding story (so Loisy, *E. S.* II. p. 239). In that case we need not be surprised that the reply which Jesus makes to the ten does not seem in keeping with what he had to reply to. The ten are irritated that James and John had asked for a special place in the perfected Kingdom. What Jesus says is that within the community there must be no question of ruler and servant. Within the community the only pre-eminence to be sought for and acknowledged must be a pre-eminence in service. He who serves best is by that very fact the greatest. The question of what is to happen after death or at the Parousia is neglected.

42. A careful comparison of 42–45 with Luke xxii. 25–27 certainly leads to the very strong probability that Luke's version is more primitive than Mark's. This is one of B. Weiss's very best instances. See *Quellen*, A, pp. 141, 142. There really does seem

good reason to think that Luke has here preserved the text of Q which Mark used as well as he, but altered more. In each verse and statement Luke's language is more simple and more 'concrete' than Mark's, and in Luke nothing is said of the redemptive or vicarious death, and the term Son of man is not employed. The 'rule' of the best Christian disciples in the Kingdom must be quite different from the external, ordinary, tyrannical rule of Gentile rulers over their kingdoms. They rule for their own advantage, but their rule is no true or genuine rule. Outward rule and outward subjection are the marks of the Gentile. *οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν τῶν ἐθνῶν*, 'they who are supposed to rule'; for these words mean that the Gentile rulers are, as Plato would say, not true rulers. But they may merely mean: 'they who are accounted or known to be rulers.'

43. *Cp.* ix. 35. *διάκονος* is a servant who waits at table. In the Messianic banquet the greatest is he who is the lowliest. Greatness among the citizens of the Kingdom—among the members of the Christian community—is only to be won by service and humility. Hence among them there must be no dispute about primacy or ranks. The present 'is' seems to include the future. And the future (*ἔσται*) 'shall be' seems used for the imperative. 'Among you' refers not to the Kingdom, but to the Christian brotherhood.

Pre-eminence in service, greatness in humility—these were noble conceptions which Jesus introduced to the world. And though humility and charity were well-known ideals among the Rabbis, the particular form and combination in which we find them here are, I think, as highly original as they certainly were highly stimulating and productive.

The true meaning of the verse is, indeed, as J. Weiss rightly says, that the disciples of Jesus are not to seek after rule, but to find their life's purpose in service. Yet Weiss is wrong when he says that the teaching runs counter to a fundamental conception of Judaism. For Jesus is not here speaking of national rule. It is quite true that the Jews did yearn for rule over the heathen. They did desire that the tables should be turned. But that is not the rule which is here opposed by Jesus. He does not allude to it one way or the other. A man might be keen that his oppressed nation should rule over its oppressors, and yet in his private life exhibit the most devoted service. But this is not to detract from the originality of Jesus. That he could regard his life—at any rate his earthly life—as a service, that he could see in this service his mission and his Messiahship, was indeed a triumph of moral grandeur and of religious inspiration.

45. The Lord of the Kingdom came to serve. Therefore his life can be the pattern for all.

The conception of the λύτρον, 'the ransom,' is quite different. Only here do we find it placed in Jesus's mouth. We may see in it the influence of Pauline ideas and terminology. *Cp.* Romans xv. 3; Gal. i. 4, ii. 20. So Loisy, most strongly: 'The idea of the life given as a ransom belongs to another current of thought than the idea of service' (*E. S.* II. p. 241). The commentators compare 1 Tim. ii. 6, which may, however, be based upon Mark. Jesus gives his own life for the sake of many lives. ἀντί does not here mean 'in the place of,' 'in the stead of,' but 'for the sake of.' But the idea that his life is a substitute for that of others is closely approached. I do not see that the word 'many' constitutes a difficulty. Not all, but only some, can profit by his death. Those who accept and believe in him receive the benefit of his death, and join him in 'eternal life.' In Luke xxii. 27 the ransom idea is wanting. W. admits: 'The step from service to the sacrifice of life as a ransom is a μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος. Light is thrown upon it by the ceremonial of the last supper, when Jesus administers his flesh and blood in the bread and wine.' The passage in any case seems to show the influence of Isaiah liii. J. Weiss says: 'It is indeed far from inconceivable that Jesus had included the idea of his approaching death in his work of service and love. Nay, it is even probable that he was convinced that his death would in some way be beneficial to the men whom he had striven to win by deed and word. But whether he thought exactly of a sacrificial death or of vicarious penal sufferings, such as—according to the later interpretation—the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah is supposed to have described, must remain doubtful. For us to-day, to whom the notion of an offering for sin offers many difficulties, it is pleasant that we may be satisfied with the thought that his death was just the same as his whole life: a faithful service to the brethren.'

Though the *whole* passage in its present form is later than Jesus, the ethical conception of greatness realized in lowly service may surely and safely be ascribed to him. Moreover, Jesus may just conceivably have realized that his death would be to the advantage of many; that many would enter the Kingdom as an effect of his death. Menzies takes this view, naturally trying to keep as many words for Jesus of those ascribed to him as he possibly can. He thinks 'Jesus became reconciled to the prospect of death when he saw that he was to die for the benefit of others.' This is a possible view, though I think it an unlikely one. It is rebutted by Pfleiderer, *Urchristentum*, I. p. 372. Holtzmann thinks that λύτρον here is a translation of an Aramaic word

which may merely mean 'deliverance.' Jesus 'delivered' people by causing them to repent.

46–52. Bartimæus

(*Cp.* Matt. ix. 27–31, xx. 29–34; Luke xviii. 35–43)

46 And they came to Jericho: and as he went out of Jericho
with his disciples and a large crowd, a blind beggar, Bartimæus,
47 the son of Timæus, sat by the way side. And when he heard
that it was Jesus of Nazareth, he began to cry out, and say,
48 'Jesus, son of David, pity me.' And many rebuked him that he
should hold his peace: but he kept on crying all the louder, 'Son
49 of David, pity me.' And Jesus stood still, and said: 'Call him.'
And they called the blind man, saying unto him, 'Be of good
50 cheer, rise; he calls thee.' And he, casting away his cloak, sprang
51 up and came to Jesus. And Jesus answered and said unto him,
'What wouldst thou that I should do unto thee?' The blind
man said unto him, 'Master, I would that I might see again.'
52 And Jesus said unto him, 'Go thy way; thy faith has healed
thee.' And immediately he received his sight again, and followed
Jesus on the way.

The section viii. 27–x. ends with a healing of a blind man just as the section vi. 14–viii. 26 ends with the healing of a blind man. 'In the present arrangement of the narratives, the blind man at Jericho is a *pendant* to the blind man at Bethsaida and his cure, symbolically interpreted, paves the way for the Messianic manifestation which is to be enacted on the Mount of Olives, just as the cure of the blind man of Bethsaida paves the way for the confession of Peter; nevertheless the subject-matter of the miracle (*la donnée fondamentale du miracle*) seems anterior to its interpretation. But it is permissible to ask whether the blind man, who in Luke is still anonymous, was not so also in Mark's source. The same doubt exists for Jairus, who is anonymous in Matthew' (*E. S.* 1. p. 96).

47. Jesus does not here make any open objection to being called the son of David. In Mark he has not been so called before. Undoubtedly, 'son of David' is, to Mark, a mere paraphrase for 'Messianic King.' But one must not make too much of an epithet. How can we be sure, if the Bartimæus episode happened at all (and be it remembered its essence is a miracle, which 'suggestion'

can hardly account for), that Bartimæus used the appellation 'son of David'? Loisy hesitates. He says that the reserve which Jesus had imposed upon his disciples must now have ceased. The blind man must have heard that Jesus was supposed to be the Messiah. On the other hand it has to be admitted that the Messianic acclamation is no better prepared for here than the declaration of the demons in Galilee. In 51 Bartimæus calls Jesus only 'Master' (*E. S.* II. pp. 250–252).

48. Why did 'they' censure him? Is the case parallel with x. 13? Then we must assume that it was in order not to trouble Jesus on his journey, or that their march might not be interrupted. Weiss takes other ground. He says 'they' bid him be silent in order that their secret may not prematurely be revealed, for only at the entry into Jerusalem do they purpose to proclaim him the Son of David, or Messiah. This explanation seems less likely. Bartimæus is no real separate name; it means merely 'Son of Timæus.'

52. Jesus, in contrast with viii. 22–26, heals by his mere word. The story is told with rare simplicity and grace.

In his remarkable Introduction to the first three Gospels (only 115 pages in length, and yet crowded with fresh and original matter) W. gives a more connected statement of his views concerning the Messiahship and 'Messianic consciousness' of Jesus. Brilliant and suggestive as his views are, it can hardly be said that they are without difficulty.

He admits that Jesus was crucified *as* the Messiah. Yet Jesus never openly proclaimed his Messiahship. On the other hand, W. strongly maintains the authenticity of Mark xii. 35–37, and in this passage he allows that Jesus takes pains to refute an argument against the hypothesis that he is the Messiah. To all appearances he had no objection to others seeing in himself the desired hero in whom the hopes of Israel should be fulfilled. And W. admits, further, that the political Messiah was what 'all the world' understood by the word.

Nevertheless W. still strongly holds to the view that Jesus had no political aspirations. He had no intention to raise up the fallen throne of David. He did not feel the yoke of the heathen, but the yoke of an enslaving tradition; he did not attack the Romans, but the chief priests and the Scribes, and these caused his ruin. He wanted to create a religious rebirth of his people, though not merely by winning individuals—for in that case he need not have gone to Jerusalem. 'Als Regenerator konnte er wol den Namen des jüdischen Restitutor in integrum acceptiren,

obgleich er das Politische davon abstreifte. Es ist zwar eine Akkommodation' (p. 93). W. always returns with especial delight and emphasis to the parable of the sower. Here is the real Jesus: here we may find what he really considered himself to be. He is a teacher. Teaching is his true mission. In Mark, throughout the Galilæan period we find him teaching, not about his Messiahship, not even about the future Kingdom, but what comes in his way, about true morality and true religion. Even in Jerusalem he does not teach about the Kingdom, though he twice uses the well-known term. The section viii. 27–x. stands by itself.

W. never faces the difficulty why Jesus, if he so deliberately turned away from all ideas of political Messiahship, yet allowed his followers, and allowed the crowd, to think he was the Messiah. Why did he play with such a dangerous term? Is not another solution also conceivable? Is it not possible that much of the 'political' hopes of Jesus—as they gradually ripened before and during the days at Jerusalem—have been deliberately removed by the Evangelists? They had been so completely falsified by the event. The event showed that the only possible Messiah that Jesus could have been was a Messiah who attained his kingdom by suffering and death.

Or may we argue that this 'suffering' Messiah was not merely the creation of the 'event,' but partly the creation of Jesus himself, in so far as he adopted and modified the 'Son of man' Messiah of the apocalyptic seers? We have also already seen that the 'political' elements in the world-drama were to be, as it were, God's business rather than the Messiah's. It is in consonance with the character of Jesus that the Roman question, and the supremacy of Israel as an independent nation, should have been thrust into the background or dropped. It was the moral regeneration of Israel he was keen about, not its 'political' glory. Again, if Jesus had come to realize that before God disclosed him as 'the Man from heaven' he might have first to die, the detailed predictions of his sufferings, death, and Parousia would easily have grown up. He was the Messiah, and he came to Jerusalem to assume his Messianic functions. Was it to be without the interlude of death, or was it to be after death? He may have gradually come to believe in the second alternative, and have stated it to his disciples. Yet he could not refuse or deny any Messianic greetings he might receive, for in God's own good time he would, indeed, be revealed as Messiah. This hypothesis may conceivably be nearer the truth than either Pfleiderer's or W.'s, but it is, and remains, like theirs, a mere hypothesis, which the material at our command can never disprove or prove. W. is, indeed, strongly opposed to it, because, for one thing, he holds that Jesus never

called himself, or believed himself to be, the 'Son of man.' He argues that the section in Mark viii. 27–x. is dominated by certain ideas and terms which are not those of the historic Jesus. The 'Son of man' who is prominent in this section is a transfigured and heavenly Messiah, in opposition to the earthly Messiah of the Jews. Jesus dies upon earth to enter into his heavenly glory. His followers are to follow the same path. They, too, through martyrdom, are to enter life and glory and the Kingdom of God. In this section Jesus projects himself (*i.e.* is made to project himself) not only into his own future, but into the future of his community. This conception of the suffering Messiah is not to be accounted for even by Isaiah liii. To the repeated predictions in Mark that the Son of man must suffer and die no proof from Scripture is appended. There is, therefore, a great jump from the true and original Messiah to this other sort of Messiah, who had only the name in common, and was really no true Messiah at all. This jump cannot be explained except *post factum*. The old Messiah was abolished by the crucifixion, and with the resurrection a new one began. The Messiah upon the cross, a paradoxical contradiction in terms, became the shibboleth of a new faith, the foundation of the Christian gospel. The result of the death of Jesus was antedated and changed into his purpose. How far this argumentation is convincing is one thing; as to the brilliancy and clearness with which W. puts it forward there can be no question. It may also be noted that, as Holtzmann has also stated, there is little allusion to Isaiah liii. in the Synoptics. Luke xxii. 37 is isolated. We have no direct evidence that Isaiah liii. played an important part in the consciousness and thought of Jesus.

CHAPTER XI

1–11. The Entry into Jerusalem

(*Cp.* Matt. xxi. 1–11; Luke xix. 28–38)

1 And when they came nigh to Jerusalem, unto Bethphage
and Bethany, at the mount of Olives, he sent forth two of his
2 disciples, and said unto them, 'Go to the village before you: and
immediately as ye enter it, ye will find an ass's colt tied, whereon
3 no man has yet sat; loose it and bring it here. And if any man
say unto you, Why do ye this? say ye, The Lord has need of
4 it, and he will send it back again here at once.' And they
departed, and found the colt tied by the gate outside in the open

5 place; and they loosed it. And some men who stood there said
6 unto them, 'What do ye, loosing the colt?' And they said unto
them even as Jesus had commanded: and they permitted them
7 to take it. And they brought the colt to Jesus, and laid their
8 cloaks upon it; and he sat upon it. And many spread their cloaks
upon the way: and others strewed plants which they cut from
9 the fields. And they that went before, and they that followed,
kept crying: 'Hosanna; blessed be he that cometh in the name
10 of the Lord: blessed be the kingdom of our father David that is
coming; Hosanna in the heights.'
11 And Jesus entered into Jerusalem, and into the temple: and
when he had looked round at everything there, as the hour was
late, he went out unto Bethany with the Twelve.

Here begins the last section of the Gospel. It can be divided into two parts, the first telling the story of the entry into Jerusalem, the conflict with the authorities and the apocalyptic discourse, and extending over chapters xi., xii. and xiii.; the second recording the story of the Passion, the entombment and the resurrection (xiv. to end). 'The whole narrative of the ministry at Jerusalem is dominated by one sole thought: Jesus is the Christ who must fulfil the prophecies and achieve the salvation of the world through his death: he knew his own destiny and the future of humanity. Les éléments de cette démonstration, pris de côté et d'autre, se présentent en désordre. It is very probable that the story of the Messianic avowal on the Mount of Olives and that of the purification of the Temple were furnished to Mark by tradition. He had at his disposal a short text which he has expanded (*un texte assez court qu'il a glosé*)' (*E. S.* I. p. 96).

1. Whether Jesus had already friends in Bethany, which was a village on the south-east side of the slopes of the Mount of Olives, is uncertain, but it seems likely.

2. 'The village before you.' Holtzmann says this village was Bethany, but the text seems to make a distinction between the two.

The young ass is that ass—'the colt, the foal of an ass'—of Zech. ix. 9. Jesus here implicitly proclaims himself as King and Messiah. If this tale be true, Jesus is, to say the least, not afraid to take action which would imply that he regards himself, and wishes others to regard him, as the 'political' Messiah predicted by the prophets.

EAST LONDON FUND FOR THE JEWS.

3. 'The Lord.' Jesus here for the first time gives himself this name. The sub-intention is 'the Messiah.'

'At once,' *i.e.* Jesus will send the ass back as soon as he has done with it.

4. *πρὸς τὴν θύραν ἔξω ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμφόδου.* Dr Weymouth translates: 'at the street door of a house.' 'The foal was tied up at a house-door, but outside, not in the house, but in the street' (Swete). It is at least strange that Justin says that the ass was attached to a vine. Have we here a fulfilment of a Messianic prophecy, and was *ἀμφόδου* originally *ἀμπέλου*? The Septuagint of Genesis xlix. 11 runs: *δεσμεύων πρὸς ἄμπελον τὸν πῶλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῇ ἕλικι τὸν πῶλον τῆς ὄνου αὐτοῦ.* Strauss suggested that the origin of the tied ass is to be sought here (*Leben Jesu*, 1st ed., II. p. 294).

8. A crowd accompanies him to the gates of the city. They strew leaves and herbs upon the ground. *στιβάδες* are not branches, but 'layers of leaves,' as the margin of the Revised Version has it. For the garments, *cp.* 2 Kings ix. 13.

9. Psalm cxviii. 26. The right translation is: 'Blessed in the name of the Lord be he that cometh.' Yahweh is invoked and asked to bless. But perhaps though this is the correct translation of the *Hebrew*, the Evangelist took it to mean 'Blessed be he that cometh in the name of (*i.e.* as sent by) the Lord.' 'He that cometh' is almost a technical term for the Messiah in Matt. xi. 3. 'Hosanna' is the Hebrew 'save,' with the enclitic 'na' added to the imperative. It is an appeal for help to the king (*cp.* 2 Sam. xiv. 4; 2 Kings vi. 26) or to God.

10. 'Hosanna in the heights' (*cp.* Job xvi. 19, xxv. 2). 'Grant salvation in heaven, so that salvation may descend upon Messiah on earth.' (So Weiss.)

Dalman points out that 'save in the heights' is scarcely an explicable Hebrew or Jewish phrase. The explanation given by Weiss is somewhat strained. Help should come *from* heaven, rather than be given in heaven. Dalman thinks that Mark, like Matthew and Luke, misunderstood the meaning of Hosanna. They supposed that it meant praise or glory to Jesus the Messiah. Hence Mark adds 'in the heights' on the lines of Psalm cxlviii. 1, 'praise him in the heights,' where the Septuagint has *ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις* as here. Jesus, according to Mark, is welcomed by this cry as the Messianic King. 'Hosanna' becomes equivalent to 'Hail.' If, however, the cry was merely 'Save now, O God. Blessed in the name of the Lord is he that cometh,' Dalman thinks that nothing

Messianic was intended. 'The teacher and wonder-worker of Nazareth was greeted with joyous cries and benedictions.' The entry received its Messianic colouring a good while after the event occurred (Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, I. pp. 181, 182). So, too, Wrede.

11. Jesus, as a new-comer, on this, perhaps his first, visit to the capital, inspects the Temple and its surroundings. Loisy takes another line. Mark does not mean that Jesus goes to look at things as a provincial who sees the capital for the first time. 'Marc veut seulement préparer la scène du lendemain.' Jesus may have been at Jerusalem before, at former festivals. Nevertheless Mark's narrative does exclude any previous visit to Jerusalem since the opening of his ministry. To explain the attitude of Jesus one must assume something new. That new element is his ministry and its exercise. If he was in Jerusalem before, it was as an ordinary pilgrim. Now 'il fait la visite de Messie, et cette visite est la première' (*E. S.* II. pp. 268, 269).

W. acutely says: 'Rationalising is here unpermissible. Jesus did not order the ass beforehand, and make a previous arrangement with its owners. He foreknows the chance coincidence, because God, who directs what is apparent chance, is with him. The ass serves no ordinary purpose; it is *the* ass of Messianic prophecy. Thus Jesus proclaims himself as the Messiah. According to Zech. xiv. 4, Yahweh was to appear on the Mount of Olives, and popular Jewish faith held that the Messiah would appear there.

'Yet this imposing demonstration has no effect. Neither priests nor Romans pay any attention. And yet the Romans might have been expected to take umbrage. Hence one can hardly believe that Jesus was the responsible author of the incident. If it took place, it must have happened without his intention and have possessed no special importance. It is conceivable that the populace in a moment of excitement acclaimed him as Messiah, and it is also not improbable that he made no actual protest against their doing so.

'The Gospel tradition lets us see that Jesus's journey was no mere harmless pilgrimage, but that there was a special reason for it and a special purpose. He must have arrived there some while before the Passover. Mark tries to limit the period between his entry and his death to a week, but the material can hardly be fitted in to so short a time. He seems to have acquired acquaintances and connections in Jerusalem, and these cannot be accounted for on the strength of previous visits, when' [if such took place] 'he would not have been known as the great prophet from

Galilee. In Bethany he seems to have laid the foundations of the subsequent Christian community in Jerusalem. In xiv. 49 he says: 'I have been daily with you in the Temple, teaching'; two days would not justify 'daily.'

'Thus the concourse of people who accompanied him from the borders of Judæa (x. 1), who passed by Jericho (x. 46), and descended the Mount of Olives with him, did not go with him because of the festival, but because of himself, in expectant anticipation of what he might do in the metropolis. It seems very likely that the people were inclined to regard him as the Messiah, and to interpret his journey to Jerusalem Messianically. The step from prophet to Messiah was easily taken; false prophet (ψευδοπροφήτης) and false Messiah (ψευδόχριστος) in Josephus and the Gospels mean much the same thing.'

J. Weiss holds that the entry, as described by Mark, is, in many respects, unhistorical. Jesus had earnestly kept back, and refrained from, all Messianic claims. What purpose could such a demonstration have served? Is it conceivable that Jesus would himself have given occasion for any Messianic proclamation and acclamation by the excited populace? Such an entry was not referred to at the trial. If any hailed him as the Messiah, it was his *entourage*, not those to whom he came. It is, at any rate, highly remarkable that, in Matt. xxi. 11, upon the question being put by the excited populace, 'Who is this man?' the reply is given, 'It is Jesus, the prophet of Nazareth.' It is not said: 'It is Jesus the Messiah.' Hence some others agree with Dalman that the entry was not 'Messianic' at all. The great prophet enters the city amid the acclaim of his followers: his fame has gone before him, and he is greeted with enthusiasm. But this is all. The view of Schweitzer is highly peculiar. He supposes that the entry into Jerusalem is 'for Jesus Messianic, for the people un-Messianic.' Jesus desired to fulfil, unknown to others (*insgeheim*), the prophecy of Zech. ix. 9. Yet the ovation which he received was more than the reception given to a teacher. Hence, for this and other reasons, Schweitzer supposes (it is part of his whole theory) that the people thought that Jesus (as we are told in viii. 28) was the returned Elijah, who was to precede the Messiah. Jesus plays with his own Messianic consciousness and secret, for he is convinced that the people will not understand or guess. It is only Judas who, later on, betrays his secret (that he is the Messiah) to the High Priest (*Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, pp. 391, 392). It is very doubtful whether this newest theory will hold the field.

Merx holds that the Messianic entry is a late interpolation. It has been inserted in a geographically unsuitable place. Jesus

has reached Bethphage (as Matthew rightly reads), which was not a village, but a farm, of importance because it marked the official boundary of Jerusalem (Merx proves this by citations from the Talmud). There was no village in front of them. Bethany lay behind them. Jesus rode on an ass into Jerusalem as many others had done; afterwards, after his death, the ass was interpreted Messianically, and the story, as we now find it, spun out. John xii. 14 (especially in the Syriac version, where it simply says 'Jesus rode on an ass') gives some support to this theory. Merx, like all who disbelieve in Jesus's Messianic claim, lays great stress upon Matt. xxi. 11, and all the more stress, as he upholds the (at least comparative) priority of Matthew over Mark.

Other scholars hold that there is no reason to suppose that Jesus did not approach or enter somewhat in the way described. So Loisy. 'La consigne provisoire qui avait été donnée à Césarée de Philippe était maintenant rompue. L'heure était imminente, et la voix du peuple ne faisait que préluder à la voix de Dieu' (*E. S.* I. p. 215). Dr Carpenter also thinks that the incident really happened; the ride was planned, and called forth response both from the disciples and the general crowd. Yet the question remains: why, if his Kingdom was to be so purely spiritual, so unlike that of the Messiah of the prophets, did he nevertheless seek to fulfil the Messianic prophecies? Why did he raise the very expectations which he thought outward and wrong, which he did not desire to fulfil? Gould grasps the nettle boldly, but his words are unconvincing. He says: 'The acceptance of him as King, and not merely as prophet, was what he demanded.' His entry was 'a public proclamation of his Messianic claim.' But his programme remains unchanged. He will still only be the teacher and benefactor. His Kingship is service, and so remains. 'The multitude who followed him thought that with the announcement of the claim the programme would change. But the unchanged programme means that Jesus, just as he was, claimed Kingship and would be King only by spiritual enforcements. The distinct claim to be a King is followed immediately by the revolutionising of the whole idea of Kingship.'

12–14. The Barren Fig Tree

(*Cp.* Matt. xxi. 18, 19)

12 And on the morrow, when they left Bethany, he was hungry:
13 and seeing a fig tree afar off having leaves, he went up to it to see if he should find anything on it: and when he came to it, he

14 found nothing but leaves; for it was not the season for figs. And Jesus spoke and said unto the tree: 'Let no man eat fruit of thee again for ever.' And his disciples heard it.

A good deal has been written about this story, which finds its continuation in 20–25. Has it any historic basis whatever? Has a parable, such as that of Luke xiii. 6–9, been turned first into an allegory, and then externalised into a miracle? For the purpose of this book it is needless to discuss these very hypothetical questions. The story has, in any case, no moral or religious value for us to-day.

14. For the question as to the date when figs ripen in Galilee and Judæa reference must be made to the larger commentaries. There seems no reason to suppose that fig trees had not usually their leaves in April, though Swete asserts this ('the tree was prematurely in leaf'), and then adds the strange remark: 'it was reasonable to expect a corresponding precocity in regard to the figs.' Jesus bids the fig tree be barren for ever. It seems a strange thing to do, for the tree was not in fault. If the story has any historic basis, we cannot imagine that Jesus acted in so irrational a way as this. At the least the story must have been greatly perverted from what actually took place.

Holtzmann and Menzies think Jesus spoke of the fig tree, which had leaves but no fruit, as an image of the Pharisees or Jews. Their piety was mere outward foliage and show; there was no fruit of holy deeds and holy life. Such people must become drier and drier; they are rejected of God, and only fit for destruction.

Dr Carpenter points out that Luke omits the *story* of the fig tree, and that in lieu of it he has a *parable* of a fig tree. See Luke xiii. 6–9. Dr Carpenter thinks that the parable was the original. The idea of it has become materialised in the story [the idea, namely, of Israel's religious barrenness and rejection]. For 'the report of the Teacher's word, as it was passed from hand to hand, dropped one detail on its transit in one direction, took up another along a different line, and thus gradually split into two distinct shapes. In one of these the meaning of the parable was clearly retained. The other was remembered as a story—a fig tree in full leaf—a doom—a withering—but its significance was gone: it became a mere anecdote, which of course attached itself in time to Jesus. Then it was fitted with a place and date, due possibly to some actual reminiscence, and in this shape it was incorporated into the traditions. But in sifting the material available for his work the third Evangelist had sufficient insight to choose the

parable' (*First Three Gospels*, p. 178). J. Weiss, too, and Loisy have similar explanations. To them also the story as it stands is a 'legend.' But what about Peter and his reminiscences in verse 21?

15–19. The Purification of the Temple

(*Cp.* Matt. xxi. 12, 13, 17; Luke xix. 45–48)

15 And they came to Jerusalem: and Jesus went into the temple, and began to drive out them that sold and bought in the temple, and he overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and the seats
16 of them that sold doves; and he would not allow anyone to carry a vessel through the temple.
17 And he taught, saying unto them, 'Is it not written, My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations? but ye have
18 made it a den of thieves.' And the chief priests and the scribes heard it, and sought how they might destroy him: for they feared
19 him, because all the people were amazed at his teaching. And when evening was come, he went out of the city.

15. For the facts as to what actually went on in the precincts of the Temple and 'the Court of the Gentiles' see Additional Note 21. It is possible that if Mark's narrative depends on an earlier written source, the purification incident followed there immediately on the entry. Verse 11 may be redactional to make a break and allow for the story of the fig tree. And *27 seq.* would follow well on 18, 19. Some would see in the purification an act of Messianic authority.

16. Mark only. See the same Additional Note. Not to permit anyone to carry a vessel through the Temple shows Jesus in an unexpected light. If a Rabbi were so particular, the German theologians would call it externalism. When an external act shows a lack of reverence for the House of God, he is rightly keen to condemn it. It is usually supposed that what was objected to was the use of the Temple as a short cut from one quarter of the city to another. This had already been prohibited by Jewish law. Josephus says that no one was allowed to carry a vessel into the Temple (*Against Apion*, II. 8). Loisy thinks that 16 is perhaps secondary.

17. The allusion is to Isaiah lvi. 7 and Jeremiah vii. 11. The Isaiah passage has 'a special appropriateness in the present

context; for the part of the *ἱερόν* which the Lord has just reclaimed from secular use was the Court of the Gentiles, where alone within the precincts Gentiles were at liberty to pray' (Swete). The 'thieves' may refer to the cheating practised by sellers, or the reference may be more general. The Temple has become a meeting place of scamps. If this story is historical, we have to assume that Jesus at first occupied a position of some power in Jerusalem. His followers are numerous enough to execute his orders in the Temple, and important enough to allow him and them to be undisturbed in their unusual and high-handed proceedings. Of his teaching no specimen is given. The Scribes and priests are afraid to lay hands upon him, though they would fain get rid of him.

J. Weiss accepts the historical character of the story, but thinks that it must have happened at an early period in Jesus's career. The fourth Evangelist places the event at the opening of Jesus's ministry, and Weiss agrees with him. His reasons are twofold. First, the attempt of Jesus could not have been successfully carried out at the end of his ministry, when the attention of the authorities must have been directed to all his doings. He would have been quickly stopped. Secondly, Jesus would hardly have shown at the end of his life this great interest in the purity of the Temple. Would he have cared to make this effort for mere outward worship? But it is dangerous to abandon Mark for John. A more probable view would be that what Jesus did was something much smaller than is here represented. Everything tends to be magnified in the Gospel report—the miracles, the opposition, the attention excited, the renown, the doings, and all. If the Gospel narratives were accurate and unexaggerated, the silence of Josephus would be scarcely explicable.

18. 'They sought to destroy him, *for* they feared him, *for* the people were amazed at his teaching.' This is possible; but it is more probable, as W. says, that the first 'for' should be rendered 'but.'

20–25. The Fig Tree and Faith

(*Cp.* Matt. xxi. 20–22, xvii. 20, vi. 14, xviii. 35)

20 And in the morning, as they passed by, they saw the fig tree
21 dried up from the roots. And Peter remembered, and said unto
him, 'Master, behold, the fig tree which thou cursedst is dried up.'
22, 23 And Jesus, answering, said unto them, 'Have faith in God. For
verily I say unto you, that whoever should say unto this mountain,

Lift thyself up, and hurl thyself into the sea; and did not doubt
in his heart, but believed that his word would come to pass: to
24 him it would come to pass. Therefore I say unto you, What
things soever ye pray for and ask, believe that ye have received
25 them, and they will be yours. And when ye stand and pray, if ye
have aught against any one, forgive him, that your Father who is
in heaven may also forgive you your trespasses.'

22. Mark has used the story of the fig tree in an awkward manner. To draw from the success of Jesus's imprecation a lesson on faith is putting it to strange uses, and giving a bad example of what faith can do. To say that the success of the imprecation was due to Jesus's faith in God, his conviction that God would fulfil his prayer, suggests strange uses of faith and prayer. Is the believer, as Loisy rightly says, 'selon son caprice,' to ask for, and to see accomplished, any miracles which come into his head—to make the vine which gave no grapes sterile for ever, or to remove mountains, 'à son gré,' which he might like better to see elsewhere? Only those miracles which the interests of faith justify can be referred to. Yet the most authentic utterances of Jesus on the efficacy of prayer have a form almost as absolute as 23, 24 (Matt. vii. 7–11). The artificiality of the connection between the successful curse of the fig tree and the lesson about faith is less the apparent exaggeration of the assertion than the incoherence of the whole passage, seeing that the malediction of the fig tree was not, properly speaking, either an act of faith or a prayer (*E. S.* II. p. 288). The story is used as a peg on which to hang utterances of Jesus which were not originally connected with it. The mountain and the lake suggest Galilee rather than Jerusalem. Menzies thinks that the meaning is that with God's help there is still hope for Israel. Jesus still has faith. This interpretation seems strained.

24. Again one must notice the immense (and probably historical) stress which Jesus lays upon faith. *Cp.* Matt. vii. 7–11.

We cannot to-day accept the doctrine as here laid down. As to the power of faith on the one hand, and of prayer on the other, there can be no doubt. Nevertheless, we shall, I think, be compelled to admit that there are limits to faith, which Jesus would not have recognized or allowed. Verse 24 shows that you cannot explain away 23 as a mere Oriental exaggeration and picturesque way of speaking.

25. An addition which is out of place. It is perhaps an insertion due to Matt. vi. 14. The expression, 'Father in heaven,'

is only here found in Mark. W. says that Mark may have known the Lord's Prayer, which may already have been employed in the community, but did not venture to ascribe it as a whole to Jesus. Jesus with him gives principles for prayer, but no formula. *Cp.* xiv. 38 for another parallel to the Lord's Prayer in Mark. 22–24 find their parallels in Matt. xxi. 21, 22, xvii. 20 and Luke xvii. 6, while 25 finds its parallel not only in Matt. vi. 14, but also in Matt. xviii. 35. Loisy supposes that all those passages go back to Q, the 'recueil de discours.' The primitive sentence was probably something like this: 'If you have even as much faith as a grain of mustard seed, you could say to this mountain, Remove and cast thyself into the sea.' Luke, perhaps influenced by the fig tree with which Mark has brought the saying into connection, has substituted 'sycamore tree' for 'mountain.' Observe too, that xvii. 20 in Matthew is not far removed from xviii. 35. All the more reason to believe that Mark has got his 22–24 and his 25 from Q. He has reproduced them freely. Verse 24 is also parallel with Matt. xviii. 19, vii. 7–11. In 25 Mark has combined the lessons of Matt. v. 23, 24, and of xviii. 35 (vi. 12–15). Matthew does not here reproduce Mark's 25, because he had treated the subject before so fully. It must be admitted that it does seem very probable that Mark is here picking and choosing from a more primary source. If so, what becomes of W.'s argument as to the Lord's Prayer? Its authenticity becomes immensely more probable. It would seem likely that Matthew transcribed Q in these passages more accurately, while, as Loisy says, Mark reproduced the sayings from Q 'freely,' perhaps even from memory. He combines them awkwardly into a speech which has neither the precision of personal recollections nor the exactitude of a regular transcript (*E. S.* II. p. 290).

27–33. The Authority of John

(*Cp.* Matt. xxi. 23–27; Luke xx. 1–8)

27 And they came again to Jerusalem: and as he was walking in
the temple, the chief priests, and the scribes, and the Elders came
28 up to him and said: 'By what authority doest thou these things?
29 and who gave thee this authority to do these things?' And Jesus
answered and said unto them, 'I will also ask of you one question;
do ye answer me, and I will tell you by what authority I do these
30 things. The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or from men?
31 answer me.' And they deliberated among themselves, saying, 'If

we say, From heaven; he will say, Why then did ye not believe
2 him? Or shall we say, From men?' But they feared the people:
3 for all held John to be really a prophet. So they answered and said unto Jesus, 'We do not know.' And Jesus said unto them, 'Neither do I tell you by what authority I do these things.'

28. 'By what authority doest thou these things?' The 'things' (*ταῦτα*) can only mean the purification of the Temple. The verse is really the continuation of 18.

The object of the question is apparently to make Jesus declare himself. If he let others acclaim him as Messiah, why will he not definitely himself say of himself that the Messiah is he? Or, at any rate, is his mission of God? Does he claim special divine inspiration? Has he a direct mandate from God?

29. True to the policy of silence and semi-evasion which Jesus is represented as adopting towards the outer world (whether he really adopted it is another matter, about which no one can know for certain), he asks his questioners a counter-question, which, from his vantage-ground of knowing the inward thoughts of his adversaries, he foresees will not be answered. Under the word 'baptism' we must include John's activity and teaching as a whole. If the priests had answered that John's mission was of God, the rejoinder of Jesus would, we may imagine, have been: Why did you not listen to him? J. Weiss thinks that Jesus could only have given an evasive reply. It is not tactics, but his attitude to the whole Messiah question, which compels him to take this line. He cannot discuss the matter with these people. They could not understand his point of view.

32. The construction is broken off. 'Or shall we say, From men?' But that would not do, they said to themselves—so one has to supply—for they feared the people.

33. The ignorance of the Scribes is mere pretence. They refused to believe in John, but their sin was all the greater, for they knew, or at any rate more than half-suspected, that John was a messenger of God. Menzies says Jesus held that he need not reply to their question because by their own rejoinder they had shown that they could not appreciate the qualifications of a religious teacher. If they cannot estimate John aright, neither can they estimate him. If the purpose of Jesus's question was not *merely* to evade the issue, we may suppose, with Bernhard Weiss, that Jesus refuses to answer because, for his Messianic prerogatives, he could only have appealed to the *authority* of the Baptist; while

the untruthfulness of his questioners would make them incapable of receiving the witness which his own life gave to his Messianic claim. Dr Carpenter thinks Weiss's suggestion weak, because there is no trustworthy evidence (Matt. iii. 14 is not such) to show that John applied his language about the 'coming one' to Jesus, or that he recognized him as the Messiah. On the other hand, John's *doubts* are clear, Matt. xi. 2. How, then, could Jesus have appealed to the authority of John in support of his own claim? It may, however, be that the Evangelists meant to give the meaning suggested by B. Weiss. In the actual historic scene the refusal to answer must have meant to imply that the questioners stand condemned by their incredulity towards a prophet of God. If they had answered, 'From God,' Loisy supposes that we may conceive that Jesus would have said that John's testimony to the near advent of the Kingdom was a sufficient justification of his own authority. This seems doubtful. For the one does not follow from the other. Perhaps all that Jesus would have replied would have been: 'Even so is my authority from God.'

The whole scene, J. Weiss thinks, confirms his view that the purification of the Temple episode happened early in the ministry. The attitude of the Scribes is inconceivable, he says, at this late period. Why should they not deny the inspiration of John? Would the people still believe in him after his imprisonment and even his death? But one cannot get rid of the difficulties of the Synoptic narrative by accepting the still greater difficulties of the Johannine.

CHAPTER XII

1–12. The Parable of the Vineyard

(*Cp.* Matt. xxi. 33–46; Luke xx. 9–19)

1 And he began to speak unto them in parables. 'A man planted a vineyard, and set an hedge around it, and dug out a wine press, and built a tower. And he let it to husbandmen, and
2 went abroad. And at the proper time he sent to the husbandmen a servant, that he might receive from the husbandmen his share
3 of the fruit of the vineyard. And they seized him, and beat him,
4 and sent him away empty. And again he sent unto them another
5 servant; and him they wounded and reviled. And again he sent another; and him they killed. And he sent many others; and

6 some they beat, and some they killed. But he had still an only
and well-beloved son: him he sent last unto them, saying, They
7 will have respect for my son. But those husbandmen said among
themselves, This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and the
8 inheritance will be ours. So they seized him, and killed him, and
9 cast him out of the vineyard. What will the lord of the vineyard
do? he will come and destroy the husbandmen, and will give the
vineyard unto others.

10 'And have ye not read this passage in the scripture: The
stone which the builders rejected is become the corner-stone.
11 This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes?'

12 And they sought to take him prisoner, for they realized that he had spoken the parable against them: but they feared the people, so they left him, and went their way.

It would seem very doubtful whether this parable can be ascribed to Jesus himself. In its present form, at any rate, it reflects a later situation, and assumes his death. Nor is it quite easy to see what form it could originally have had, if it was spoken by Jesus. It has been suggested (*e.g.* by Brandt) that the parable originally consisted of 2–5, 9 only. This seems doubtful. The episode of the son seems hardly capable of being so completely cut out. The parable would be somewhat poor and too short without it. It cannot, with whatever prunings, be turned into a good parable, with the verisimilitude of the more genuine parables. It is an allegory, as Loisy and others point out, from start to finish. 'It gives a sort of "general" philosophy of Israelite history, in so far as that history' (from the writer's point of view) 'has its culmination in the ministry and death of Jesus Christ.' Perhaps it belongs to the same stratum in the redaction of the whole Gospel as the passages in which Jesus describes the details of his death and his resurrection (*E. S.* II. p. 319). It is, as W. remarks, curiously different from the cautious replies given by him in xi. 27–33 and xii. 13–17. Here he provokes his antagonists openly, and clearly implies that he is the Son of God; whereas, in the most authentic passages in Mark, he never implies that in a special and unique sense he is God's Son. On the other hand, it may be argued with Dr Carpenter that his caution does not consist in a concealment of the Messianic claim or character, to which the entry gave the utmost publicity, but in avoiding argumentative traps. 'The Son of God' may be used in a Messianic rather than in a dogmatically theological sense. Menzies says: 'The words do not contain an explicit

declaration of the divine Sonship.' No one has more clearly shown than Loisy how unnatural or even absurd the parable is as a parable. The incidents will not work. It only makes sense as a transparent allegory. As to the date, he says that the whole has rather the air of an argument of the first Christians against the Jews than of a speech of Jesus to the people or the notables of Jerusalem (*E. S.* II. p. 312). 'Il n'y avait pas lieu, avant l'événement, de montrer dans la mort de Jésus le dernier terme de la patience divine' (p. 319).

1. The vineyard parable quotes and follows Isaiah. 'Jesus was not wont to draw from the O.T. the matter of his stories' (Loisy). The vineyard is, in one sense, Israel, in another, the Kingdom. Its owner is God. The absence of the owner, demanded by the development of the allegory, is unsuited to God. The husbandmen are, partly, the leaders, priests, Scribes and Pharisees as representing the people; partly, the people themselves. The parable is not quite consistent.

2–5. The various servants represent the prophets whose messages Israel refused to hear.

6. The son is Jesus. The Kingdom is his. Hence he may be called the 'heir.' It is amazing that Menzies should think this clearly 'party' parable is 'a telling representation of the fact of the decay in Jesus's time of the sense of the nearness and reality of God.' There is no adequate evidence that God was not as near and real to a large percentage of Jews in A.D. 30 as there is overwhelming evidence to show and prove that He was near and real to them in A.D. 300.

9. Who are 'the others'? This is not clearly indicated. Some think that the poor and the outcast, the repentant tax-collector and sinner, are intended. More probably, as in Matthew, the 'others' are the Gentiles.

10, 11. Some think that these verses are an addition, and that the true close to the parable is 9. The stone is Jesus. 'This is the Lord's doing,' *i.e.* the stone came from God. Rejected by the Jewish religious authorities, the stone has become the chief stone of the world's spiritual edifice. Loisy denies that the verses are an addition. The allegory is not complete without it. 'Le sort ultérieur du fils importe au narrateur; mais celui-ci ne pouvait pas dire que le fils ressusciterait et qu'il serait glorifié au ciel, sans abandonner la fiction de la vigne' (*E. S.* II. p. 312).

12. The phrasing of the verse is odd. Loisy thinks that the last few words, 'so they left him, and went their way,' belong properly to xi. 33 and should be followed by xii. 13. 'But they feared the people' is an attenuation of xiv. 2, after xi. 32. The parable of the vineyard was originally placed just before the opening of the Passion, and xii. 12 is a sort of echo or repetition of xiv. 1, 2, which may be supposed to have run something like this: 'They realized that he had spoken the parable against them. And they sought how they should lay hold of him by guile to put him to death. For they said: not during the festival, lest there should be a tumult among the people. Now the Passover and the festival of the unleavened bread were to take place after two days' (*E. S.* II. pp. 315–318).

13–17. 'Give unto Cæsar'

(*Cp.* Matt. xxii. 15–22; Luke xx. 20–26)

13 And they sent unto him certain of the Pharisees and of the
14 Herodians, that they might entrap him by his words. And when they were come, they said unto him, 'Master, we know that thou art truthful, and hast regard for no man: for thou respectest not the person of men, but teachest the way of God in truth. Is it
15 lawful to give tribute to the Emperor, or not? Should we give it, or should we not give it?' But he, perceiving their deceitfulness, said unto them, 'Why tempt ye me? bring me a silver coin,
16 that I may see it.' And they brought it. And he said unto them, 'Whose is this image and superscription?' And they said unto
17 him, 'The Emperor's.' And Jesus, answering, said unto them, 'Pay to the Emperor what is the Emperor's, and to God what is God's.' And they marvelled at him greatly.

13. The series of questions, which was begun by the priests in xi. 27–33, is now, after the interruption of xii. 1–12, resumed and continued till xii. 34.

W. remarks that it is odd to meet the 'Herodians' in Jerusalem; their place is in Galilee. The explanation is that friends and foes of Rome are to unite in the question, so that Jesus may be endangered whether he says yes or no. 'The Herodians, upholders of the native monarchy, were averse to any political disturbance, which might complicate the relations between the Roman government and that monarchy, and could not desire any

Messiah to succeed' (Menzies). Or we may suppose that they desired that Judæa, instead of being governed by the Romans, should be under a prince of their own family. In that case both the questioners would be supposed to be hostile to Rome. So Loisy (*E. S.* II. p. 333).

14. They flatter him in order to induce him to give a direct answer.

The fiercer party among the Jewish nationalists held that it was not permissible to pay tribute to Rome (*cp.* Josephus, *Ant.* book XVIII. ch. i. 1; Acts v. 37). If Jesus said it was permissible, how could he claim to be the Messiah? Was not the Messiah to usher in the era of national independence? If he said it was not, there would be trouble for him with the authorities.

15. ὑπόκρισις, 'dissimulation.' Jesus recognizes that he is not being asked for the sake of getting at the truth, but in order to trip him up. They 'tempt' him to deny the authority of the Emperor by boldly declaring his Messiahship.

Jesus has no money. He asks for a silver *denarius* (worth about 8½*d.*). These coins were not made in Palestine. The copper coin which alone was made there bore no head or figure on it, on account of Jewish susceptibilities. The *denarius* would have on it the head of the deified Augustus.

17. What are we to say of this famous answer? It implied that there was a field in which the Emperor had authority, but that religion, without interfering with the legitimate rights of the Emperor, could exist in its fulness notwithstanding. The rule of Rome need not interfere with the practice of religion.

It is very important to notice that the bulk of the Pharisees took much the same line. The Scribes and legalists at all events were by no means keen to raise the standard of revolt. They expected God to destroy Rome just as Jesus did. There was no great difference in this respect between them. The commentators ignore this agreement or deny it. It is inconvenient, perhaps, but the evidence seems to show that it is true. The importance of the saying is diminished when we remember that Jesus, in any case, believed that the rule of Rome was only going to last quite a short time. For either before his death, or after it and at his reappearance, would come the new age and the perfected Kingdom, and then the Roman dominion would disappear. The rule of Rome was to disappear by God's agency, not by man's. Not by revolt and force of arms, but when the Son of man comes down from heaven will the heathen domination cease.

'Der Weg Gottes,' as J. Weiss well says, 'geht von oben nach unten.' That was just what the great majority of the Rabbis held.

As a matter of fact, the answer was primarily intended to be non-committal. It maintains the policy of caution. Once more Jesus cleverly avoids a dilemma. W. holds that no more was intended, though a denial of the theocracy may be found as the *implication* of his reply. He sets up no principle by which one can clearly sever the claims of God and the claims of the Emperor. He only asserts that each has his rights and claims, which we may legitimately satisfy. We cannot use his answer as a solution of any of our own difficulties, except in so far as it may seem to assert that state and religion are two separate and not connected territories. And W. seems to me right when he calls Ranke's opinion that our passage is the most important and far-reaching of the words of Jesus, 'etwas profan und recht verkehrt.'

Loisy's remarks upon the passage seem to me very judicious and sensible. Jesus means, he says, that 'civil obedience, attested by the payment of the tribute, no more contradicts than it abolishes the obedience which is due to God. The first of these duties does not interfere with the second. The first is trivial in comparison with the second. Let men observe it without attaching greater importance to it than it possesses, and let them give their minds above everything to the essential duty, which is moral and religious duty. Jesus emphasises the lawfulness of political power and of tribute much less than the insignificance of these things in comparison with the Kingdom of heaven. It is implied that the Kingdom of heaven is not to be established by violence, by a rebellion against the established order; in the interval before its coming, one should pay to Cæsar the tax which attests his sovereignty, and it would be foolish to believe that God and his reign would gain anything by the rejection of an obligation of this kind. Let the things of this world be esteemed according to the smallness of their value, and let these duties be discharged according as there is necessity; but let men know above all that the greatest thing lies elsewhere, in fidelity to the heavenly Father. It would be to falsify the thought of Jesus to suppose that the debt to Cæsar is on the same plane, or that it has the same absolute and definite character as the duty towards God. Nothing was farther from his thoughts than to establish a principle in accordance with which the boundaries of the domains of God and those of Cæsar might be rigidly defined' (*E. S.* II. p. 336).

See also Additional Note 22.

The Woman taken in Adultery

(John vii. 53—viii. 11)

53, 1 And they went, each one, to his own house. And Jesus went
2 to the Mount of Olives. And early in the morning, he returned
to the temple, and all the people came unto him, and he sat down,
3 and he taught them. And the scribes and Pharisees brought
unto him a woman taken in adultery, and putting her in the
4 midst of them, they said to him, 'Master, this woman was taken
5 in the very act of adultery. Now Moses commanded us in the
Law that such women should be stoned; what then sayest thou?'
6 And they said this to try him, that they might have something
with which to accuse him. But Jesus stooped forward and wrote
7 with his finger upon the ground. But when they continued
asking him, he raised his head, and said unto them, 'He that is
without sin amongst you, let him be the first to cast a stone at
8 her.' And again he stooped forward, and wrote upon the ground.
9 And they, having heard that, withdrew one by one, beginning with
the eldest; and Jesus was left alone, and the woman, where she
10 was, in the midst. And Jesus lifted his head, and said to her:
11 'Woman, where are they? Has no one condemned thee?' And
she said, 'No one, Lord.' Then Jesus said, 'Neither do I condemn
thee. Go, and from henceforth sin no more.'

According to many critics it is most probable that in the oldest story of the life of Jesus in Jerusalem there followed between the 'Give unto Cæsar' incident, and the question of the Sadducees, the tale of the woman taken in adultery. Why this tale dropped out of the Synoptics, and why it found an incongruous and unsatisfactory home in some MSS. of the fourth Gospel are questions upon which I need not enter here. W. regards the story as certainly apocryphal (*Einleitung*, p. 70). Loisy says 'it is morally certain that the story is an authentic part of the most authentic parts of the Gospel' (*Le quatrième Évangile*, p. 542 at top). Thus do the great authorities differ! The internal difficulties of the story are very great, and these difficulties make me incline somewhat towards the opinion of W. But if it is not true, it is at least *ben trovato*, and quite in keeping with some of the moral statements, paradoxical, searching, strange and exalted, but elusive, of the historical Jesus. In any case it may usefully be included here.

2. Thus this story, if authentic and put in its right place, makes and marks a fresh day in the Jerusalem ministry.

3. How and why was the woman taken and brought before Jesus? Did her accomplice escape? Did the 'Scribes and Pharisees' seize her in order to bring her to justice—to a court—and was the Temple near where she was seized, and did the idea strike these Scribes and Pharisees to see if they could use this woman as a snare for the Galilæan teacher? And why should Scribes and Pharisees have been present and in such convenient numbers? All these quite unanswerable questions give rise to the gravest suspicion.

Again it is a very dubious matter whether adultery was, or could be, at that time, punishable with death. Many great scholars think that it was not.

5. Another difficulty. The law does not say that adulteresses are to be stoned except in the special case mentioned in Deut. xxii. 23. Was this woman betrothed? If not, the Rabbinic law arranged that when the Pentateuchal ordinance fixed no particular kind of death, the guilty person should be strangled.

6. What was the 'temptation' or 'test'? Probably this. Jesus was supposed to be merciful to sinners, perhaps especially to women. If, then, his opinion were asked, and he were tempted to urge that this woman, if she repented, should be forgiven, then he could be brought into conflict with the letter of the God-given Law.

Jesus guesses what they would be at. Perhaps he is morally wroth that this woman in her shame should be used for such a purpose. He refuses to look upon them or upon her; he will not add to her shame. At any rate, be her guilt what it may, it does not concern him; it is not for him to decide and condemn her. He therefore abstractedly makes marks in the dust on the floor. So one may interpret his action. One need not ask: What did he write?

7. Forced to reply, Jesus once more raises another issue. He neither condemns nor acquits. What does he mean? It is easy to admire and to vaguely paraphrase his words; it is less easy to understand them. It would be ludicrous that no one should judge criminal cases who was not himself 'sinless,' conscious of no sin. In that case there would be no judges or juries in the world. The words of Jesus are relative to his questioners. Do they imply:

(1) It is not for anyone except the regularly constituted tribunal to condemn this woman. It is not for you, therefore, or for me, to condemn her.

(2) 'Judge not.' You seem glad to condemn. But should one not be sorry and reluctant? Perhaps too: was it for *you* to seize her? Are *you* guilty of no sins, whether sins of the flesh or others, for which *you* should not be seized?

(3) Should this woman's shame be used as a means with which to entrap me?

(4) Is it conceivable that the very absence and escape of the probably greater culprit makes Jesus the more scrupulous about condemning the woman? Is not society always readier to punish the woman than the man? Was not Jesus the champion of womanhood?

The words make a deep impression upon us even though we cannot be wholly certain as to the precise meanings they are intended to convey.

9. It seems doubtful whether this dramatic retirement is historically likely. The gloss of some MSS. 'convicted by their own conscience' is what is intended. Loisy says: 'Ils s'en vont assez confus, mais non contrits.' Loisy would here know too much, a fault he is not slow to blame in others. Again 'beginning with the eldest,' to which some MSS. add 'even unto the last,' is very obscure and doubtful. It raises suspicion. It was no regular court: why then should the eldest have been the first to sneak off? The narrator thinks of a court with a regular order and precedence. He falls out of his narrative, and thus casts doubt upon the whole.

11. The final scene between Jesus and the woman is impressive in its brief simplicity. His words, as Loisy well says, are a harmonious union of dignity and goodness. His point of view, says Holtzmann, is that of Ezekiel xxxiii. 11. 'Repent and live.' He was sent to call sinners to repentance and to save them. He is no judge in the ordinary sense of the word. 'L'application juridique de la Loi ne le regarde pas; mais l'âme de la pécheresse et son salut ne peuvent lui être indifférents. S'il s'interdit de la faire mettre à mort, c'est pour l'engager à bien vivre, s'il ne condamne pas la coupable, il ne laisse pas de condamner le péché' (*Le quatrième Évangile*, p. 549).

18–27. The Life of the Resurrection

(*Cp.* Matt. xxii. 23–33; Luke xx. 27–38)

18 Then came unto him some Sadducees, who say there is no
19 resurrection; and they asked him, saying, 'Master, Moses wrote

for us, If a man die, and leave a wife and no child, his brother
20 must marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother. Now
there were seven brothers: and the first took a wife, and dying
21 left no seed. And the second married her, and died without leaving
22 seed: and the third likewise. And all seven left no seed: last
23 of all the woman died also. In the resurrection, therefore, when
they rise, whose wife will she be of them? for all the seven had
her to wife.'

24 And Jesus answering said unto them, 'Does not this prove
that ye err, and that ye neither know the scriptures nor the
25 power of God? For when they rise from the dead, they neither
marry nor are given in marriage; but are as the angels in heaven.
26 But as regards the dead, that they rise: have ye not read in the
book of Moses, in the story of the burning bush, how God spoke
unto him, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac,
27 and the God of Jacob? He is not the God of the dead, but the
God of the living: ye do greatly err.'

18. After the Pharisees have had their 'test' comes the turn of the Sadducees. Their question is put in order to show that, whatever answer be given, the theory of resurrection leads to absurdity. If Moses ordered the so-called Levirate marriage (Deut. xxv. 5) he cannot have believed in the resurrection.

Jesus shows that no absurdity is involved. The conditions of the resurrection life are unlike those of the present life. There is no marrying or giving in marriage.

Though the popular view may have been that the ordinary life on earth, interrupted by death, would be resumed at the resurrection, this was not the official doctrine of the Rabbis. The *locus classicus* on the subject is Berachoth 17 *a*, and runs thus:—'Rab used to say: In the world to come there is no eating or drinking or marrying or envy or hate; but the pious rest with crowns upon their heads, and are satisfied with the glory of God.'

This was the official doctrine, and it doubtless was already the view of all educated Pharisees at the time of Christ. But see also Additional Note 23.

19. *Cp.* Deut. xx. 5–10 and Genesis xxxviii. 8. W. thinks that this kind of marriage was no longer practised at the time of Christ.

24. *οὐ διὰ τοῦτο.* 'Your very question, with the dilemma

you suppose involved, and your consequent denial of the resurrection, show the measure of your error. They show that you know neither the Scriptures (which prove the resurrection) nor the power of God (who makes the resurrection life to differ from, and be higher than, the life on earth).' The second point is taken in 25; the first point in 26. There is a certain parallelism of words and phrase with 1 Cor. xv. 33, 34 dealing with the same subject.

26. The proof of the resurrection is of the usual fanciful kind when proofs from Scripture are attempted. As God is (as *all* admit) the God of the living and not of the dead, and as He calls Himself to Moses the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (who had died long ago), these patriarchs must still live; and this, again, can only mean that they will 'rise' or have 'risen.' Is it assumed that they are now in 'heaven'? Or are they only potentially alive, while, at the resurrection, they will live fully once more? 'The inference seems to be that when the words were spoken the patriarchs were still living, and that their resurrection was a natural and probable corollary' (Allen). The idea apparently is that the dead are waiting for the resurrection, not asleep, but with full consciousness, whether of pleasure or pain. But only the righteous dead are thought of, or referred to, in this passage. Yet Schmidt is scarcely justified in saying that Jesus's answer shows that 'he did not hold the common Pharisaic view. He believed that those who were accounted worthy of a resurrection were raised immediately after death' (*Prophet of Nazareth*, p. 283).

28–34. The Greatest Commandment

(*Cp.* Matthew xxii. 34–40; Luke xx. 39, 40, x. 25–28)

28 Then one of the scribes who had heard them disputing together,
and had perceived that Jesus had answered them excellently, came
29 up and asked him, 'Which commandment is the first of all?' And
Jesus answered him, 'The first of all the commandments is, Hear,
30 O Israel, the Lord our God the Lord is One: and thou shalt love
the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and
31 with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. And the second is
this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is no other
32 commandment greater than these.' And the scribe said unto him,
'Excellently, Master, thou hast said the truth, that He is One, and
33 there is none other but He: and to love Him with all one's heart,

and with all one's understanding, and with all one's strength, and to love one's neighbour as oneself, is much better than all burnt
34 offerings and sacrifices.' And when Jesus saw that he answered intelligently, he said unto him, 'Thou art not far from the kingdom of God.'

Both B. Weiss and Loisy suppose that the story of the greatest commandment is taken from Q, but from very different reasons. Those which Weiss puts forward do not seem to me very probable. Somewhat more likely are those of Loisy. He notices that in Luke it is the Scribe and not Jesus who gives the answer, and declares which commandments are the greatest. In Mark the Scribe is made as it were to repeat the answer which Jesus has already given him. 'Nothing more awkward (*froid*) than this repetition.' May we not conjecture that Mark used a source where the Scribe gave the answer, as he now does in Luke, and that this answer was put into the mouth of Jesus in order to do him honour, and to permit of its being classed among the victorious replies of his ministry at Jerusalem? (In the source there may have been no place or date attached to the tale.) M. Loisy rather shyly ventures to suggest that the combination of Deut. vi. 4 and Leviticus xix. 18 was not beyond the power of a Rabbi. And after all it is in the parable of the Samaritan and not in the quotation from the Law that the true doctrine of Jesus about charity is contained! Moreover, would Luke have ventured to ascribe so excellent a reply to a Pharisee if the source had attributed it to Jesus? (*E. S.* II. pp. 347–352.) J. Weiss's view is quite similar.

It is pleasant to come once more upon a passage of value for us to-day, which we have not had since x. 44. One more question is put to Jesus. He has triumphantly answered priest, Pharisees, and Sadducees. Now an individual Rabbi comes upon the scene. His question, however, is not asked in any hostile spirit, nor with insidious intent. Therefore it is frankly answered. This paragraph shows us Jesus as the true successor of Amos and Isaiah; he speaks as they would have spoken. And here, too, Mark allows us to see for once that there were good men even outside the followers of Jesus and among the Pharisees. But such a concession is somewhat too arduous for Matthew. As W. says, Matthew cannot abide 'dass Jesus sich mit dem Rabbi auf dem Boden des edelsten Judentums zusammenfindet.'

29. The reply of Jesus is very significant. Like the good Jew he is, he at once quotes the *Shema* as the first and highest commandment. The love of the One God is the supreme ordinance. Next to it he places Leviticus xix. 18. The bringing together of

these two commandments is highly striking and suggestive. They are to this day the main part, though not the complete whole, of the Jewish religion.

W.'s note is excellent. 'Jesus answers with two sayings of the Law, which the Rabbi also acknowledges to be its flower and kernel. Only here does Jesus (using the words of the Old Testament) speak of the love of God and of one's neighbour; usually he does not give verbal utterance to them. Monotheism is no theory; it is a practical conviction; it is the spring of inward character and the motive of our conduct to our neighbour. It is, in other words, the motive of morality; and morality, according to the right supplement of the Scribe, belongs to the service of God and is the right worship of Him; it is of more value than all sacred actions which are specially rendered to God and are of no use to anyone else. The combination of the two sayings, which in the Law occur in different places, is very important for the understanding of the whole passage; the combination was first effected in this way by Jesus.' But see also Additional Note 24.

32. Has the Rabbi heard rumours that Jesus arrogates to himself some vague sort of quasi divinity, and is he, therefore, delighted with his frank confession of pure, unadulterated monotheism? It looks almost as much, for the Rabbi proceeds to emphasise the doctrine of the One God with renewed intensity. The verse is spoken to the heart of every Jew. It contains the essence of Liberal Judaism in a nutshell.

33. The conclusion of the verse recalls Hosea vi. 6 and the many similar prophetic passages.

34. W. says: 'Thus one can be, already on earth, in the Kingdom, or near it, or far from it. The conception is less markedly eschatological here than in x. 17–31. Nor does Jesus say to the Rabbi, "Abandon everything, and follow me." The love of God and one's neighbour is not the same as the renunciation of the world. The decalogue may indeed be excelled (x. 21), but the monotheistic faith, as represented in the combination of Deut. vi. 4, 5 with Leviticus xix. 18, cannot be excelled, not even by discipleship and martyrdom.'

But the words 'Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God,' which seem at first sight simple, contain several problems and difficulties. First of all do they imply that the Kingdom is present? If so, this is already a difficulty in Mark, at least for those who share the views of W., of J. Weiss, and of Wrede upon this vexed question. There is also a difficulty in supposing that these very words were spoken by Jesus himself. For W. at least

holds that the Kingdom as present is later than Jesus. It is his creation and he is its 'correlative' (*Einleitung*, p. 105). He founds it as the Messiah. The Kingdom as present is practically the Christian community, the *Ecclesia*. It is composed of those who believe in the Messiahship of its founder. 'From the Kingdom as *present* Jesus, as the Messiah who is already present, is inseparable (*ib.* p. 106). Therefore he himself cannot have spoken of it. Now the words, 'Thou art not far from the Kingdom,' would seem almost necessarily to imply that the Kingdom is present. It can hardly mean 'You *will* nearly enter the Kingdom, though not quite.' They must rather mean, 'You are at present very near something which already exists.' Here, then, we must admit is one of the very rare instances in which in Mark the Kingdom is spoken of as something which already exists. But there is another difficulty about the words. We may say that their meaning is such that we should be glad to doubt the correctness of their attribution to Jesus. For W. may, perhaps, be right in pointing out (*Einleitung*, p. 104) that what is implied is that morality is not enough to secure the entry into the Kingdom. 'He who knows that the love of God and one's neighbour is the sum of the Law is, however, only not far from the Kingdom of God, and he who has kept all the commandments from his youth up, still lacks the chief thing, and even John the Baptist lacks it. [The reference is to Mark x. 21 and Matt. xi. 11.] And this chief thing is the acknowledgment of Jesus, the imitation of him, and the adhesion to his body of disciples—an adhesion which is not bound up with his life, but starts most effectively with his death.' [Thus W. modifies what he had said in his note upon the verse (in the commentary), quoted above. His words there would fit rather the ungrudging and unqualified reply of Jesus in Luke: 'Thou hast answered right: this do and thou shalt live.'] If what W. says in his introduction be accurate, we have here, half concealed under a pretty phrase, an intense particularism. It heralds *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*. No particularism can be more undesirable than that which asserts that morality is not the adequate condition for entry into the Kingdom of God, or into 'heaven.' The particularism based upon right belief (characteristic of Christianity) seems to me more objectionable than the particularism of descent (characteristic of Judaism). The old Jews said frankly: The heathen in the lump are bad. This was narrow enough, but at all events there was a certain naïve and healthy narrowness about it. It still preserves the supremacy of morality, and renders it possible for a Rabbi to urge that the righteous of every nation shall be 'saved.' But if morality is not the test for heaven—can there be a worse particularism than this? Be as

good as you please, and yet you shall not enter in unless you believe that Jesus is the Messiah, or some other dogma quite outside morality—this is surely a particularism more immoral and more dangerous than any foolish pride of race. Let us hope that Jesus was free from it.

35–37. Whose Son is the Messiah?

(*Cp.* Matt. xxii. 41–46; Luke xx. 41–44)

35 And no man ventured to ask him any more questions. And
Jesus went on teaching in the temple, and said: 'How can the
36 scribes say that the Messiah is the son of David? For David
himself said in the Holy Spirit, The Lord said to my lord, Sit thou
37 on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool. David
himself calleth him lord; how is he then his son?' And the
mass of the people heard him gladly.

M. Loisy rightly says that the words 'no man ventured to ask him any more questions' come awkwardly here. They would find a better place after xii. 27, or perhaps they stood originally at the close of the section about the woman taken in adultery, which may have stood in the narrative source of Mark in the place where the 'greatest commandment' stands now.

The meaning of this paragraph seems clear, but the more clear the meaning, the stranger does it seem. Jesus certainly seems to say: How can it be asserted that the Messiah is the son of David, if David regards himself as inferior to the Messiah? A father would not call his son 'lord,' but David calls the Messiah 'lord.' (Jesus shares the ordinary belief of his time as to the authorship of the 'Davidic' psalms.) Apparently this must imply that Jesus claims to be the Messiah, though he be *not* the descendant of David. (The genealogies in Matthew were made up later to prove that he was.) Jesus seems not to *wish* to be regarded as the 'son of David.' This is extraordinary. For how could he be the Messiah if he was not the Messiah of prophecy? If the Old Testament was wrong, and the prophets spoke falsely, why did Jesus not say so? Why did he not say, 'There will be no Davidic Messiah, but I am something far higher than the mere Davidic Messiah of the prophets'? The puzzle is that Jesus wants both to refute and to fulfil the Old Testament and its prophecies. He is the predicted Messiah; and he is not the predicted Messiah. One asks in vain: (1) Did he really take up this illogical position?

(2) Was he conscious of the illogicalness? I hardly think that to say that Jesus thought he was the servant-Messiah of Isaiah xlii. and liii. but not the Messiah of Isaiah xi. is an adequate answer. Dr Carpenter thinks that the explanation is that the 'Old Testament does not speak with one voice. The Gospel writers were no more historical critics than Jesus himself. If they and he fastened on the servant passages (Messianically interpreted), the only way open to them was to *ignore* the Davidic king passages.' But the difficulty of this seems to me to be that Jesus does not here merely *ignore*. He goes out of his way to *attack*. He combats the doctrine which the 'Davidic king passages' emphatically teach.

Jesus, on the other hand, J. Weiss supposes, had a higher, more apocalyptic conception of the Messiah. He was a heavenly being who would descend from heaven upon the clouds. If he be the Messiah, or rather if he is to become the Messiah, a miracle from God must raise him upon his divine throne. He does not want to be a son of David who through his legitimate descent shall become an earthly king. Only a divine miracle can make Jesus the true heavenly Messiah that is to be. Weiss apparently means to imply that the Messiah, as a heavenly being, is not of human descent. Schweitzer, who shares the views of Weiss as to the character of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus, has a very interesting view of the present section. He says: 'There is no question of a denial of the Davidic descent of the Messiah. Jesus, as in the entry, is playing with his secret. He asks, How can the Messiah be under David, according to his descent, as his son, and yet, in the Psalm, be called by David David's "lord"? The real answer is: through his transformation and Parousia, when natural relationships will be annulled, and the scion of David, who is the predestined "Son of man," will assume possession of his rule. Hence, far from denying Davidic descent in this passage, Jesus assumes it. And this makes one wonder whether he did not really already in his lifetime look upon himself as a descendant of David and whether he was not regarded as such. Paul, who otherwise does not show any interest in the earthly phase of the Lord's existence, yet nevertheless certainly assumes the descent from David' (*Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, p. 392). Schweitzer is fantastic, and I fear his argumentation is not very sound, but his view on this section would undoubtedly avoid a real difficulty.

Failing a better explanation, we must suppose that the interest of Jesus in the question which he raised was caused on the one hand by the conviction that he was the Messiah, and on the other by his knowledge that he was not descended from David. The common belief that the Messiah must be a scion of David's

house stood seriously in the way of his own recognition as Messiah. In any case the story seems to show the inadequacy of the idea that he *consciously* wanted to be quite a different sort of Messiah from the ordinary 'political' Messiah expected by the populace and the Rabbis. For if he was only a 'spiritual' Messiah, the question whether the customary belief in the Messiah's Davidic descent was justified or not would have had no interest for him one way or the other. But here we find him implying that he was the predicted theocratic king, even though he was not of Davidic descent. He pits David in the 110th Psalm against Isaiah xi. *Cp.* Pfleiderer, *Urchristentum*, I. p. 378, and also W., who says: 'He regarded himself as the Messiah, though he was not the son of David. He corrects the Jewish conception according to which the Messiah is to be a second David and to re-establish his ruined kingdom.' Menzies thinks we can do adequate justice to the words by supposing that their 'obvious' point is that, 'on the authority of David himself, a higher and more spiritual view of the Messiah must be substituted for the current one. To his own lineal descent Jesus does not refer.' Certainly, if Jesus wished to teach 'a higher and more spiritual view of the Messiah,' he might, one would have thought, have adopted fuller, clearer and more definite language. Might not Cleopas have learned better than to say: 'we hoped that this was he who should redeem Israel'? Loisy says: 'Jésus a conscience d'être plus grand que Solomon, plus grand que Jonas, plus grand que David lui-même, et conséquemment son titre est supérieur à la filiation davidique....He did not consider himself as the descendant of David, and anticipated and met the objection that could be taken from this circumstance against his divine mission. Stripped of all theological subtlety, his speech means that the Messiah has no need to be son of David, and that his dignity comes from a higher source' (*E. S.* II. pp. 361, 363).

In a striking posthumous essay of the late lamented Professor Wrede ('Jesus als Davidssohn' in *Vorträge und Studien*, 147–177), whose early death is so great a loss to New Testament research, the distinguished author essays to show that the section is not authentic. In any case the passage cannot be used to prove that Jesus desired to show that *his* Messiahship was spiritual and unpolitical. For the term 'son of David' had no greater political or national signification than the term 'Messiah' itself. Both referred to a national king. Both are mere titles, and the one has no more an exclusive political meaning than the other. The only meaning the passage can have is in connection with the question of descent. 'Whose son is the Messiah?' Jesus is supposed to have started the subject in the course of his teaching. Wrede

notes: (1) It is never indicated that the fact that he was not of Davidic descent was thrown in Jesus's teeth to show that he was not the Messiah. (2) Where else does Jesus thus speak about the Messiah or his own Messiahship to the people? (3) Is this kind of argument characteristic of Jesus? Wrede says it gives him the impression of 'Spitzfindigkeit und Buchstäbelei.' It is more like the reasonings of the Rabbis. (This is perhaps a too subjective argument.) (4) It is uncertain whether at this period Psalm cx. was currently interpreted of the Messiah among the Jews. (5) If Jesus attacked and denied the Davidic origin of the Messiah, why did his teaching have no effect upon his disciples? On the other hand Wrede's own explanation of the passage is not without its difficulties. He supposes that it is intended to press and prove the divine Sonship. Jesus is not the son of a man. In the Letter of Barnabas Psalm cx. is used to prove this thesis. But the date of this letter is about 120 to 130 A.D. Wrede has to assume that the virgin birth had very early advocates and grew up at a very early date. Mark, though he does not elsewhere allude to the theory, although he includes many stories which seem to deny it, might yet have also included one story which implies and defends it. Not even according to the flesh is Jesus David's son. Except to prove the divine Sonship there could have been no interest in disproving a descent from David. That the historic Jesus—a son of a carpenter in Galilee—knew much about his own ancestry is very unlikely. Directly Jesus was believed to be the Messiah, his Davidic descent would be assumed as a matter of course. But when the divine Sonship idea grew up, then it had to be questioned, and it had to be shown that the Messiah could be proved from the O.T. itself not to be the son of David. The positive side of Wrede's essay seems weaker than the negative side. Dalman practically assumes that Jesus was conscious of his special divine Sonship, and that this is what he is alluding to here. He does not obtain his Messianic pretensions because he is David's son, but because he is God's Son. (The virgin birth is not exactly affirmed, nor is the Davidic descent exactly denied.) Few critical readers will agree with Dalman. Nor will many, I think, agree with the subtle explanation of B. Weiss. His descent from David has nothing to do with his mission and destiny as Messiah. Not because he is David's son does he obtain and fulfil these, but because he is to obtain and fulfil these, therefore is he David's son (*Quellen*, A, p. 57). It remains the case that the obvious explanation is the one taken by W. and others. Jesus at any rate depreciates the Davidic descent and seems even to deny that the Messiah could be David's 'son.' To say that he only intends to put a puzzle: how is the Messiah *both* David's son and

his lord, how can a 'son' also be a 'lord,' seems hardly to do full justice to the passage. But if it does mean this, and is authentic too, it is certainly a powerful passage for those who believe that Jesus had the conviction that he was, or would soon be, in some way or other more than the ordinary man. He was, or would soon be, the heavenly Man, the Man from the clouds, whose earthly genealogy, in his life before his glory, was of no importance in comparison with his heavenly nature.

35. None venture to question him. So Jesus in his turn puts a question.

36. The reference is to Psalm cx. 1.

37. *πόθεν* seems here to mean merely 'how.' How can the Messiah be the son of the very man who calls him 'lord'? Fathers do not call their sons 'lord.'

Loisy thinks that the whole passage 'probably comes from a good source,' but the connection is only artificial. It is a débris of tradition, 'gardé hors de son cadre et de son contexte primitifs.' So too 37 *b*—the pleasure with which the people listened to Jesus—is a débris of the same kind, without relation either to what precedes or to what follows (*E. S.* I. p. 98).

38–40. Attack upon the Scribes

(*Cp.* Matt. xxiii. 1, 6, 7; Luke xi. 43, xx. 46, 47)

38 And he said unto them in his teaching, 'Beware of the scribes,
who love to walk in long robes, and to be saluted in the market-
39 places, and to have the first seats in the synagogues and at feasts:
40 who devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers:
these shall receive all the heavier punishment.'

38. *τῶν θελόντων*, 'who like.' They are accused of liking to walk in long robes, and to be respectfully greeted in the market-place, and to have the best seats at synagogues and banquets. The next verse deals with moral offences. They are hypocrites in prayer, and rob the widow. How the last charge was carried out in practice is not stated. It is perhaps implied that they acquired an authority over women, and let themselves be richly paid for their advice. Some think that they obtained money by offering to pray for them. This charge is not in Matthew. It is peculiar to Mark. These charges, if applied to a whole class, refute themselves by their violence. There were good and bad Rabbis then,

as there have always been good and bad priests and good and bad clergymen. For the Talmudic evidence about the morals of the Pharisees and Scribes of this period, see Additional Note 25. We may assume that it was the bad Pharisees and Rabbis (Mark, it is to be noted, does not here mention the Pharisees) who were attacked by Jesus. The Talmud speaks of hypocritical Pharisees, who loved to show off a pretended piety. The Assumption of Moses it is believed by some scholars alludes to Pharisees who are pretenders and hypocrites and eat the property of the poor. Josephus usually praises the Pharisees and dilates upon their good qualities. In one place, however (*Ant.* book XVII. 2), he speaks of them as a party (*μόριον*) *γεραίρειν τὸ θεῖον προσποιούμενον* (making men believe that they are favoured by God), and he says that the women were influenced by them (*οἷς ὑπῆκτο ἡ γυναικωνῖτις*). There was doubtless some material for attack.

From another point of view these verses raise great problems. Are they all which Mark knew of any attack upon the Scribes in Jerusalem? Wellhausen would, I suppose, say yes. Loisy, on the other hand, thinks quite differently. He thinks that the long oration (mainly from Q) in Matt. xxiii. against the Pharisees was known to Mark, just as the Sermon on the Mount was known to him. 'Le rédacteur abrège le discours que contenait la source commune de Matthieu et de Luc; mais on dirait que ce résumé a été fait de mémoire, sans souci d'exactitude, par un homme qui avait également dans l'esprit le discours contre ostentation dans l'accomplissement des œuvres de piété' (*E. S.* II. p. 364). B. Weiss of course takes the same line. He argues cleverly that the awkward grammar of 38 and 39 (*θελόντων* first joined with the infinitive and then with the accusative) is merely due to a reminiscence of what we now read in Matt. xxiii. 6, 7 (*Quellen*, A, p. 148).

41–44. The Widow's Mite

(*Cp.* Luke xxi. 1–4)

41 And Jesus sat down opposite the treasury, and watched the people throwing money into the treasury: and many that were
42 rich cast in much. And a poor widow came and threw in two
43 farthings, which make a halfpenny. And he called unto him his disciples, and said unto them, 'Verily I say unto you, this poor widow has thrown in more than all who have thrown into the
44 treasury: for all they threw in from their superfluity; but she from her poverty has thrown in all that she possessed, even all her living.'

41. For the 'treasury' and its arrangements see *Encyclopædia Biblica*, *s.v.* 'Temple,' par. 36, and Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, *s.v.* 'Treasury.' χαλκόν does not mean here probably 'copper money,' 'small change' literally, but rather 'money' generally. For rich people were there also, giving much.

42. She puts in two separate 'mites,' though she could have kept one for herself. λεπτὰ δύο, 'two lepta.' The 'lepton' was half a 'kodrantes' (*i.e.* the Latin *quadrans*). Thus it was the eighth part of an *as*, and the one hundred and twenty-eighth part of a *denarius*. (The value of a *denarius* was about ninepence.) A lepton was the smallest copper coin in circulation, and less than a third of a farthing. In contrast to the bad Scribes, who 'eat' widows' property, we have now the tale of the good widow and her sacrifice.

44. 'All her living' or possessions (ὅλον τὸν βίον) must be understood to mean all that she possessed at the moment. The S.S. omits the words; they may be a gloss (Klostermann). The moral of the story is quite Rabbinic. There is no new touch in what Jesus says here, though W. observes that the little tale goes more to one's heart than all the miracles, of which the first part of Mark is full.

W. notices that, except for the fig tree, Jesus performs no miracles in Jerusalem, and works no healings or exorcisms. Moreover, the difference between chapters xi. and xii. and the previous section viii. 27–x. 45 is very noticeable. 'The mournful mood which Jesus showed on the way to Jerusalem ceases in Jerusalem itself; it gives place to a mood of confidence and energy. Jesus seems buoyed up by the enthusiasm of the multitude. The near and certain death does not fill his heart or his words; there is only one prediction of death, and that is in the interpolated parable of the vineyard. The purification of the Temple brings about a conflict with the chief priests, but Jesus avoids accentuating it; he bears himself with caution and cleverness against his opponents, and yet without concessions or compromise. We hear no words about the inevitableness of the cross, not only for him, but also for his disciples, about their having to follow him to death, or about the complete renunciation of the world in view of the near approach of the Kingdom; the sections xii. 28–34 and x. 17–31, though outwardly alike, are inwardly totally dissimilar. These deep-going differences are hardly to be explained by the fact that in xi. and xii. Jesus is no longer speaking, as in viii. 27–x. 45, privately to the disciples, but openly before the people at large. And why in Jerusalem *does* he no longer speak to his disciples, except in the certainly spurious apocalypse xiii., and on the last day? He had

opportunity enough during the evenings at Bethany to talk to them about himself and the meaning of his imminent sufferings and death, and yet not a word is reported about it.'

The legitimate deduction from these observations which W., I presume, would have us draw is that the picture of Jesus in Jerusalem, as given in xi. and xii., is more authentic and more historic than the deviating picture of him as given in viii. 27–x. 45.

CHAPTER XIII

1–37. The End and the 'Parousia'

(*Cp.* Matt. xxiv. 1–36; Luke xxi. 5–33)

1 And as he went out of the temple, one of his disciples said
unto him, 'Master, see, what grand stones and what grand
2 buildings!' And Jesus, answering, said unto him, 'Seest thou
these great buildings? There shall not be left one stone upon
another, which shall not be thrown down.'
3 And as he sat upon the mount of Olives over against the
temple, Peter and James and John and Andrew asked him
4 privately, 'Tell us, when shall these things be? and what is the
sign when all these things are to be fulfilled?'
5 And Jesus, answering them, began to say, 'Take heed lest any
6 man lead you astray: for many will come in my name, saying, It
7 is I, and they shall lead many astray. And when ye hear of wars
and rumours of wars, be ye not alarmed; for these things must
8 happen; but the End is not yet. For nation will rise against
nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there will be earth-
quakes in divers places, and there will be famines: these are the
beginnings of the Pangs.
9 'But ye—take heed to yourselves: for they will deliver you
up to law courts; and in synagogues ye will be beaten: and ye
will be brought before rulers and kings for my sake, to bear
10 witness before them. For the gospel must first be proclaimed
11 unto all nations. But when they take you away, and deliver you
up, have no care beforehand what ye shall speak, but whatsoever
shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye
12 that speak, but the Holy Spirit. And brother will deliver up

brother to death, and the father his son; and children will rise up
13 against their parents, and will put them to death. And ye will
be hated of all men for my name's sake: but he that endureth
unto the end, he shall be saved.

14 'But when ye shall see the Abomination of Desolation, stand-
ing where it ought not (let him that readeth give heed), then let
15 them that be in Judæa flee to the mountains: and let him that
is on the roof not go down into the house, neither enter therein,
16 to take anything out of his house: and let him that is in the
17 field not go back to fetch his cloak. But woe to them that are
18 with child, and to them that give suck in those days! And pray
19 ye that it may not be in the winter. For in those days there
will be affliction, such as hath not been from the beginning of the
20 world which God created until now, and will not be again. And
if the Lord had not shortened those days, no flesh would be
saved: but for the elect's sake, whom he hath chosen out, he hath
21 shortened the days. And then if any man shall say to you, Lo,
22 here is the Messiah; or, lo, he is there; believe him not. For
false Messiahs and false prophets will arise, and will perform
signs and wonders, to cause the elect, if it be possible, to go
23 astray. But take ye heed: behold, I have foretold everything
unto you.

24 'But in those days, after that affliction, the sun will be
25 darkened, and the moon will not give her light, and the stars
will fall from heaven, and the heavenly powers will be shaken.
26 And then will be seen the Son of man coming on the clouds with
27 great power and glory. And then he will send out the angels, and
will gather together his elect from the four winds, from the utter-
most part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.

28 'From the fig tree learn a parable: when its branch becometh
29 soft, and it putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is near; so,
too, ye, when ye see these things happening, know that he is nigh,
even at the door.

30 'Verily I say unto you, that this generation shall not pass
31 away, till all these things shall have taken place. Heaven and
32 earth shall pass away: but my words shall not pass away. But as
to that day and as to the hour, no man knoweth, not even the
angels who are in heaven, and not even the Son, but only the Father.

33, 34 'Take ye heed, watch: for ye know not when the time is. For
it is as if a man went abroad, and left his house, and gave authority
to his servants, and to every man his work, and commanded the
35 porter to watch. Watch ye therefore: for ye know not when the
master of the house cometh, whether at even, or at midnight, or
36 at the cockcrowing, or in the early morning: lest coming suddenly,
37 he find you sleeping. And what I say unto you, I say unto all:
Watch.'

This apocalyptic oration is, as a whole, certainly unauthentic. Much of it is built up upon the familiar lines of Jewish apocalypses from Daniel (164 B.C.) onwards. It has very slight interest for us to-day, and little or no religious value. Judaism freed itself of apocalyptic dreamings sooner than Christianity, but both religions have long advanced beyond them now.

How much of the oration from 5 to 37 goes back to Jesus is very doubtful. Verse 32 seems most likely to be authentic. As regards the rest, the portions which are of Jewish origin, or of Christian origin, or, lastly, which proceeded from the mouth of Jesus, can never be distinguished with certainty. The oldest parts, representing the original Jewish apocalypse, may be 7, 8, 14–20 and 24–31. Christian editors, including the Evangelist, will account for what remains. It is even questionable whether any part was said by Jesus of what we now possess. J. Weiss indeed argues that there is no reason why Jesus should not have conceived of the future upon the ordinary lines of the prevailing Jewish apocalyptic teaching. Because people to-day dislike the fantastic doctrines and conceptions of the apocalyptic writers, that is no reason why Jesus should not have shared them. 'Wie er sich mit seiner Messiasvorstellung an die Weissagung des Daniel angeschlossen hat, so werden auch in anderen Zukunftsdingen die Lehren der Apocalyptik für ihn massgebend gewesen sein.' As the chapter is of little or no religious value to us to-day, it is not necessary for me to discuss the question of origin and source at any length. Suffice it to say that, with the exception of the words in verse 2, W. rejects the whole. At the other extreme stands B. Weiss, who will have nothing to do with any 'Jewish apocalypse' theory. For Weiss practically the whole of the apocalypse in Mark from 5 to 32 comes from Q (*i.e.* 6, 8–21, 24–31). If it was all in Q, then, I presume, Weiss would say it is all authentic. In between these two extremes stands Loisy who accepts the theory of a Jewish apocalypse for 6–8, 14, 17–20, 24–31, and thinks that Mark has expanded these passages by bits taken from Q, and relating to the conduct which the disciples will have

to follow during the age of persecutions, to the coming of the Kingdom and to the right preparation for that coming. The end of the speech (33–37) is a sort of abridgment of parables in which Jesus recommended his hearers to keep themselves ready for the sudden and unexpected manifestation of the Kingdom (*E. S.* I. p. 99). The verses which Loisy thinks are from Q will be pointed out in their proper place. It may, however, be added here that the occurrence of a passage in Q is not by any means an absolute proof of its authenticity.

1, 2. Probably Menzies and other commentators are right in supposing that a very marked difference must be made between 1, 2, and the rest of the chapter. They strongly press the authenticity of 2. On the other hand for the date of Mark as a whole, Wernle may be right in arguing that if the Temple had stood when he wrote, its utter destruction would hardly have been put in the forefront of the discourse on the future. Yet the Temple was burnt, not destroyed in the way indicated in 2. And its destruction is not alluded to in the rest of the chapter. In Revelation xi. 1, 2 it is assumed that the actual Temple will be spared. It is, moreover, not unlikely that Jesus, like a new Jeremiah, should have predicted the destruction of the Temple. This may account for the hostility felt towards him, perhaps even for the revulsion of popular feeling. It is in accordance with his prophetic character that Jesus should predict the destruction of the Temple. It is also in accordance with the spiritual character of his religion. It is also a mark of his originality, and of his elevation above the religious level of his age. For though it is exaggerated to say that the Jews believed that God lived in the Temple and not elsewhere, or that the presence of God among his people was conditioned by the existence of the Temple, the old ideas did still hang about men's minds, and the continuance of the religion apart from the Temple, and all the better for its loss, was hard to conceive.

The question is put, and the answer is made, privately; it is not said that the pronouncement in 2 was said publicly, but some prediction of the kind must have got abroad (*cp.* xiv. 58). Loisy thinks that the wording of 2 cannot perhaps be pressed as a mark of authenticity. It may be merely a conventional way of expressing the complete ruin of the building. He is inclined to hold that the present wording of the prophecy of 2 has been substituted for the words: 'I will destroy this temple and rebuild it in three days.' Jesus would not have referred in that case to the destruction of the Temple by human enemies, but to his own action after his Glory. The material Temple would be ended, and a 'spiritual' Temple put in its place (*E. S.* II. p. 396). This hypothesis,

tentatively and hesitatingly put forward, does not seem to me very likely. But Loisy seems on safer ground when he points out how natural it was that the anxious desire to know when the End—the advent of the Messiah in glory—would come, should manifest itself as the years went by, after the crucifixion, and nothing happened. On the other hand, the most authentic of the utterances of Jesus seem to show that while he always regarded the End as imminent he did not, for that very reason, announce any *particular* signs of it. On the contrary, he denied that there would be such signs over and above his own preaching and teaching and miracles. Thus M. Loisy says:

'The question raised in the three Synoptics is not in harmony with the situation a few days before the death of the Saviour, but with that of Christian believers who, some forty or fifty years after the Passion, made great efforts to reconcile what Jesus had really said concerning the approaching End with the postponement of that End. The explanation, easily found, was that certain things had to happen first; these things were the signs of the End which was to come immediately after them; the apocalyptic tradition described them, and it was not very difficult to link its indications to certain very authentic details of Jesus's teaching, such as the words about the destruction of the Temple, which were fulfilled by Titus, though in a sense very different from that in which Jesus had intended them. In this way the apocalyptic anticipations, which seem to have had no place in the preaching of the Saviour, have been introduced into the literary tradition of the Gospel' (*E. S.* II. p. 400).

And Loisy uses Luke xvii. 20 and xii. 54 as strong proofs of his argument:

'Apart therefore from the great apocalyptic discourse, the attitude of the Christ in regard to this question of signs was invariable and his teaching very consistent. The truth of his words was to be proved by the event, and it was these words which were the sign of that approaching event, of the Judgment of God which was about to come. No other signs were needed; the sign was being given, he was present. It is hardly necessary to remark that this view is incompatible with that which is at the root of the apocalyptic discourse, where we find the description of a series of events, that is to say of signs, which were to be the indications of the Parousia. In this fact lies one of the strongest arguments, if not the strongest, which can be alleged against the authenticity of the Synoptic apocalypse. Unless we admit two contradictory currents in the thought and teaching of Jesus, we are compelled to choose between the declarations which exhibit the Kingdom as imminent without any other sign than the Gospel itself and those which exhibit it as

delayed till after a series of events which were to be accomplished before it was realized. The choice of the historian cannot be doubtful; the declarations of the first series are in keeping with the teaching of Jesus; those of the second series are an apologetic explanation of the delay, which, notwithstanding the declarations of the Saviour himself, the Parousia experienced' (*E. S.* II. p. 405).

4. What is ταῦτα ('this' or 'these things')? In this connection it would seem to mean the destruction of the Temple as a sign of the beginning of the End. But really what the disciples ask is something different. They want to know what is to be the sign of the body of events which are to prelude and mark the coming of the End. ταῦτα looks forward, not back. The question is really twofold: When will the End be? By what sign will one recognize its imminence? What is to be the indication that the End of the existing order of things is at hand? When will the Son of man come? Loisy notes that the apocalyptic oration is said privately to the four disciples only—a mark of its secondary character (*cp.* iv. 10, vii. 17, &c.). It is not a real speech, but 'a description made to be read.'

5–37. The apocalyptic oration now begins. The old original apocalypse has three parts or divisions—'tableaux' as M. Loisy calls them. In the first are described certain preliminaries of the great event (5–8); in the second we have the desolation of Judæa (14–20); the third tells of the commotion of the heavenly bodies and the appearance of the Son of man (24–31). Matter which does not belong to the original apocalypse opens the speech, and is added after each section. Thus to the first section are added the verses 9–13, to the second 21–23, to the third 32–37. The additions are mainly warnings and instructions how to behave in view of or during the great event; they teach how one may traverse, without injury to one's eternal salvation, the troublous days which are to precede the End of the present order and the coming of the Kingdom.

5. The opening words contained in this verse may be the composition of the Evangelist. Note βλέπετε four times repeated (5, 9, 23, 33). There is a practical object in what is to follow. Mark not only wants to explain the delay in the coming of the Messiah in glory, but perhaps also to urge that even the troubles of the period in which he lived (near 70 A.D.) were not the signs of the End. They were at most premonitions.

6. This verse is obscure. It is doubtful whether it comes

from the old apocalypse, or whether it is an addition. As it stands it can only allude to persons who not only pretended to be the Messiah, but *Jesus* the Messiah. They are people who come using the name of Jesus and who say that they are Jesus. Of such false claimants we know nothing. If the verse belongs to the old apocalypse, Loisy thinks we might assume that God was the speaker. The deceivers come and speak in the name of God. They say, 'I am he,' that is not necessarily the Messiah, but God's messenger, an inspired prophet or the like. We know of nobody before Bar Cochba, who claimed to be the Messiah, but the mere claim of being divinely sent or inspired might be ascribed to Judas the Galilæan, to Theudas, to the promoters of the great revolt or even, if the apocalypse is of Jewish origin, to the initiators of the Christian movement (*E. S.* II. p. 402). But even this explanation is awkward.

7. What are these wars? As the verse comes from the old apocalypse (of which the date may be somewhere between 60 and 70), the wars need not necessarily refer exclusively to the war between the Jews and Rome. Yet the beginning of the troubles between Judæa and Rome are probably referred to. The wars are the preliminaries of the End.

8. *ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων ταῦτα*, 'these are the beginnings of the Pangs.' The allusion is to the Rabbinic doctrine of the pains (the travail or labour pains of the Messiah). W. translates *ὠδίνων* as if it were an epexegetical genitive: 'these things are (only) the beginning—the pains.'

9–13. Mark's addition to the first section of the apocalypse. *Cp.* the parallels in Matt. x. 17–22, xxiv. 9–14; Luke xii. 11, 12, xxi. 12–19. Have we to suppose with Bousset, B. Weiss, Loisy and others that the substance of the passage was already in Q—in the speech to the apostles when they were sent out on their preaching mission in Galilee? In that case surely there were passages in Q which were later than Jesus and never proceeded from his mouth.

9. The Christians will be persecuted and ill-used by both Jews and heathens. 'To bear witness before them.' They witness to the truth of the gospel by their endurance under persecution and pain. The 'witness' becomes the 'martyr.' Matt. x. 18 has, 'To bear witness to them (the Jews) and to the heathen (lit. nations).'

10. This verse is not found in Matt. x. Loisy regards it as a paraphrase or enlargement of the omitted words in the preceding

verse 'and to the heathen.' The passage is, nevertheless, an interruption, for 11 is the proper sequel to 9. Though a similar phrase is put into the mouth of Jesus in xiv. 9, the verse is probably due to the influence of Paul (*E. S.* II. p. 413).

12. A customary trait in the description of the pangs of the Messiah in Jewish apocalypses. For its O.T. basis see Micah vii. 6. W. does not quite agree with Loisy as to the Jewish sections of the chapter: he ascribes to this source verses 7, 8, 12, 14–22, 24–27.

14–20. The second section of the apocalypse.

14. 'The Abomination of Desolation.' The reference is to Daniel ix. 27, xi. 31, xii. 11. The phrase of Daniel is supposed to signify the altar of Zeus set up by Antiochus Epiphanes upon the altar in the Temple of Jerusalem. Probably the rendering 'Desolation' is wrong. It should be the 'Abomination of Horror,' *i.e.* a horrible abomination. Perhaps the writer of this apocalypse in Mark did not know more than that it was to be a profanation of the Temple. Or, 'the outrage on Jewish feeling which he anticipates is the setting up of the worship of a living man.... The Emperor's image [may be placed] where it ought not—namely, in the Holy of Holies' (Menzies, who thinks that the apocalypse was put in circulation a few months before the capture of Jerusalem). Note that it is not anywhere clearly implied that the Temple will be destroyed. Hence the date is presumably prior to 70. It may be that an attack by powers of darkness upon the Temple is meant. There is no allusion to the war with Titus.

'Let him that readeth give heed'; either an indication that the apocalypse was *written*, not said, or an interpolation from Matthew, for there the book of Daniel is directly quoted. In the second alternative the meaning is, 'let the reader of *Daniel* mark.' The first alternative is more probable.

The inhabitants of Judæa are not to take refuge in the capital, for things there will be even worse. These horrors are the true beginning of the true End.

15. The staircase, W. says, was (at least in the village houses) outside, and led on to the street.

20. 'No flesh'; the horizon of the writer is for the moment limited to Palestine. M. Loisy, on the contrary, thinks all mankind and not the Jews only are referred to. For the sake of the elect, the interval between the beginning of the End and the End itself is made short.

Almost all the apocalyptic writers are hard: they delight in horrors; many will perish; few will survive; many are 'lost'; few are 'saved'; these are their cruel and favourite commonplaces. Dr Carpenter thinks that the sudden lapse from prophecy to retrospect makes it probable that this verse was a note added later.

21, 22. These verses may also be of Jewish origin. Loisy thinks that they are not part of the main apocalypse. He regards the passage as taken from another oration upon the same subject. Of false Messiahs, we know of none among the Jews till Bar Cochba in 131. Are these deceivers supposed to be Jewish impostors, whose miracles might seduce even the disciples of Jesus? (*cp.* verse 6). For false prophets, *cp.* Acts v. 36, viii. 9–11, xxi. 38; Revelation xiii. 11–17. 'False Messiahs' is not found in the MS. D.

24–31. The third section and act of the apocalypse.

24. The days and the tribulation refer to what was said in verse 20. The End, the *dénouement*, is at hand.

26. The 'Son of man.' The 'Abomination' is the sign of the beginning of the End; the 'Son of man' is the sign of its consummation (*cp.* Daniel vii. 13).

Holtzmann says: 'When the apocalyptic Son of man (from Daniel) took the place of the old prophetic son of David, the earthly form of the Messiah seemed merely the necessary preliminary to his heavenly form, upon which the main emphasis now fell.'

Originally, says W., the Son of man was not identified and identical with the Christian Messiah in this apocalypse. But the Christian redactor made this identification. To him Son of man equals Messiah, and Messiah equals Jesus. Here, then, we mark the transition to the Christianising of the term 'Son of man,' and to its being stamped afresh as a sort of proper name for Jesus—at first for the Jesus of the Parousia. This is in accordance with W.'s theory that Jesus himself did not call himself the Son of man. If, on the other hand, Jesus believed that he was, or would, as it were, turn into, the heavenly Son of man predicted by Daniel and the apocalyptic dreamers, then he could have adopted such a verse as this, and meant it of himself.

27. The 'elect' Jews are gathered in from the dispersion. But to the editor, to Mark, the 'elect' are the Christians. The apocalypse is here, at all events, pleasantly silent over the final destruction of enemies and the wicked. 'From the uttermost part

of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven' is a queer mixture, made up of such passages as Deut. xxx. 4 and xiii. 7.

28–31. Loisy regards these verses as part of the original apocalypse. He thinks that, 'the absolute assertion concerning the words which will not pass away is in the ordinary tone of the apocalypses much more than in that of the Gospel. Jesus did not thus speak of his teaching, and it may be supposed that the seer, the original author of the apocalyptic discourse, was making God Himself, and not the Christ speak' (*E. S.* II. p. 436). W., on the other hand, thinks that 28–31, as well as 32–37 'are later than the apocalypse. They are purely Christian, and date, as it would seem, from the period after the destruction of Jerusalem.'

28, 29. The parable of the fig tree. It does not, at first, seem much of a parable. As the foliage of the fig tree means the approach of the summer, so the 'signs' of chapter xiii. mean the coming of the End. 'In 24–27 the End itself had been described. But time had shown that the destruction of Jerusalem was not the End, after all. So it was made merely a preliminary sign of the End. These postponements and changes are characteristic of apocalypse' (W.).

The parable of the fig tree may have more meaning if the conjectures of Schwartz be adopted. He supposes that we may have here the traces of a popular superstition that the reflowering of a certain dead fig tree in or near Jerusalem would be the signal of the coming of Messiah. Hence the choice of the fig tree for a remark for which any tree, or all trees, would do as well. The mention of summer instead of spring may also mean that the Messianic harvest is nigh. (The story of the barren fig tree may also find its explanation from this supposed superstition.)

J. Weiss admits that there is a certain contradiction between 29, which says that one can foretell the coming from certain signs, and Luke xvii. 20, where it says that the Kingdom will not come by 'observation.' And again there is a contradiction between 30 and 32: for in 30 it says that the coming shall be before this generation is all dead, and in 32 it says that not even the Son knows the hour. Both points of view were current in the oldest Church, and, perhaps even, both were combined or side by side in the mind of Jesus. Signs were important, and yet not too important. Too much stress must not be laid upon them. In the last resort the precise hour was unknown and unknowable. Though the coming may be expected before all 'this generation' die, yet the exact hour is not foretellable. ἐγγύς ἐστιν. Who or what is near? Probably the appearance of the Messiah, the Son of man.

30. Though the coming of Christ is delayed, it will happen before the 'generation' of the writer has perished—*i.e.* before all human beings then living have died—within, at the most, 100 years. A perilous prediction!

31. 'Jamais le Christ de l'histoire n'aurait dit: le ciel et la terre passeront, mes paroles ne passeront point' (*E. S.* I. p. 99). The 'words' are either the words of the apocalypse, or, as W. thinks, the words of Jesus as a whole. But this seems less likely.

32. It is probable that this verse did not originally belong to the apocalyptic discourse which ends appropriately with 31. Historically, on the other hand, it is reasonable enough that Jesus should have foretold that the Kingdom was very near, that it would come suddenly, but that only the Father knew the exact hour. For here all signs and reckonings are abandoned. Nobody knows, except God. Here only, in Mark, are 'Son' and 'Father' used in this specifically Christian sense (*cp.* Matt. xi. 27). This is a verse of great importance. It is possible that it is a genuine fragment, at least in part, of the teaching of Jesus himself. Jesus always proclaimed that the End was near, but it is reasonable enough that he should have said that the exact moment—the day or hour of its coming—was only known to God. There was all the more reason to be and keep ready, for the Kingdom would come suddenly and unexpectedly. It is possible, as Loisy thinks, that the words *οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐν οὐρανῷ, οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός* ('not even the angels in heaven, not even the Son') are a gloss. Then Jesus would have said: 'The day and hour none knows except the Father.' 'In the form given to it by Mark, the declaration seems to indicate an apologetic intention, as if it were desired to justify Christ for not having stated the time of a coming which was seen to be delayed, by alleging that, according to Jesus himself, it was a point about which the angels were in ignorance, and about which the Messiah might very well be ignorant also. In the circumstances of the preaching of the gospel the simple assertion of the Father's secret would have been sufficient, and the absolute use of the word Son to designate the Saviour belongs neither to the language of Jesus nor to that of the primitive gospel tradition. If it has not been added by the Evangelist, then the whole verse falls under suspicion. In any case, Mark has done nothing but emphasise an idea expressed by Jesus himself' (*E. S.* II. p. 438).

33–37. For the origin of the passage see the note at the beginning of the chapter. These five verses draw the moral of 32. Jesus *will* come again, though none can say when. Hence let every Christian be prepared: neither impatient nor negligent,

but ready. Let each do his duty faithfully, so that none be caught napping. The discourse began privately, but the end is obviously addressed to the whole Christian community.

Is the 'doorkeeper' to be pressed in the application of the parable? Is he Peter, or the apostles?

For 'the cockcrowing' (3 A.M.), *cp.* xiv. 30. The night is divided into four parts beginning at 9 P.M., midnight, 3 A.M., and the dawn. This is the Roman method of division and may be due to the Evangelist.

CHAPTER XIV

1, 2. The Decision of the Priests and Scribes

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvi. 1–5; Luke xxii. 1, 2)

1 Now it was two days before the feast of the passover and of
the unleavened bread: and the chief priests and the scribes sought
2 how they might capture him by craft, and put him to death. For they said, 'Not on the festival, lest there be an uproar among the people.'

The story of the Passion is not only told with consummate distinction and beauty, but gives the impression of a well ordered and connected narrative. Up to this point the life of Jesus from the beginning of his Galilæan ministry has only been told in the roughest outline. As we have seen, many of the stories are grouped together from a non-chronological point of view; others seem to possess no true and clear indication of place and time. But for the last few days of the life of Jesus all seems changed; the connection seems clear and good, one event succeeds in time to another and there are no gaps unfilled. We seem to follow Jesus almost hour by hour from the repast at the house of Simon to the morning of the resurrection. Yet Loisy is probably right in pointing out that this good connection has been artificially obtained, and that here as elsewhere we have, even in Mark, to deal with what he calls 'entrecroisement et superposition' of traditions. Many difficulties crop up when we question the narrative more closely.

1. *ἦν δὲ τὸ πάσχα καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας.* What does this refer to? What is the event which preceded by 'two days' the festival of the Passover. In the book as we have it now, the reference must be to the story of the anointment. This

happened two days before the Passover. But, as we shall see, this story is probably intercalated. The primitive object of the date seems to refer to something more important. The machinations of the priests and the Scribes can also not be intended. For these did not begin at a special fixed time. As the imperfect tenses show, they were going on for some while: 'they were seeking how to kill him.' Some have thought that the reference is to verse 10. It was two days before the Passover that Judas went to the chief priests. But this too has been shown by Loisy to be unlikely. His own hypothesis is that the story of the anointment has taken the original place of the Last Supper. It is this which took place two nights before the Passover (*É. S.* II. p. 491).

But the very meaning of the verse is uncertain and variously explained. The natural meaning would appear to be that the beginning of the Passover was to take place two days after the day at which the story has now arrived. Thus, if the first night of Passover—the opening of the feast—fell on Thursday evening, the day where we now are is Tuesday; if the first night fell on Friday evening, the day where we now are is Wednesday. But the phrase is in any case an odd one. The 'Passover,' the sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb, is stated in Lev. xxiii. 5 and 6 to fall on the fourteenth day of the month; the feast of unleavened bread on the fifteenth. The Passover, that is, was sacrificed *towards* sunset, the feast of unleavened bread began *with* sunset, of the same day, *i.e.*, the beginning of the fifteenth. See more on this subject below.

That Jesus was crucified on a Friday seems pretty certain. Mark xv. 42 mentions this date almost casually. It is not likely that it was invented. A great question in dispute is whether this Friday was the first day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread or whether that first day was Saturday. The former date is the implication of the Synoptics; the latter the view of the fourth Gospel. Under ordinary circumstances when Synoptics and fourth Gospel disagree, there is little hesitation as to which is the more historic. But in this particular case there is reason to hold that, somehow or other, the fourth Gospel has recorded accurately, the Synoptics falsely. It is true that the more probably accurate date fits in with the theology of the fourth Gospel. For Jesus is crucified on the same day as the Paschal Lamb is killed. He is in his own person the Paschal Lamb—sacrificed once and for all, and making the observance of the old Jewish imperfect Passover superfluous and unnecessary. Hence we might suppose that the date was arranged to suit the theory. But it would rather seem as if the right date was maintained because it corresponded and fitted in with the theory.

Mark, or at any rate one of the two traditions which he followed, wanted to turn the 'Last Supper' which Jesus ate with his disciples into a last Passover meal. Hence the probably accurate date, according to which the Friday on which Jesus was crucified was the morning of the day towards the sunset of which the Passover was offered, was changed into the probably inaccurate date according to which Friday (and not Saturday) was the first day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread.

Mark seems to know this double tradition, for xiv. 1, 2 would at least imply that the intention was to get Jesus executed before the Passover began; nor is it definitely said that the intention was not carried out. It has even been supposed that the fact that Jesus was crucified the day before the Passover suggested the explanation of the date given in our passage.

To put the crucifixion on the first day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, or to use common language now, the first day of Passover, causes great difficulties. That the trial should have been held upon the first night of the festival would have been a flagrant violation of Jewish law. That the Romans would have crucified Jewish criminals upon the first day of Passover is extremely unlikely. J. Weiss thinks that he can discern in the 'Passion' narrative of Mark two strata of narratives, embodying two traditions, the one older and generally more authentic, which accepted the historic date of the crucifixion, the other later and less accurate, which adopted the wrong date. To the second stratum he assigns xiv. 3–9, 12–25, and 53–65.

On the Johannine hypothesis, then, the day of which xiv. 1 speaks is Wednesday. The Passover would begin on Friday at even.

On the other hand, Holtzmann supposes that the Greek phrase *μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας* ('after two days') can be equivalent to 'on the next day.' In that case the day spoken of would, on the Johannine hypothesis, be Thursday. On the Synoptic hypothesis it would be Wednesday. But 'after two days' probably does not mean here 'on the following day': it means that a whole day lay in between the day of which it speaks and the day on which the opening of the festival fell.

W. holds that the day spoken of in xiv. 1 is Thursday, not Wednesday. He comes to this conclusion even though he supports the Johannine hypothesis of the date of Jesus's death, and translates *μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας* 'after two days.' For Mark wrote for western readers. Hence, though for Jewish readers the first day of Passover began on Friday at sunset, for western readers the first day was Saturday. Therefore, if it is said that the Passover was 'after two days,' the day implied is not Wednesday, but Thursday. But

how can this be accurate when we have the phrase in 12, 'on the first day of the Unleavened Bread,' where the meaning clearly is 'the evening before the first day'? Hence it seems that the day alluded to in xiv. 1 must be Wednesday, not Thursday, which seems also to give more time for 10 and 11.

Strictly speaking, the phrase 'two days before the Feast of the Passover and the Unleavened Bread' is a contradiction in terms. For the Passover fell on the afternoon of the 14th. The Unleavened Bread on the 15th. Hence two days before the former would be three days before the latter, and two days before the second would be one day before the first. But in view of the phrase in xiv. 12 we must assume that one and the same period is alluded to: *i.e.* the afternoon and evening of the 14th. If this was Thursday, then Tuesday is alluded to, if this was Friday, then Wednesday is alluded to.

2. The more obvious meaning of this verse is that the Jewish authorities desired to get the execution over before the festival. They were afraid that the popular teacher and reformer might have many sympathisers among the people, who till his arrest had heard him gladly. More especially, if Jerusalem became full of festival pilgrims from Galilee and elsewhere, any attempt to put Jesus to death might easily provoke a riot, in which the priests and Scribes would not escape the vengeance of the crowd. Hence it was urgent to seek for some pretext by which the inconvenient Galilæan teacher—or, shall we say, the aspirant to the Messiahship?—might be quickly got rid of. W. supposes that the ruling priests waited on purpose till near to the festival in order that the sentence might be quickly passed and rapidly executed by the Roman governor.

Another interpretation of the verse is that the authorities meant to let the festival go by, and the pilgrims disperse to their homes, before they acted, but that their hands were forced by the unexpected deed of Judas (verses 10 and 11). This seems less likely.

Brandt's conclusions (*Die Evangelische Geschichte und der Ursprung des Christentums*, 1893) are more negative. He holds:

(*a*) That the Synoptic date for the crucifixion is impossible. Jesus could not have been crucified on the first day of Passover.

(*b*) The Johannine date is due to the author's theology, and is not necessarily historical.

(*c*) That Jesus was crucified on a Friday is certain. The very existence of the Christian Sunday—(the 'third day') on which his resurrection is celebrated—proves that the crucifixion must have taken place on Friday.

The exact date of the crucifixion relative to the Passover cannot, Brandt thinks, be now ascertained. It may have been a few days before the festival, it may have been a few days after it; it may have even been in one of the intervening days between the first day and the last. Brandt is possibly too negative.

In his deeply interesting and quaintly written treatise, *Das letzte Passamahl Christi etc.*, Dr Chwolson attempts to harmonize the Synoptic and Johannine narratives. Jesus, he thinks, was crucified on the fourteenth of the month, which fell on a Friday. The first day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, or, as we popularly call it, the first day of Passover, synchronized that year with the Sabbath. So far the date of the fourth Gospel is right. But the Synoptics only contradict this date apparently. It is usually argued that as the Synoptics state that Jesus held a Paschal meal with his disciples on Thursday eveniug, they must imply that he was crucified on the first day of the festival. Chwolson gets over this by showing the probability that when the fourteenth of the month Nisan fell on a Friday, the Paschal lamb was slain on the Thursday. In Leviticus xxiii. 5 (*cp.* Exodus xii. 6; Numbers ix. 3) it is stated that the Passover is to be sacrificed 'between the evenings.' In later times this odd expression was interpreted to mean in the afternoon, that is before sunset. In earlier times Chwolson shows that it was taken to mean the first hour or two immediately after sunset. Also, did the killing and washing of the Paschal Lamb conflict with the keeping of the Sabbath? In later times it was held that it did not do so, but in earlier times it was held, as Chwolson shows, that it did. Thus when the fourteenth of the month fell on Friday, it was not held to be legitimate to kill the lambs on that evening, and they were killed and roasted on Thursday instead. The Paschal meal could be celebrated on the same evening too, and probably most Pharisees did celebrate it then, although the bread used at such an antedated meal was leavened and not unleavened bread. Thus Jesus was crucified before the seven days' Festival of Unleavened Bread began, and yet he celebrated on Thursday evening the Paschal meal with his disciples.

Another arrangement is suggested by Loisy. Suppose the event which occurred 'two days before the Passover' was the Last Supper. Suppose this was held on a Thursday, then the Passover would have been held on a Saturday evening. The first day of the Unleavened Bread festival would be Sunday. This date would fit in neither with the Synoptic nor with the Johannine chronology, but it would avoid the difficulty, which Loisy regards as almost as great, of the coincidence of the crucifixion with the day on which all the final preparations for the Passover feast were made.

Loisy further thinks that it is not wholly certain that the day of the crucifixion was Friday. For instead of the day of the resurrection being deduced from the Friday, it is possible that Sunday was chosen as the day of the resurrection, and hence the Friday, reckoning backwards, was invented as the day of the crucifixion (*E. S.* II. p. 491). But probably Loisy's extreme scepticism is unjustified. It remains probable that the crucifixion happened on a Friday.

For some further remarks upon the subject, see Additional Note 26. The main dates of Jesus's life and death are, in any case, fairly sure. He was born before Herod the Great's death (4 B.C.). John the Baptist preaches in 28 A.D.; Jesus may have been baptized the same year. He himself begins to preach, say, early in 29, and is crucified in 30. The exact date may have been Friday, April 8th. The month and day of the year are computed according to an astronomical calculation that there was a full moon on Thursday, April 7th, and to a tradition recorded by Clement of Alexandria.

3–9. The Anointing in Bethany

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvi. 6–13; Luke vii. 36–50)

3 And while he was at Bethany in the house of Simon the leper,
as he sat at table, there came a woman having an alabaster cruse
of precious ointment of pure balsam; and she broke the cruse,
4 and poured the balsam on his head. And some were angry, saying
among themselves, 'Why has this waste of ointment been com-
5 mitted? For it might have been sold for more than three hundred
pieces of silver, and have been given to the poor.' And they re-
6 proached her. But Jesus said, 'Let her alone; why plague ye
7 her? she has wrought a good deed towards me. For ye have the
poor with you always, and whensoever ye will ye may do them
8 good: but me ye have not always. She has done what she could:
9 she has anointed my body beforehand for its burial. Verily I say
unto you, Wherever the gospel shall be preached throughout the
whole world, that which she has done shall also be spoken of in
her memory.'

This story is, in Luke, given a different setting, and referred to a much earlier date in the life of Jesus. How much of it is historical is dubious. In the fourth Gospel the anointing takes place before the entry into Jerusalem; J. Weiss thinks this date

is more probable. Here the story seems to break the connection between verse 2 and verse 10. It is, as W. and others think, 'secondary' and late. If the date 'after two days' referred to the Last Supper which originally came close after it, then the place (*i.e.* Bethany) assigned to the dinner (now the dinner of the anointing) may also, in the original document, have been related to the last repast of Jesus with his disciples (*E. S.* I. p. 100). If it was not a Passover meal, it need not have been, and probably was not, held in Jerusalem.

3. Jesus is at table. Whether the meal is in the evening or earlier is not stated. It may be argued that we are to assume that Jesus had been in Jerusalem, and had returned to sleep in Bethany. Simon the leper is spoken of as if he were well known. There seems no reason to doubt that he is a historical character. He is doubtless called the leper because he had formerly been leprous, though he now was cured.

The woman is not named. The older tradition did not know her name. As time went on, the tendency to give names to such anonymous persons grew stronger. Hence, in the fourth Gospel, the woman is identified and named.

The object of her action is to show Jesus honour, and this she does by using up all the valuable balsam, and even breaking the vessel of alabaster in which it is contained.

4. 'Some' are indignant at the waste. The MS. D turns the 'some' into the 'disciples,' which seems reasonable. This reading is followed by Matthew.

6–9. Jesus's reply. Whether any of this reply is historical is uncertain. J. Weiss would wish to claim as historical 6 and 7. Even in that case we have to assume that Jesus thought that his death might possibly be nigh. By this time, even though he went to Jerusalem to triumph and not to die, he may have come to realize that death would be the more probable issue of his venture. He may have said, 'Me ye have not always with you,' with a sort of wistful implication that the end was not far off.

Whether historic or not, the story is beautiful, and the words of Jesus in 6 and 7 are touching and significant. Special occasions justify special actions. An act of love and reverence may justify exceptional and costly means. The teaching of 6 and 7 supplements (and only apparently contradicts) the teaching of Matt. xxv. 36–46. Both are justified in their season, and we can still in their due season make justified application of both.

8. The first three Greek words are not quite easy. 'She has done what she could'—what it was in her power to do. As J. Weiss

says, the words would be suitable to a situation such as that of Mark xii. 44: less so here, for the owner of the balsam is not a poor woman who gives her all. The words are generally interpreted to mean: she has done what could only then be done and not again; *i.e.* as the next phrase explains, she has anticipated the anointment of his corpse, which was attempted after his death, but not carried out. This interpretation seems to put into the three Greek words, ὃ ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν, more than they can contain.

But, in any case, the eight following words definitely make the curious statement that the woman by anticipation anointed his body for burial. This may merely mean that she has done it beforehand, or inverted the order. But it may also allude to, or have been coined because of, xvi. 1. There three women go early on the morning of the resurrection to the tomb, in order to anoint the Master's dead body. But, as Jesus has already risen, they are unable to carry out their purpose. The anointing which the three women tried in vain then to accomplish had already been done in Bethany by anticipation. It may, however, be noted that the Greek words are different. In xvi. 1 the verb used is ἀλείφειν. The material is ἀρώματα. Here the verb is μυρίζειν, and the material is μύρον νάρδου.

In either *nuance* of meaning the words are inconceivable in Jesus's mouth. He not only assumes his death, but also his burial, and nobody is astonished.

As to how far xiv. 8 and xvi. 1 are in accordance with Jewish custom, see Additional Note 27.

9. The third portion of Jesus's speech also bears the mark of a later date. The word 'gospel' (εὐαγγέλιον) would hardly have thus been used by him. The good tidings here clearly imply the full story of Jesus's life, and sufferings, and death. (At the same time the 'proclamation' or preaching is still verbal.) Jesus's vehement assurance that the woman's deed shall always be included in the gospel story awakens a suspicion that it was not always a part of it. Surely the woman's name should have been part of her 'memorial,' and this is omitted (W.). Holtzmann thinks that the verse in its present form may have been enlarged and 'edited.' Perhaps Jesus said: 'Her deed shall never be forgotten'; 'when my story is told, her deed shall always be remembered.' Thus do the commentators weave hypothesis to hypothesis, and add argument to argument. They play among the shadows of an irrecoverable past. Happy are they, as to me it seems, whose religion does not depend too greatly—happiest they whose religion does not depend at all—upon the historic accuracy of a miraculous and quasi-legendary narrative, written for purposes

of edification or conversion by excitable and credulous men, to whom the sovereign sacredness of historic fact was a distant and unknown conception.

As to the original meaning of the anointing, Pfleiderer, following Van Manen, makes the suggestion that it was an anointing, not for anticipated death, but for anticipated kingship. The woman's faith in the near approach of the Messianic Kingdom showed itself in her thus anointing its king (*Urchristentum*, I. p. 386).

10, 11. The Betrayal

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvi. 14–16; Luke xxii. 3–6)

10 And Judas Iscariot, one of the Twelve, departed unto the chief
11 priests, to betray him unto them. And when they heard it, they were glad, and promised to give him money. And he sought a good opportunity to betray him.

10. There seems no good reason to suspect that the action of Judas Iscariot is not historical. That a disciple betrayed the Master would hardly have been invented by legend. Mark says nothing of his motive. Much has been conjectured. Was he disappointed that Jesus did not actively assume the Messianic *rôle*? Did he want to force his hand? Had he been a disciple for a short time only, and therefore misunderstood the character and aims of the Master? Brandt supposes that he had only joined Jesus upon the latter's arrival in Judæa (*op. cit.* pp. 484, 485). (Iscariot is supposed to mean 'the man from Kariot,' a place already mentioned in Joshua xv. 25. W. thinks this explanation impossible, and that the name has, so far, not been capable of explanation. *Cp.* his note on Mark iii. 19.)

At first sight it might seem that no betrayer was necessary, for Jesus was by this time well known (*cp.* verse 48). But the desire of the authorities was to effect a secret arrest, and for this purpose Judas's offer was convenient and timely. Perhaps Jesus changed his night quarters on purpose. He may have suspected what was planned. To know where he would be on any particular night some espionage or treachery was necessary.

The historical character of Judas Iscariot is confirmed by the further reflection that the historical Jesus would not have wished one of his own disciples to betray him, and we may safely assume that he did not foresee that he would do so. The prediction of 18 was a natural, but later, growth, when an explanation was needed for the fact that Jesus had admitted into the inner ring of

his disciples a man who misunderstood and betrayed him. We need not interpret 'then,' with which Matt. xxvi. 14 begins, too strictly. It is not to be assumed that Judas had no relations with the authorities till that particular moment. (*Cp. E. S.* II. p. 501.)

11. *εὐκαίρως*. Having made his arrangement with the authorities, and having received a promise that his treachery would be suitably rewarded, Judas now seeks for a convenient or opportune moment in which the arrest may take place.

12–16. Preparation for the Passover Meal

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvi. 17–20; Luke xxii. 7–14)

12 And on the first day of the unleavened bread, when they sacrifice
the passover, his disciples said unto him, 'Whither wouldst thou
13 that we go and prepare for thee to eat the passover?' And he sent
two of his disciples, and said unto them, 'Go ye into the city, and
14 a man will meet you bearing a pitcher of water: follow him. And
into whatever house he goes in, say ye to the master thereof, The
Master says, Where is my chamber where I may eat the passover
15 with my disciples? And he will show you a large upper room,
16 furnished with couches and ready; there prepare for us.' And his
disciples departed, and came into the city, and found as he had
said unto them: and they prepared the passover.

12. How far is this section historical? W. rejects it altogether, on the ground (*a*) of its miraculous character, which is like the equally unhistorical passage xi. 1–7; (*b*) of its supposition that Jesus ate the opening Paschal meal with his disciples, whereas, according to the fourth Gospel and to W., he died before Passover began. Note the curious parallelism in construction and wording with xi. 1–4. Rauch (*Z. N. W.* III. pp. 308–314) would regard 12–17 as a later insertion. Originally the passage 18 *seq.* was a continuation of the meal in Bethany. That the meal was the Passover meal and that its locale was Jerusalem was a later development.

If the Synoptic date for the crucifixion be retained, one might assume that an arrangement which Jesus had made with a householder in Jerusalem was turned into a miraculous coincidence. Menzies and others think that Jesus had arranged all the details beforehand, even down to the man with the water jar who was to be on the watch for the despatched disciples. The danger of

arrest was great. The smaller the number of those who knew where he was to be the better. This does not seem very probable.

J. Weiss, who accepts the Johannine chronology, thinks that the passage may 'höchstens' contain some recollections of the room in which Jesus ate his last evening meal with the disciples. *Cp.* as a possible basis for the whole 1 Sam. x. 2–5.

'On the first day of the Unleavened Bread.' This is a loose expression. What is meant is: on the day the sunset of which was the beginning of the festival. 'The first day of Unleavened Bread' would extend to a Jew from sunset to sunset. Chwolson assumes that the original text has been mistranslated. In any case what is meant is clear enough. The Paschal meal had to be eaten, say, on the evening of Thursday. On Thursday *morning* the disciples ask Jesus where he will eat it. The odd thing is perhaps that no arrangement was made *before* Thursday morning. But this detail need not be accurate. Chwolson has shown that, strictly speaking, 'the first day of (the feast of) Unleavened Bread' would be the fifteenth of Nisan, and could not mean the fourteenth. In Numbers xxviii. 16 the fourteenth day is called the Passover; the fifteenth day is said to be a feast, on and from which the seven day festival of Unleavened Bread starts. The same phrases are used in Leviticus xxiii. 5 and 6. Chwolson's final explanation of the words in Mark and Matthew is that the original Aramaic ran ביומא קמי רפסחא. This meant, 'on the day before the Passover,' *i.e.* on the thirteenth. But the word קמי can also mean 'first.' Hence the translators rendered 'on the first day of the Passover (festival).' This reading is still found in some versions and MSS. It was further altered to 'on the first day of Unleavened Bread,' to which the words 'when they sacrifice the Passover' were added as a gloss (Chwolson, p. 180 of his new edition).

Jesus, against his wont, is in the daytime not in Jerusalem, but goes there at evening in order to eat the Passover.

13. The 'man' is the servant of the owner of the house in 14. One could hardly get into the city without meeting (as Loisy observes) more than one water carrier, especially at such a period of the year. The 'man' is known to Jesus, but not to the disciples. 'All this is extremely vague and has scarcely the look of a really historical reminiscence' (*E. S.* II. p. 509).

15. *ἀνάγαιον*, 'an upper chamber'; *ἐστρωμένον*, 'spread with couches,' 'mit Tischpolstern belegt' (B. Weiss).

17–21. Prediction of the Betrayal

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvi. 21–25; Luke xxii. 21–23)

18 And in the evening he went thither with the Twelve. And as they sat and ate, Jesus said, 'Verily I say unto you, One of you
19 will betray me, who is now eating with me.' And they were grieved, and said unto him, one after the other, 'Surely not I?'
20 And he answered and said unto them, 'One of the Twelve, who
21 dippeth with me into the dish. For the Son of man indeed departeth, as it is written of him: but woe to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed! Better were it for that man if he had never been born.'

17. The 'Twelve' is used loosely. Two were already in the city.

18. The two paragraphs 18–21 and 22–25 both deal with the events of the 'Last Supper.' Note the words 'as they ate' repeated in 22. W. would distinguish between the two paragraphs. The second is for him historical; not the first.

How much of the incident is due to Psalm xli. 9? A critical view of the story can hardly allow a large amount of historical basis. Even J. Weiss thinks the most we can do is to suppose that Jesus may have expressed some fear or anticipation that one of his disciples or friends would betray him. It is improbable, as he says, that Judas, after his visit to the authorities, returned to close intercourse with Jesus. He suddenly reappears upon the scene in 43. So too Loisy. The prediction of the betrayal has been intercalated in the story of the Last Supper. It is not historical (*E. S.* II. p. 515).

20. The reply of Jesus in this verse is very peculiar. The Twelve are present; yet he does not say, as in 18, 'One of you,' but 'One of the Twelve,' as if they were not with him, or as if he were not speaking to them. Is this the effect of an old tradition that Jesus had said that one of the Twelve would betray him?

In the second part of the verse the words, 'who dippeth with me into the dish' is not intended to refer specifically to Judas. It is not implied that at that very moment when Jesus was speaking Judas dipped his hand into the dish. Judas is not singled out, for all dip into the dish. It merely means 'one who is dining

with me.' Or the words may mean 'one who has lived in familiar intercourse with me' (*cp.* Psalm xli. 9).

In Luke the prediction of the betrayal takes place after the communion scene, and the words are still vaguer: 'Behold the hand of him who betrayeth me is with me at the table.' If the prediction is historic, Luke's version seems the best.

The desire for greater definiteness is seen in Matthew's version, in which Judas asks if he is the betrayer, and Jesus replies 'Thou hast said,' which is perhaps equivalent to 'Yes.' The change of the participle from the present (ἐμβαπτόμενος) to the aorist (ἐμβάψας) is probably meant also to point and single out Judas ('he who has just dipped').

That Jesus should have definitely said before the others that Judas would betray him is very improbable. Would Judas then have been allowed freely to leave the table (Mark does not record his departure) and to effect his purpose?

The dubious historical character of the prediction of the betrayal is emphasised by Wrede in his excellent essay, *Judas Ischarioth in der urchristlichen Ueberlieferung*. The story he thinks is a *vaticinium ex eventu*. Jesus is endowed with a superhuman insight. Moreover Jesus knows that Judas will betray him, and though he is on his guard against his enemies, who do not know his exact whereabouts and quarters, he yet to the last tolerates the traitor at his side. Is it conceivable that the disciples could have said, 'Lord, not I'? 'An sich selbst konnte hier jeder Jünger zweifellos am wenigstens denken.'

'The dish.' Most commentators say the Passover dish 'charoseth,' that is, a semi-liquid compound made up of almonds, figs, dates, spices, and vinegar. (But W.—independent as usual—says it means the gravy of the roasted lamb.) The participators in the Passover meal dip the unleavened bread and the bitter herbs in this charoseth mixture and eat them.

21. To some—*e.g.* to W.—this verse is the more suspicious and late because the 'Son of man' twice occurs in it. To others—*e.g.* J. Weiss—the words are 'very old,' and possibly were even spoken by Jesus himself. The expression ὑπάγει ('goes away,' 'departs') is vague and mysterious. It is used again in the fourth Gospel (vii. 33, viii. 21, 22).

What is the Scripture reference? Is it to Isaiah liii.? This does not seem certain.

Whatever the historical evidence of the scene may be, its solemnity and impressiveness cannot be denied.

22–25. The Last Supper

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvi. 26–29; Luke xxii. 15–20)

22 And while they were eating, Jesus took bread, and said the
blessing, and broke it, and gave it to them, and said, 'Take, this
23 is my body.' And he took a cup, and spoke the blessing, and gave
24 it to them: and they all drank of it. And he said unto them,
'This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many.
25 Verily I say unto you, I shall not drink again of the fruit of the
vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God.'

These four verses can be dealt with at any conceivable length. To discuss them and their parallels in the other Gospels and in Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians in full detail a whole book, as big as this book and bigger, could easily be written. But immensely important as these verses are in the history of Christian theology —and indeed we might add, in European history—much as they have contributed to the weal and woe of the mediæval and modern world, it is unnecessary to dwell upon them at any great length in a book or commentary intended primarily for Jewish readers. So far as Jews are interested in them from a general point of view, they can read about them in the endless works of Christian theologians. Jews will never commemorate the rite then instituted by Jesus, if instituted it was; its precise meaning is for them, as Jews, one of very minor and secondary importance. It is of profound importance and interest for them to consider whether, and how far, and in what, the moral and religious teaching of the Sermon on the Mount excels the teaching of the Old Testament and the Rabbis. What precisely Jesus meant by the words attributed to him in Mark xiv. 22–25 does not greatly concern them. They need no communion except with God. They worship the Father and Him alone, not materially or by the help of bread and wine, but, to quote the language of the fourth Gospel, 'in spirit and truth.'

The problems raised by the four verses are very numerous, and the divergence of the commentators is extreme.

To begin with, was the Last Supper the Passover meal? Those who accept the Synoptic date for the crucifixion think that it was; those who reject this date, and believe that the first night of Passover was on Friday and not on Thursday, think that it was not. In the latter case it need not necessarily have been, and most probably was not, held in Jerusalem. The words of Mark

and the words of Paul (1 Cor. xi. 23–25) do not compel one to believe that it was the Passover meal. And even if it was the Passover meal, the rite or actions mentioned in the four verses of Mark seem to stand, or can stand, out of close connection with the special rites of the Passover.

But whether the Last Supper was the Passover or no is really a subsidiary question. Far more important and far more intricate and perplexing are the questions:

(*a*) What did the words, as we find them in Mark, exactly mean to Mark?

(*b*) Can we, on the basis of what Mark says, and of what Paul says, and of what Luke and Matthew say, draw any conclusions as to what Jesus did and said, and as to what he meant by what he did and said?

It will be seen that the answer, at least to the second question, must be exceedingly problematic. The differences between Mark and Paul and Luke (in whom we have to take account of a most important variety of reading) are sufficiently serious to make it doubtful as to what exactly Jesus did. As what he did is doubtful, how can we penetrate with any degree of certainty to what he meant in that which he possibly did?

The main points in dispute are, first, whether Jesus intended to institute a rite to be celebrated after his death, or whether he did something, or acted some symbol, for the sake of his disciples then present, once and for all. Secondly, whether what he did was a symbolic rite of communion, or whether it symbolized the offering or sacrifice of himself that he was going to make for the benefit of his community by his approaching death.

As to the second question, there can be no doubt that the conception of the Last Supper as a symbolic or dramatic representation of a sacrifice, even if not intended by Jesus, was soon ascribed to it and to him, after his death. And as such it is regarded by Mark and by Paul. But soon the rite was not merely regarded as a dramatic symbol or representation. The bread and wine were not merely symbols, but in some mystic sense they became that which they symbolized, at least for those who in faith and purity received them. The process, which culminated in the full Roman doctrine of 'transubstantiation,' began early. But the other idea of communion was maintained or developed, as well as that of a sacrifice. And, indeed, the two could pass into each other. For sacrifice and communion to the ancient world are two aspects of the same thing. Moreover the mystic and sacramental idea of the 'elements'—of the bread and wine—was generated or stimulated by the idea of communion. By means of a joint

participation in sacred food the eaters are knit unto the god and to one another.

We may also surmise, with high probability, that though the words which Mark employs do not definitely say that the rite was instituted for repetition, still Mark, like Paul, meant his readers to infer, as he himself believed, that it was. In his days, when he wrote, the ceremonial was practised not only as an imitation of the Last Supper, but with the idea that a command of Jesus, then enjoined, was being faithfully carried out.

It is, perhaps, therefore, the more remarkable that Mark, unlike Paul, says nothing about repetition, or as to a rite instituted 'for the sake of remembrance.' Hence there seems, for this reason, as for others, much to be said for the view held by W. and by others, that the rites mentioned by Mark, as performed by Jesus at the Last Supper, were intended to be something done once and for all as between himself and his disciples.

According to most of those who take this view, what Jesus did was, in anticipation and expectation of his approaching death, to celebrate an act of sacramental communion with his disciples, in order that they might hold together after his death and to some extent supply his place. I will quote a few words from W., in which this view of the rites of the Last Supper is very clearly put forward:

'The ancient idea (then still alive among the Jews) of sacramental union by eating the same food lies at the bottom of the rite (*cp.* 1 Cor. x. 17). The body of those who have taken part in the same meal is renewed from the same source, and becomes one and the same.' 'The historic Last Supper had for its motive the near death of Jesus. It was a special act through which a society was founded, an act of brotherhood between the twelve disciples, in order that, when their head was gone, they might yet keep together and in a certain sense represent, and be the substitute for, their chief. The making of a covenant is effected once and for all; it needs, and can tolerate, no repetition.'

By the act of communion Jesus knits the disciples to one another and to him. He will still be mystically and spiritually present among them after his death till the Kingdom is established and the will of God has been fulfilled.

What remains to say will best be said in a more detailed consideration of the words themselves.

22. 'While they were eating.' Mark does not say that the rite was instituted at any special portion of the meal. To reach the conclusion that the regular meal was finished (whether the Passover meal or no), or that what was now to come was a special

addendum or extra, one has to make deductions and combinations which are scarcely legitimate.

εὐλογήσας, 'said the blessing.' The word *εὐχαριστήσας*, used for the wine in the next verse, means the same thing. Although Jesus had already eaten bread and drunk wine at this meal, and said the blessing over them, still, as he was now going to use bread and wine for a special purpose, he says the blessing over again. We need not assume that we have here to think of the special Passover blessings for bread and wine.

ἔκλασεν, 'broke.' Tremendous conflicts cluster round this word. Was the breaking a mere detail, a mere necessary preparation or precedent for the distribution, or was a symbolism intended in the action of breaking? Many think the latter. 'Even as I break the bread, so will my body be broken by death.' This view is held by those who think that the rite symbolized the coming sacrifice; but it is not necessarily held by all of them. The breaking of the bread, says Holtzmann, was 'ein in Form einer symbolischen Handlung gekleideter Anschauungsunterricht' (p. 99). But the body of Jesus was not 'broken' by the crucifixion. Menzies, who adopts the view that the rite symbolized the death of Christ as his final gift for the benefit of others, denies that the 'breaking' is a part of this symbolism. W., in his usual emphatic style, says that the breaking is 'obviously' (*selbstverständlich*) only a preparation for its distribution, not a symbol. The wine was not scattered (*verschüttet*) to symbolize the pouring forth (*Vergiessung*) of the blood.

'He gave it to them.' These words involve a further warm dispute. Did Jesus himself eat and drink? Mark does not say that he did so, nor do the other two Synoptics, nor does Paul. Some of those who hold that the rite was a symbol of his death, think that he did not do so. Those who hold sacramental or Roman views of the bread and wine tend to argue on this side. The disciples eat of the sacrifice; they partake of that which symbolizes it; he who is to be sacrificed cannot partake of himself. Menzies, though his point of view is quite different, yet strongly emphasises his conviction that Jesus did not eat or drink. 'He cannot drink of the draught he has compared to his own blood; it is a thing he gives; it is for others, nor for him.'

Those commentators, on the other hand, who see in the rite a communion between Jesus and his disciples are naturally keen to argue that Jesus must himself have eaten and drunk. The omission to say that he did is merely due to the fact that his own eating or drinking, as obvious, is assumed and taken for granted. Some would see in Luke xxii. 17, 18, a proof that Jesus did not share in the wine which he bade the disciples drink. W. calls this

'eine unglaubliche Wortklauberei.' If Jesus did not eat and drink with the disciples 'dann fiele die ganze Communio dahin.'

'This is my body.' This is the shortest formula as regards the bread which we possess. Luke and Paul have extra words. In their brief and mysterious character we may see reason to believe that they are authentic.

What did they mean to Jesus? Gould seems to me justified when he says that to give them any material or semi-material or 'realistic' meaning is to interpret them in violation of the general teaching of Jesus. 'It would pull down all that he had been at pains to set up throughout his ministry—a spiritual religion.' The words rather mean 'this bread represents my body.' At the most we may assume the idea of communion through the common partaking of the same food. Jesus may be supposed to say, 'regard this bread as my body, and by eating it let us form one society, let us be united to each other; be you united to me.' Because Jesus himself also eats of the bread which they eat, it is as if they had partaken of him and become one with him.

If Jesus alluded to his death as a sacrifice or gift rendered for the sake of others, we can best interpret 'this is my body,' as Menzies interprets it. 'Even as I *give* you this bread, so I shall give up my body.' But this does not seem a very obvious idea or obvious parallelism.

23. We now come to the second portion of the rite, and are at once confronted with fresh puzzles and difficulties.

First, as to the four last words of the verse: 'which is shed (or poured out) for many.' W. regards them as an addition to the more original remainder. The idea of communion is crossed by them with the idea of a symbolizing of the sacrificial death.

There remains, then, if these words are removed, the phrase: 'this is my blood of the covenant.'

Now, J. Weiss points out that the words 'of the covenant' join awkwardly on to the words 'my blood.' Hence the suspicion is aroused that here too we have an addition assimilating Mark to Paul, and that the oldest form is, 'this is my blood,' in close parallelism to 'this is my body.'

If so, then, to Mark, the meaning of the whole would be: 'as the wine is poured forth from the chalice, so was the blood (or life) of Jesus spilt as a sacrifice.' The wine symbolizes the death of Jesus just as the bread does.

But if Jesus spoke the first four words (*i.e.* 'this is my blood'), he meant by them in all probability much the same as he meant by 'this is my body.' The wine, too, formed part of the communion

rite. Because they ate and drank what he ate and drank, therefore—regarding the bread and wine as symbolizing his body and blood—they had become one with him; he had knit them to him by a sacramental bond. W. would keep 'of the covenant.' It is an epexegetical genitive: my blood, which is or forms the covenant.

This part of the rite W. regards as semi-sacrificial. The wine recalls the blood of the sacrifice by which communion was originally made. This seems to me very doubtful, as the days in which blood was drunk lay so very far off. But W. says: 'The meal (the bread) sufficed for making a union. But it is only a shadow of the old union (*Verbrüderung*) by sacrifice. This was done, not merely through the sacrificial meal, but more solemnly by the sacrificial blood, which the participants applied to themselves in the same way as to the god (*i.e.* the idol on the altar), by smearing or sprinkling. This sprinkling was a softening down of a more original drinking. Another softening down was the substitution of red wine for blood. Wine is a better means of uniting together than bread; it symbolizes the blood, which is more important than the flesh, and is regarded as the equivalent of the very life itself, the essence of what is holy and divine. Hence Jesus does not combine the bread and the wine in one act; he puts the stress upon the wine: the sacrifice is added to the meal.'

There is, however, some reason to think that the original rite performed by Jesus was limited to the bread. An important MS. reading in Luke, accepted by many scholars, and one interpretation of that reading, would suggest that the symbolic act in the Last Supper was confined to the breaking and distributing of the bread, and that the wine was not brought by Jesus into any connection with his blood and with his death. This view is supported by the fact that in many of the oldest Christian communities water was used in the celebration of the 'communion' and not wine. Moreover, this was especially done in the Palestinian communities who kept most closely to the original traditions and were least influenced by Paul.

I would also venture to suggest how difficult it is for us to believe that a Palestinian or Galilæan Jew could have suggested that in drinking wine his disciples were, even symbolically, drinking blood. For the horror with which the drinking of blood was regarded by the Jews is well known.

Taking the words in Mark as we find them, a reference to the covenant of Exodus xxiv. 8 is pretty clear. Whether Jesus intended such a reference is far more doubtful, even if he spoke part of the verse. But to Mark the new covenant was to be sealed by blood, even as the old covenant which it transcends or supersedes. Some

such idea was doubtless in the mind of the writer of 1 Cor. xi. 25, and of our verse in Mark.

Even if Jesus only said 'this is my body,' we may hardly assume that this communion ceremony was not performed by Jesus with the feeling, and because of the feeling, that his death was nigh. W. says: 'Some have doubted whether Jesus was conscious of his approaching death, and whether the disciples could have understood this background of his action. But he knew the danger which threatened him. He passed the night out of doors. The scene at Gethsemane is fundamentally historic: his fear of death, his wish to avoid it, do not fit in with the conception of later writers that he went to Jerusalem with the intent to die there. That the disciples did not realize the seriousness of the situation, and that, therefore, they could not have understood at the moment the allusion at the Last Supper to his death, must be admitted. Yet the words which Jesus then said—his last words to them when together with him—would have remained in their minds, even though not understood, till the very short interval had passed when, after his death, their true significance was revealed to them.'

Thus W. argues that in *τὸ αἷμά μου*, if not already in *τὸ σῶμά μου*, one must admit a reference to the imminent death. He adds: 'Nevertheless the two short statements remain dark and mysterious. The only comparatively safe thing to do is to set forth the circle of old ideas from which their explanation must start. In that age of general religious ferment these old ideas were then coming to fresh life in various places.'

25. If Jesus did not himself drink when he handed the cup, the words must imply that he had drunk before at the meal—the usual Passover cups, if the supper was the Passover meal—but that he would thenceforth drink no more, and so did not drink of the cup which he now hands round to his disciples. More probably, however, the words imply that he now drank again, and that this solemn draught was to be his last.

The words in their general sense are clear. Jesus says that he will drink no more till he drinks the new wine in and of the Kingdom of God. It is the wine of Isaiah xxv. 6. The joys of the Kingdom are constantly referred to in Rabbinical literature under the metaphor of pleasures of food and drink. Jesus accepts and uses the metaphor; indeed, we cannot be sure that it was merely a metaphor to him, for there might be such a thing in the world of the resurrection and of the Kingdom as a drinking which is only semi-material. Jesus's last words are spoken in a tone of proud confidence and joyous hope, which is very remarkable.

'Καινόν is not the word for new wine, for which *νέον* is used, but *καινόν* denotes a new kind of wine. In the making of all things new, the *ἀνακαίνωσις* (Romans xii. 2; Titus iii. 5), there is to be a new festal meeting and association of Christ and his disciples—a realization of these earthly feasts and symposia, which are brought to an end in this Last Supper' (Gould).

Does Menzies deduce from the verse too much or not when he writes: 'Jesus knows that his death is at hand, and his drinking is over for the present. But he will drink again. The separation will be very short to which he is looking forward, and after it he will be in the Kingdom of God where all is new, the wine as well as other things....The verse certainly shows that he looked for the advent of the Kingdom to take place at once; his death was to be the signal for its appearance; he was to return at once out of the realm of death to take his place in it at the head of those whom by dying he has enabled to enter it'?

In its present connection, the verse appears to indicate a two-fold conviction in the mind of Jesus: he is about to die, but the Kingdom of God will surely come, perhaps even is near at hand. Though Jesus may have gone to Jerusalem not to die, but to initiate the Kingdom, he may now have realized that this was not to be, and that, even if he was the Messiah, it was probably God's will that he should end his earthly career by suffering death at his enemies' hands: nevertheless he did not waver in his conviction that the Kingdom was coming. By his death, or in spite of his death, the Kingdom would come. His noble faith in God was not weakened by adverse circumstance.

W. lays great stress upon this verse. Whereas Brandt does not hold that its words are authentic (*op. cit.* pp. 288–302), W. considers that there is no saying of Jesus which gives us more the impression of authenticity than this one. But why he thinks so is because he finds certain implications in the saying, which are by no means obviously to be found there. It is true, as W. points out, that Jesus does not speak of his Parousia, of his return in power as the Messiah. But is it not going too far to say that he does not represent himself as the Messiah at all? ('Es ist unverkennbar, dass er sich in diesem Augenblicke gar nicht als Messias gibt, weder als gegenwärtigen, noch als zukünftigen.') Is it not going too far to say that he only regards himself as one of the guests at the table, at which the elect are to sit, after the Kingdom, without his agency (*ohne sein Zutun*), shall have come, and that anybody else could have expressed the hope that he would take part in the joys of the Kingdom in precisely the same words? It is true he does not speak of his own special resurrection (*seine singuläre Auferstehung*), but is it not going too far when W. seems to imply that this 'most

authentic' utterance of Jesus shows that he did not think that he had any special part to play either in the Kingdom itself when established, or in bringing it about?

On the assumption that W. and others are right in holding that at the Last Supper Jesus did not institute a rite to be repeated after his death, but performed a rite as between himself and his disciples, once and for all, it may be asked how it came about that the rite was perpetuated and developed into a solemn liturgical practice and ceremony? Into this question I cannot enter here. Sufficient for our purpose to say that it is supposed that the rite grew up as it were from a twofold stem. On the one hand, it was the custom of Jesus to share common meals with his disciples; he broke bread with them habitually. At these meals there may have sometimes been wine; more usually only water. This practice of common meals was continued after the Master's death, and he was even supposed to be, in a sort of spiritual sense, still present among the disciples ('Die alte Tischgemeinschaft mit dem Meister wurde festgehalten. Das machte sich von selbst, er hatte es nicht ausdrücklich beim letztenmal befohlen.') But the second stem was a conscious imitation of the Last Supper itself, with a modified and more sacrificial interpretation of the communion rite. An immense step in the development of the rite must have been given by the teaching of Paul. Into all this, however, these notes cannot enter.

Pfleiderer's view is partly dependent upon his peculiar interpretation of 25. He supposes that at the 'Last Supper' Jesus did not look forward to imminent death, but to the near victory of his cause upon earth in his life-time. He will drink wine again; not at the resurrection and not in heaven, but in the flesh, upon earth, when the Kingdom has been established. (This view W. calls 'ein schlechter Spass.') So, too, Pfleiderer supposes that Matt. xix. 28, and Luke xxii. 29, 30, refer to a banquet and to a dominion, not separated from the time of speaking by the death of Jesus and the general resurrection, but to be realized in the life-time of Master and disciples alike.

Hence Pfleiderer admits no allusion to Jesus's death in the original meaning of 'this is my body.' He denies the authenticity of the cup and of 'this is my blood,' mainly upon the ground that the purified and oldest text of Luke knows nothing of any sacramental interpretation of the wine or of its relation to the blood of Jesus. (See the notes on Luke xxii. 15–20.) 'This is my body' meant to Jesus: 'by eating this symbol of my body, that is, of my life, you are united to me and to one another, and we all become one body, one inseparable whole' (*cp.* 1 Cor. x. 17). What Jesus intended to do 'was simply to make a covenant of

friendship by the common participation of religiously consecrated food.' Jesus did not want to make a new covenant to replace the old. 'He did not want to destroy Law and prophets, but to fulfil them.' The new meanings ascribed to the bread and the wine, the new covenant, the atonement wrought by the death, all these things are due to the teaching of Paul (*Urchristentum*, I. pp. 388, 683).

Loisy's commentary upon the Synoptic Gospels was not published till the above notes had been written. It will be less confusing if I do not attempt to alter those notes, but only add here a short statement of his views which are important and far reaching.

To begin with, Loisy holds that all three Gospels mean the same thing in spite of their divergencies. More particularly Luke in spite of his difference of order, &c., nevertheless does not mean anything different. The 'institution of the Last Supper' has the same meaning to him as to Mark and Matthew (Loisy accepts the reading of D as the primitive reading of Luke, *i.e.* he includes verse 19 up to 'my body' and rejects the rest of 19 and all 20).

Secondly, he holds that all three go back in idea—not necessarily in language—to Paul. To Paul the eucharist, the sacramental blood and wine, includes the notions of sacramental communion and of the representation of the Christ's sacrificial death. The two are closely and inseparably allied. Just so also the brief words of Mark 'this is my body' cannot merely imply the creation of a sacramental union between the disciples and Jesus. They also refer to his imminent death and to that death as a sacrifice. This is more clearly expressed in the words about the cup and the blood. The breaking of the bread, and the wine in the cup, prefigure and symbolize this sacrifice, and though the words 'do this in recollection of me' are wanting, the Evangelists none the less intend the acts of Jesus to be regarded as the institution of a liturgical rite, commemorating and symbolizing his sacrifice, and securing a perpetual union with him through the eating of bread and the drinking of the wine. The faithful receive mystically his body and blood and so become one with him.

All this is Pauline doctrine and goes back only to Paul. The new covenant supersedes the old covenant of Exodus xxiv. 8.

If Luke does not make Jesus say of the wine, 'this is my blood,' nevertheless he means the wine also to be sacramentally understood. But from his omission of the words 'this is my blood,' we may infer that the reference of the bread to the body of Christ preceded that of the wine to his blood. Paul himself makes Jesus say, not 'this is my blood,' but 'this cup is,' that is, represents, 'the new covenant made in my blood.'

Did, then, Jesus say 'this is my body'? As Loisy thinks that the words cannot be stripped of their Pauline tenor, he is driven to deny this. He largely agrees with Andersen's remarkable article in the *Zeitschrift der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft* (Vol. III. 1902, pp. 115–134). But there are special indications which tend to the same conclusion. Note, in the first place, the 25th verse of Mark's 14th chapter. Contrast it with 24. The two belong to different 'courants d'idées,' and with a little reflection one can see that only the words of 25 would have been intelligible to the disciples. The words of 24 only contain a meaning for those who are already acquainted with Paul's theory about the redemptive death of Jesus.

Note, in the second place, that in Mark the words 'this is my blood,' &c. are not said till the disciples have drunk of the cup (Matthew transposes the order). But these words should precede, not succeed their drinking. On the other hand, the words in 25 rightly follow the distribution of the cup. Thus in the source from which Mark drew his narrative the statement in 24 did not occur. He added the Pauline words of 24, which he did not necessarily take from 1 Cor. xi. 25, but from the eucharistic rites of the communities founded by the apostle.

Then, as to the words 'this is my body.' They correspond with 'this is my blood' and must stand or fall with them, even though they occur (unlike 'this is my blood') in the true Luke. The original for the bread is similar to the original for the wine. As Jesus said of the wine that he would drink of it no more till he drank it in the Kingdom, so he said of the bread that he would eat of it no more till he ate it in the Kingdom. Whether the last meal was the Passover or not (and this Loisy leaves an open question), the original saying about the bread is more or less preserved in Luke xxii. 16 as the original saying about the wine is preserved in Mark xiv. 25. In order to find room for 'this is my body' Luke applied to the entire meal words which had originally been said of the bread alone. (See last paragraph on next page.)

The sort of isolation in which 'this is my blood' stands in Mark, and 'this is my body' in Luke, the impossibility of explaining them by the context—while they are so easy to understand in Paul—tend to show that the body and the blood have been intercalated in a narrative where bread and wine were only mentioned in relation to the approaching Messianic banquet and Kingdom.

M. Loisy implies that even if the words were supposed to have been merely 'this is my blood' and 'this is my body,' yet they could not be reasonably attributed to Jesus. He does not think that they can be limited in their application to the mere idea of

communion (as in W.'s interpretation), or that the idea of the sacrificial death can be excluded from them. He holds that the anticipation (*la perspective*) of the Messianic banquet excludes the remembrance (*le mémorial*') of the death. It was only the fact of that death and the faith in the risen Christ which interpolated (here as elsewhere) the mystery of the redeeming death in the gospel of the Kingdom and 'le grand avènement' (*E. S.* II. p. 540).

The real words of Jesus, 'I shall not eat or drink again,' may perhaps imply his death, but they do not announce it. Like all the other authentic sayings of Jesus, they maintain the point of view (*la perspective*) of the imminent Messianic advent. They do uot imply that a long time will elapse before the Kingdom comes; nor do they directly say that the death of Jesus must first intervene. They do imply that a radical change is close at hand and that one cannot depend upon the morrow; to-morrow the expected Kingdom will perhaps be there, but perhaps, on the other hand, there will be a terrible crisis before the Kingdom, which is nevertheless near at hand, actually arrives (*cp. E. S.* I. p. 219).

How out of the Last Supper as it actually happened was developed the institution of the eucharist is another matter, on which I need not dwell here. It probably owes its origin (*a*) to the historic common meals which Jesus was wont to partake of with his disciples, and (*b*) to the inventive genius of Paul. For the common meals continued after Jesus's death, perpetuated his memory, and still united his disciples with him who was yet alive, and yet among them, though invisibly. Paul was the first to conceive and represent this common meal as an institution which commemorates the Saviour who had given up his body and shed his blood for the salvation of the world, and which had been founded by the will of Jesus himself.

Andersen agrees with W. in omitting from the original Luke all xxii. 19. His view is that the original narrative was something like this: 'Jesus spoke the blessing, broke the bread, gave it them, and said, Take, eat. For I say to you, I shall not again eat of it till it is eaten fresh in the Kingdom of God (*i.e.* Luke xxii. 16). And he received the cup, and spoke the blessing, and said, Take this and divide it among you (*i.e.* Luke xxii. 17). For I say to you that I shall not drink from this product of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the Kingdom of God' (*i.e.* Mark xiv. 25). Upon this basis Mark's narrative was constructed and elaborated.

26–31. Peter's Denial foretold

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvi. 30–35; Luke xxii. 31–34)

26 And after they had sung the *Hallel*, they went out to the
27 mount of Olives. And Jesus said unto them, 'Ye will all stumble; for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep will be
28 scattered. But after I have risen, I will go before you to Galilee.'
29 But Peter said unto him, 'Even if all shall stumble, yet will not I.'
30 And Jesus said unto him, 'Verily I say unto thee, This day, even in this night, before the cock crow twice, thou wilt deny me thrice.'
31 But he spoke the more vehemently, 'If I must die with thee, I will not deny thee.' So also said they all.

26. Loisy thinks that 26 was 'originally' followed by 32. The intervening story was made up to show that two events had been predicted, namely Peter's denial and the flight or defection of the apostles. Only the first of these is really described in the Gospel, for xiv. 50 'n'est qu'une amorce pour le récit de [la] dispersion.' Verse 28 is inserted to prepare the way for the story of the empty tomb, a tale which implies the presence of the apostles in Jerusalem the second day after the Passion, in contradiction to what had been said of their immediate dispersion and flight (*E. S.* I. p. 100). What Loisy means is that in the growth of the story of the Passion the predictions naturally represent a later stratum than the facts which are predicted. On the other hand, the dispersion and flight of the disciples are historical: the clear relation of it has been suppressed. Verse 28 puts a new face upon the matter. The disciples went to Galilee after the discovery of the empty tomb, in order to obey the order implied in the prediction.

The definite Passover meal, which had not at any rate been directly alluded to since 16, is now again mentioned. For ὑμνήσαντες seem to mean 'having sung the "Hallel" Psalms,' *i.e.* the well-known festival Psalms cxiii.–cxviii., so familiar to every Jew. These were then sung at the end of the meal. Jesus leaves the city and goes out to the Mount of Olives. It has been thought that Bethany as his nightly quarters belongs to a secondary tradition. Mark xi. 19 says simply that he went for the night outside the city. Are we to assume that the particular place whither he went on this fatal evening was his *usual* nightly resting place? ou the road to Bethany, but not in Bethany? (so Loisy, *E. S.* II. p. 546). Others suppose, as it was the Jewish

custom to pass the first night of Passover in the city, that Jesus went to the Mount of Olives and not to Bethany, because the Mount was technically regarded as within the city. The question is obscure. For, as we have seen, it is doubtful whether the Last Supper was held on the first night of Passover, and not certain that it took place in Jerusalem. ('Ob in der ältesten Tradition der Ort der Abendmahls Jerusalem gewesen ist lässt sich bezweifeln.' W.)

27. Jesus predicts the defection of the disciples. There seems no reason why he should not have done this, though of course anyone can argue, if he pleases, that the prediction was made up to suit the event. Assuming that certain recollections of Peter were one of the sources of Mark, the words of Jesus in *17–31* may go back to the memory of the disciples and of Peter. It is not inconceivable that Jesus may have felt that his disciples, however ready to share with him in his ordinary life and in his journeys, were not made of adequate stuff to cleave to him if the hopes to which they clung were rudely shattered, and if he, whom they believed to be the Messiah, should be captured by his enemies.

If the opening words of the verse are authentic, the quotation from Zechariah (xiii. 7) was added later. The words are slightly altered to suit the occasion. ('I will smite' for 'smite.')

28. Though this verse can obviously not be attributed to Jesus by any thoroughly critical commentator, it is yet of much importance. For it seems to show, what is confirmed by other evidence, that the locality where Jesus was first seen, after his death, by his disciples was Galilee. The verse, as Holtzmann says, interrupts the connection, for *29* follows far better immediately after *27a*. It is wanting in the Fragment found in the Faijum in Egypt. Peter does not make the slightest allusion to it. Perhaps, however, it is Mark who himself added the verse to his source.

J. Weiss has a peculiar view about this verse, which is perhaps worth mentioning, as showing the endless possibilities for divergences of opinion in the interpretation of the Gospel narratives.

To begin with, he denies that verse 50 implies of necessity that the disciples in their flight returned to Galilee. Secondly, he argues that verse 28 does not say that Jesus will *appear to his disciples* in Galilee. On the contrary, what the verse says is that Jesus after his resurrection will go before them to Galilee, and Weiss thinks we may assume in addition: with the intention of establishing or awaiting there the Kingdom of God. Now, in this sense, the prediction was not fulfilled. Hence Weiss supposes that we have here 'ein höchst eigentümliches und unerfindbares Wort Jesu,' from which we can gather his fixed conviction that his circle

of disciples, scattered by his death, would be once more collected together by him after his resurrection.

All this seems improbable. It is more than doubtful whether Jesus ever predicted his resurrection, reappearance, and renewed activity upon earth in this definite sense and way.

29–31. May not this famous passage also contain a historical basis? Would Peter have allowed the story to grow up if there were not truth in it? The *precise* details and wording are another matter. The impetuosity and eagerness of Peter are admirably drawn, and are perhaps true to his actual character. But Loisy regards the whole prediction as unhistoric. It was made up after the event, just as the prediction of the dispersion of the disciples as a whole.

30. 'Before the cock crow twice.' Only Mark (though not in all the MSS.) speaks of *two* crowings. It is disputed whether there was a real cock, or whether the crowing had not grown out of the fact that 'cockcrowing' was used as a technical term to indicate a particular hour in the night—3 A.M. In any case the double crowing is, as we shall see, highly effective in the fulfilment. The meaning may be that Peter will have denied his Master three times between the beginning and end of the watch (3 A.M.–6 A.M.)—the two crowings marking the two limits of time. But the source in all probability spoke of only *one* crowing.

The writers of the Gospel maintain a splendid level of dignity and pathos throughout the story of the Passion. (For Jewish readers is it *quite* unnecessary to add that 'Passion' is used in its older sense of suffering?) Whether Mark xiv. and xv. tell truth or fiction, or whatever combination of the two, in simple sublimity and exquisite pathos they reach the very highest rung of the literary ladder. They are matchless.

31. How far may we find in Peter's words Loisy's interpretation of them? 'They talked of dying with their Master, without being yet convinced that he had to die; this is what Mark intends us to understand, while also letting us divine that many of them did really afterwards die for the Christ' (*E. S.* II. p. 550).

32–42. GETHSEMANE

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvi. 36–46; Luke xxii. 39–46)

32 And they came to a place which was named Gethsemane: and
33 he said to his disciples, 'Sit ye here, while I pray.' And he took

with him Peter and James and John. And he began to be distressed and troubled, and he said unto them, 'My soul is exceeding sorrowful unto death: tarry ye here, and watch.' And he went forward a little, and threw himself upon the ground, and prayed that, if it were possible, the hour might pass from him. And he said, 'Abba, Father, all things are possible unto thee; take away this cup from me: nevertheless not what I will, but what thou wilt.' And he came and found them sleeping, and said unto Peter, 'Simon, sleepest thou? Couldest not thou watch one hour? Watch ye and pray, that ye come not into temptation. The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.' And again he went away, and prayed, speaking the same words. And he returned, and found them asleep again, for their eyes were heavy; and they knew not what to answer him. And he came the third time, and said unto them, 'Sleep ye still and take your rest? It is enough. The hour is come; behold, the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners. Rise up, let us go; lo, he that betrayeth me is at hand.'

Jesus is represented as fully convinced that the hour of his arrest, the beginning of the fatal End, is nigh. The narrator shows him to us almost divinely prescient, but in a moment of human weakness, turned by faith into new strength. The details of the exquisite story must not be pressed, but it may well have a historic basis. For the tendency was to turn Jesus from a man into a God, and a God has no moments of fear or agony, even if he is about to die. Thus the author of the fourth Gospel omits the scene altogether; it does not fit in with his theology or his conception of the 'divine word' made flesh. The disciples may have seen that Jesus was wrestling in prayer; they may have perceived that he was in trepidation and sore mental distress; they may have noticed that at the moment of the arrest, before they left him, he alone was perfectly collected and calm. Upon this knowledge, the story, as we have it now, may have been built up. Yet one cannot but marvel at the wonderful grace and beauty, the exquisite tact and discretion, which the narrative displays. There is not a word too little; there is not a word too much.

32. Gethsemane means 'oil press' or 'olive garden.' According to the fourth Gospel this garden or enclosure was a place to which Jesus had often resorted with his disciples, and where Judas would naturally seek him out.

Jesus, says W., did not leave the house in which he had

supped merely in order to pray. He feared arrest, and sought to avoid it by passing the night in the open air.

33, 34. Three special disciples are allowed to accompany him. Though he cannot depend upon them entirely, he does not perhaps wish to be quite alone in this dark hour. Luke says nothing of the distinction between the three and the other eight. Had Luke a separate source, or did *he*, as Loisy thinks, use the source which Mark himself had drawn upon? In any case the three disciples are as doubtful here as in the transfiguration. The motive is to show that the chief disciples are still without intelligence. They go to sleep. 'The intention of the Pauline redactor is always the same, and that intention explains better than the hypothesis of personal recollections the most characteristic peculiarities in Mark's narrative.' 'At the end of the story, no difference is made between the three and the eleven; Jesus, returning to the three, is found also with the eleven, and is speaking to them when Judas arrives. No more here than elsewhere does it seem probable that the redactor fills up with special Petrine recollections less precise data of the general apostolic tradition.' 'Once more and for the last time does he desire to emphasise the dulness and apathy of even the chief apostles before that mystery of the Passion, which Jesus in his prayer at Gethsemane had again revealed to them' (*E. S.* I. p. 101, II. pp. 560, 566). (The feelings of Jesus are drawn out with great delicacy and charm by Menzies, in his admirable Commentary; it is only on re-reading it that one sometimes asks: does not its author expound and know too much?)

Peter and the two others see physical signs of fear and distress. Moreover, Jesus says to them, 'My soul is very grieved, even unto death.'

The word περίλυπος is used in the Greek translation of Psalms xlii. 5, 11, xliii. 5. It is usually rendered 'very sorrowful.' Menzies has 'in great suffering.' 'Even unto death' is a reminiscence of Jonah iv. 9. As to the meaning, it is either, 'I would that I were already dead,' *i.e.* 'I would that the awful experiences I have to go through were over,' or (J. Weiss) 'my grief is so great that I feel as if death were upon me.'

The words in which Jesus's fear and distress are depicted are very strong: ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν, 'to be full of terror and distress,' is Dr Weymouth's rendering.

35. He had asked the three disciples to wait and watch. They were to give him timely notice should intruders appear upon the scene. Or perhaps 'he wanted them to watch with him, to share his vigil, not against human foes, but against the flood of

woes overwhelming his soul. If possible, he would have companionship in his extreme hour' (Gould). He then goes a little way off from them in order to pray. They see him praying, but then fall asleep. It is reasonable therefore to argue, with W. and J. Weiss and others, that Jesus went far enough off to make them unable to hear what he said even if he prayed aloud. Moreover, if they fell asleep, they would not have heard. The words which Mark gives are a consummately successful attempt to express what the situation demanded—what the fear and despair of Jesus, contrasted with his subsequent calm, suggest that he must have said in his prayer. Loisy notes that Luke starts and ends with words which Mark has only once in 38. With his theory that Luke knew and used the source which Mark employed, he presses the words and finds in them the clue to the prayers ascribed by Mark to Jesus in 35 and 36. What Jesus said to the disciples was, not, 'pray that you may not be tempted,' but, 'pray that *I* may not be tempted.' [Luke has omitted the *με* (I) in xxii. 40, but otherwise has made no change.] Apparently, though he is not definite about this (but *cp. E. S.* I. p. 219) Loisy regards this request as historical. Jesus asked his disciples to pray, and himself prayed, that he might not have to encounter the supreme 'temptation' of death. This is the meaning of 35, and the words in 36 repeat the same idea. The cup is Pauline, and recalls the 'cup' of the new covenant. 'Not what I will, but what thou wilt' is based upon the Lord's Prayer. Hence 'it was not necessary that Peter, James and John should have heard the words in order that Mark could have written them' (*E. S.* II. p. 562–568).

36. *ἀλλ' οὐ τί ἐγὼ θέλω ἀλλὰ τί σύ.* One must supply *γενήσεται*, not *γενέσθω*, on account of the *οὐ*. The simple and sublime words show prayer at its highest. 'Not what I will, but what thou wilt.' The lesson of Gethsemane speaks to all. If we learn from the lives of heroes, we too have something here to learn. How much strength has the recollection of the prayer at Gethsemane given to endless human souls! And why should it not, even though for us Jesus is neither God nor Messiah, give strength to Jewish hearts also? We must restore this hero to the bead-roll of our heroes; we must read his story; we must learn from it and gain from it all (and it is not little) which it can give us and teach us.

The 'hour' is the hour of doom: the fixed and predestined hour; the hour of crisis which was now at hand.

37. The disciples clearly are still unsuspicious. Of course the contrast is intended. Jesus knows; they are ignorant. Some

(*e.g.* Loisy) hold that the sleep of the disciples is Mark's creation; others that it is historic. But, as J. Weiss says, the conduct of the disciples is unintelligible and inconceivable, if they had already been told that within the next few hours the moment of crisis would come. Hence, though Jesus may have foretold to his disciples that in the hour of danger they would desert him, he cannot have said to Peter, 'Within the next few hours you will deny me thrice.' But J. Weiss holds fast to the sleep. He thinks it was told by Peter, and that Peter should have told this, for him discreditable event, is a proof of the honesty of the tradition.

38. If we put aside Loisy's explanation (see note on 35), this general injunction and adage seem quite out of place. At any rate, as W. says, it 'fällt hier aus dem Ton.' Perhaps the saying and command were both uttered by Jesus upon another occasion.' As the words stand, they may be explained to mean: be vigilant and pray that you do not succumb to temptation (which will soon befall you). Sudden danger, for which men are uuprepared, makes the body unable to obey the mind when the peril comes, seizes the body and overawes the 'willing' spirit.

39. The triple going and coming are dramatic, but scarcely historic.

40. We may compare this verse with ix. 6. It is a kind of supernatural sleep which is portrayed to us, which it must be admitted throws doubt upon its authenticity.

41. There is some doubt as to the rendering of the opening words. Some take them interrogatively. 'Do ye still sleep on and take your rest?' Others take them ironically: 'sleep on then, and rest.' Or they may be taken to mean, 'sleep on: it now matters not; I fear no longer; I do not need your support; I am resigned, and you cannot prevent the destined doom, which is the will of God.' *τὸ λοιπόν* is odd in any case. Some render 'henceforward'; others, 'now.' The words are wanting in the S.S., as also is *ἀπέχει*.

ἀπέχει. The meaning is disputed. W., who would bracket the intervening words as secondary, would connect *ἀπέχει* closely with *ἐγείρεσθε*, *i.e.* 'Enough of sleep; stand up.' B. Weiss says it means, 'it is enough: ye can sleep on now.' Jesus has conquered in the arduous battle; he needs his disciples and their companionship no more. The hour is come and he is ready for it. Dr J. de Zwaan (in *Expositor*, 1905, p. 459–472) has given a new and interesting explanation of *ἀπέχει*. He denies that there is any adequate evidence for the impersonal use, or for the meaning,

sufficit, 'it is enough.' On the other hand, he finds that in the papyri the word is often used for acknowledgments of money, where it means, 'I have received.' So too here, Jesus knows that Judas is meditating his betrayal; he realizes that this betrayal will have been brought about for the sake of money, and that money will be its result. So now, when he catches sight of Judas and his band, he says: *ἀπέχει*, 'he *did* receive' (the promised money); he *has* succumbed to the temptation. The subject of *ἀπέχει* is therefore Judas. Deissmann seems to think favourably of this interpretation (*Licht vom Osten*, p. 76).

'The hour is come.' These words W. would regard as 'secondary,' on account of the use of 'Son of man.' The 'hour' is the same as the hour in 35. J. Weiss also thinks that the sentence looks like a sort of quotation from ix. 31, or similar passages.

'Sinners.' In what sense is the word used? W. says 'the "sinners" are, elsewhere, the heathen, who do not fit in here.' But this is rash, for 'sinners' is also used, as in ii. 15 (in the phrase 'tax-collectors and sinners'), of Jews. Differing from Menzies, I think that 'sinners' is used here to characterise those who are the enemies of the Messiah.

42. The former verse (from *ἀπέχει*) possibly, but this one certainly, are spoken under the consciousness, whether through sight, or sound, or both, that the arresting party are at hand. The speech becomes more agitated. It ends hastily.

ἄγωμεν. 'As the hour has come, it must be met worthily. It must not find the disciples lying on the ground, but standing by the Master's side. "Let us go," does not point to flight, but to an advance to meet the approaching party' (Menzies). And J. Weiss says: 'Jesus feels the presence of the betrayer even before he is there, and goes with his disciples to meet him; nevertheless the next verse begins as if Jesus were interrupted in his words by the approach of Judas and his band.' We have, then, I suppose, to understand that Jesus sees or hears men drawing near; he says 'Let us go forth to meet them'; but hardly are the words out of his mouth before the men are already upon him.

Loisy (*É. S.* II. pp. 569, 570) supposes that the 'historic tradition,' the source of Mark, only knew the words: 'Now rest and sleep'—a permission or invitation which was cut short and frustrated by the arrival of Judas. But Mark wanted to show that the 'Son of man' was not surprised by the event. Once more he must foretell his destiny. 'It is enough' is an uncertain and inadequate transition. Loisy even supposes that these words may be an echo of those which Jesus is reported by Luke to have said about the swords. (But Mark has *ἀπέχει*, Luke has *Ἱκανόν ἐστιν*.)

43-52. The Arrest

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvi. 47-56; Luke xxii. 47-53)

43 And immediately, while he yet spoke, came Judas, one of the
Twelve, and with him a band with swords and bludgeons from the
44 chief priests and the scribes and the Elders. Now the betrayer
had given them a token, saying, 'Whomsoever I kiss, that is he;
45 seize him, and lead him away safely.' So as soon as he had come,
he went straightway up to Jesus, and said, 'Master'; and kissed
46, 47 him. And they laid their hands on him, and seized him. But
one of the bystanders drew his sword, and smote the servant of the
48 high priest, and cut off his ear. And Jesus answered and said
unto them, 'Have ye come out to capture me with swords and
49 with bludgeons, as if against a thief? I was daily with you in
the temple, teaching, and ye seized me not:—but the scriptures
50, 51 must be fulfilled.' Then they all forsook him, and fled. Yet a
young man followed him, clad only in a linen shirt upon his naked
52 body; and they seized him. But he let the linen shirt slip, and
fled from them naked.

43. Jesus is speaking to the three disciples, according to the strict interpretation of the narrative, but the local separation of the three from the eight is now ignored. It is somewhat noteworthy that Judas is explained to be 'one of the Twelve,' just as if nothing had been said about him before. But probably no deductions are to be drawn from this.

Who form the 'crowd'? Not, it is generally supposed, Roman soldiers (as in John), and not the regular Temple guard, but an unorganised band hired for the occasion. If the arrest took place the night before, and not the night of, the Passover, many difficulties are avoided.

44. The betrayal with a kiss is not mentioned by the author of the fourth Gospel. It is a little difficult that this 'sign' was necessary in the case of a man who had been prominently teaching in Jerusalem for some while; but it was night time, and we need not suppose that Jesus was well known to everybody. 'The sign given by Judas,' says Gould, 'had nothing unusual about it, but was the ordinary form of salute.' He adds: 'The motives of Judas in this extraordinary treachery are hard to understand. In judging of them, we have to remember that he was one of the

Twelve chosen by Jesus to be his most intimate companions [there may, however, be some doubt as to the length of time he had been with Jesus], and we must not undervalue that choice by ascribing to Judas motives of such utter and irredeemable vileness as would make him an impossible companion for any decent person. It may be that he had for his purpose in this extraordinary move to force Jesus to assume the offensive against his enemies. This is, at least, vastly more probable than the mercenary motive hinted at in the fourth Gospel.' The 'kiss' is perhaps rather suspicious, on account of the parallels, 2 Sam. xx. 9; Prov. xxvii. 6. On the other hand it may be argued that 44 is only the inference drawn by Mark from the tradition of what actually had occurred.

46. In Mark, Jesus says no word to the betrayer.

47. In Luke the attempt at resistance on the part of the disciples takes place before the arrest. In Mark we have to suppose that they are so appalled and overcome by the sudden onset of Judas and his band that, till the arrest is effected, they are unable to make the smallest movement.

The words *εἷς δέ τις τῶν παρεστηκότων*, 'one of the bystanders,' are very peculiar. So far we have not heard of any one else being present at Gethsemane except the Twelve. But perhaps we must keep the section 32–42 apart from 12–31, and interpret the 'disciples' of 32 to mean more than the Twelve, or rather Eleven. Even then 'one of the bystanders' is odd, for one would at least expect 'one of the disciples.'

'His sword.' Thus some at least of the *entourage* of Jesus are armed, and, expecting an attack or onset, are prepared to resist it. Jesus does not rebuke the action of the 'bystander.' (For a further consideration of the subject see the notes on Luke.)

The 'servant' of the high priest is probably the leader of the band. It is not said that upon the action of the bystander reprisals followed. Or, at the threat of this, did the disciples flee? We cannot reproduce what exactly happened.

48. The speech of Jesus is somewhat inappropriate for such a scene of scuffle, confusion, and alarm; but it is filled with a quiet dignity. It is addressed rather to those who sent the 'crowd' than to these men themselves—to the masters, not to their servants. Luke seems to feel this, and makes the authorities present, which is healing one inappropriateness by creating another.

Jesus implies that he would have readily allowed himself to have been arrested in broad daylight in the Temple. The reply of the authorities would presumably have been that an arrest in the city or the Temple might have provoked from the excitable

populace effective resistance and riot. The swords of the arresting troop were not unjustified in view of the fact that swords were not absent among the disciples or friends of Jesus.

49. 'Daily.' The interval between Jesus's arrival at Jerusalem and his arrest must have been fairly lengthy to justify this expression. Mark himself, as we have seen, would apparently confine the interval to three days. If the Last Supper and the arrest happened on a Thursday evening, Jesus entered Jerusalem, according to the Marcan chronology, on Monday (see Mark xi. 11, 12, 20, xiv. 3, 17). Luke seems to have preserved the more accurate tradition in xxi. 37, 38.

'But [this has happened] in order that the Scriptures might be fulfilled'; so literally. Two explanations are possible. Jesus means generally that he resigns himself to the arrest, because his capture and death are part of the divine will and foretold in Scripture. So *e.g.* Menzies: 'What Scripture had foretold of the death of the Messiah had come to pass, and so Jesus submits to the arrest, protesting against the manner of it, but recognizing in the fact itself the will of God.' In this case the *γραφαί* (Scriptures) might be Isaiah liii. On the other hand, J. Weiss says that the *γραφαί* cannot be those 'which merely speak generally of the death of Messiah.' The allusion must be to passages in which the special manner of Jesus's arrest seemed to be portrayed. But what passages the Evangelist had in his mind we cannot tell.

50. Whither they fled is not stated. The general view of the commentators is that Mark implies that before long they all returned to Galilee.

51, 52. Only Mark has this curious incident. Who was this 'young man'? Brandt thinks he must have been one of the Twelve. But this seems extremely unlikely. A popular idea at present is that it was the Evangelist Mark himself. It is often supposed that Jesus ate his Passover meal in the house of Mark's mother (Acts xii. 12), 'and Mark might have followed the party unseen when they left for the Mount of Olives' (Menzies). But it is by no means sure that this Mark was the author of our Gospel. And, again, it is not sure that these two verses, ignored by Matthew and Luke, are not a later addition. There are also other arguments against the suggested identification, upon which it is unnecessary to dwell.

συνηκολούθει. The word is rather peculiar, but it occurs in Mark v. 37, and need not imply, as Brandt thinks, that the youth was one of the Twelve. The term *εἷς τις νεανίσκος* seems intended to exclude the disciples.

He had only a linen shirt on. Why was this? It does not seem clear. Those who think that he was Mark suppose that when the party broke up late, after the Passover meal, he hurriedly followed them *en déshabillé*. This seems very peculiar and unlikely. But if he did not come from the house in which Jesus had held the Last Supper, where did he come from? Was he a workman or watchman living in some hut in the olive garden? (So some older commentators quoted by Schanz.) W. says: 'The young man is undoubtedly not one of the Twelve; he seems to have jumped out of bed only after the scuffle had begun as he is only clad with his nightshirt.' But, one would like to know, from a bed in what house? W. is very severe upon the attempt to ascertain who the young man was. After pointing out that Mark gives him no name, any more than he names the servant of the high priest or the man who cut off the servant's ear, while later tradition invented names for the latter two, he adds in his biting way: 'Christian Rabbis have also guessed who the young man in the shirt was, namely the Evangelist Mark himself. As if they were justified in wasting their ingenuity!'

The peculiarity of the whole incident lends some little strength to the old hypothesis that it is due to two passages in the Old Testament: Amos ii. 16 and Genesis xxxix. 12. M. Loisy is inclined to share this view. How, he asks, could the incident have become known? Did the youth in his flight meet Peter and tell him the story? But, then, ought we not to know more about him? The Messianic interpretation of Amos ii. 16 may have suggested the entire incident.

53–65. The Trial before the Sanhedrin

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvi. 57–67; Luke xxii. 54, 55, 63–71)

53 And they led Jesus away to the high priest: and all the chief
54 priests and the Elders and the scribes assembled together. And
Peter followed him at a distance unto the court of the high priest:
and he sat with the servants, and warmed himself at the fire.
55 And the chief priests and all the High Court sought for evidence
56 against Jesus, to put him to death; but they found none. For
many bore false witness against him, but their evideuce did not
57 agree. Then some rose up, and bore false witness against him,
58 saying, 'We heard him say, I will destroy this temple which is
made with hands, and after three days I will build another made
59 without hands.' But even in this their evidence did not agree

60 Then the high priest stood up among them, and asked Jesus,
saying, 'Answerest thou nothing to that which these bear witness
61 against thee?' But he held his peace, and answered nothing.
Again the high priest asked him, and said unto him, 'Art thou
62 the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed One?' And Jesus said, 'I am:
and ye shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the
63 Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven.' Then the high
priest rent his clothes, and said, 'What further need have we of
64 witnesses? Ye have heard the blasphemy: what think ye?' And
they all condemned him to be guilty of death.

65 And some began to spit on him [and to cover his face], and
to strike him with their fists, and to say unto him, 'Prophesy':
and the servants dealt him blows.

It is impossible, and for my particular purpose even unnecessary, to enter with fulness and detail into the many questions raised by the trial of Jesus—if trial it can be called—both before the Sanhedrin and before Pilate. So far as Rabbinic law throws light upon the trial—which violates that law in almost every particular—some remarks will be found upon the subject in Additional Note 28.

We shall never be able to tell or decide with any certainty what took place in the high priest's house or before Pilate. We shall never be able to tell and decide with certainty what share the Jewish, and what share the Roman, authorities had in the death of Jesus. A few general observations may be desirable at this juncture.

(1) The desire of the Evangelists is clear—to increase the share of the Jewish responsibility for the crucifixion; to diminish the share of Roman responsibility. Pilate is whitewashed as much as possible; the Jewish authorities are condemned. We shall see many indications of this desire as we proceed.

(2) It does not follow because the trial of Jesus before the Sanhedrin or high priest violates Jewish law in many important points, that therefore the account given of it cannot be true. There have been illegal trials at all times, and even the flimsiest legal forms have sufficed to get rid of an enemy.

(3) The Jews, it is alleged, on the strength of a dubious passage in the Jerusalem Talmud, had been deprived for some years of the right of putting a criminal to death. Hence it was necessary to find some decent pretext, to go through some legal

forms, to discover some suitable ground, before demanding the infliction of the death penalty from the Roman authority.

(4) Not only, as we shall see, is the story of the trial before the Sanhedrin (and also before Pilate) very obscure, but it has to be remembered that no disciple of Jesus was present upon either occasion—certainly not upon the former. The disciples, those who collected and handed down the traditions about the life and death of Jesus, could only have heard of what took place at second hand. J. Weiss thinks there must have been many discussions, conversations, questionings and arguments between friends and foes of Jesus after his death about the grounds of his condemnation and the details of his trial. This indeed is not impossible, but it is, of course, only conjecture. (He also thinks that Joseph of Arimathæa may have been present and reported, which we shall see is doubtful.)

(5) On the whole, while the details of the trials can never be ascertained with certainty, the balance of probability strongly inclines to the view that the Gospel narratives are so far correct in that Jesus was really put to death by the Romans at the instance and instigation of the Jewish authorities, and more especially of the ruling priesthood. That there was any meeting of the full Sanhedriu is most doubtful; doubtful also is the part played by the 'Scribes' and Pharisees; but that the Sadducean priesthood was at the bottom of the arrest and of the 'trial,' and that the result of this 'trial' was adequate to obtain a condemnation from Pilate, cannot reasonably be doubted.

As to the internal government of Jerusalem and Judæa at that time, and as to the composition of the Sanhedrin, see Additional Note 29.

53. Mark does not mention the name of the high priest. Is it because the name was not mentioned in his source 'où le rôle du grand prêtre n'avait aucun relief'? (*E. S.* II. p. 593). Difficulties begin at once. How could the full court be got together so rapidly in the middle of the night? Jesus could hardly have arrived at the high priest's house much before midnight. When was the arrest arranged? Not many hours, we may presume, before it took place. It is usually supposed that it was only after the Supper that Judas arranged the arrest, and obtained his troop from the authorities. Did they at that hour of night send out messengers to summon the 'Scribes and chief priests' together that a court might rapidly be constituted? Did they assume that the arrest would be successful, and that Jesus would be brought to the high priest's house at the very hour when he actually arrived?

In addition to the difficulties, there are the illegalities. No trial for life might be held at night, and the court which tried such an offence was specially constituted, and consisted of twenty-three members, not of the whole Sanhedrin.

Who are the chief priests? Menzies observes: 'There was but one [high priest]; but the office appears to have conferred an indelible character, and there were always at this period a number of men who, after serving as high priests for a time, and being deposed by the government, still busied themselves with public affairs and exercised great influence.' More probably Mark means merely the chief priests who constituted the main Jewish authority, or the priestly members of the Sanhedrin.

The house of the high priest was not the right *locale* for the court to meet in. This is another little 'irregularity' to add to the account.

54. There seems no reason to doubt this statement. Thus Peter could know nothing of what passed in the room or hall upstairs. He remained in the 'court-yard.'

55. The entire court is present, and immediately proceeds to the trial. But the court is both prosecutor and judge—a further 'irregularity.' In Luke, as we shall see, the court does not meet till the morning, which J. Weiss thinks is more probably correct.

The court does not merely hear evidence, but looks for it. We ask, how have the witnesses been obtained at this hour of night? Where did they spring from? Were they kept in constant attendance lest their evidence should be suddenly required? W. says, it is true: 'That the witnesses are at hand in the middle of the night need cause no difficulty. Das Verhör war vorbereitet und die Sache hatte Eile.' But though haste was necessary, that the trial was prepared is asserted, but not proved. The Psalmist (xxvii. 12) says: 'False witnesses are risen up against me,' and in such Old Testament passages the origin of some of the 'witnesses' in Mark xiv. 56 may probably be found. It was important for the early Church to show that their Master and Lord had been put to death upon a false charge, and that no consistent evidence could be found against him.

56. 'The evidence did not tally,' as Menzies renders the words. It would seem, as Holtzmann says, that the witnesses were examined separately with closed doors. But more probably the picture of the witnesses sought out by the prosecuting judges, but giving inconsistent, and therefore obviously false, evidence, is rather imaginary than real.

57. At this point the whole big question can be raised: What was the charge for which Jesus was condemned; or, What was the charge which sufficed for the Jewish authorities to salve their consciences and to make Jesus, in their opinion, worthy of death? It does not follow that the charge upon which they were able to condemn him as a Jewish court was the same as the charge which they brought against him before Pilate, but to distinguish between the two causes a difficulty.

The narrative (58) speaks of one specific charge made by witnesses, and of one point confessed, upon interrogation, by Jesus himself (62). The condemnation follows upon the confession, not upon the charge made by the witnesses. The confession is that Jesus was the Messiah; the charge is that he had foretold the destruction of the Temple. If either or both of these matters furnished the pretext for his condemnation, there is the difficulty that neither of them, according to Rabbinic law, constituted blasphemy.

W. takes the strong line that the charge brought up against Jesus which sufficed for his condemnation before the high priest, was his prediction of the fall of the Temple. Thus 58 is, in substance, authentic and historical; 61 *b* and 62 are interpolations and unhistorical.

The statement of the witnesses in 58 is, in substance, the same as that made by Jesus in xiii. 2, which W. regards as most authentic and original. It is alluded to in xv. 29. Now W. asserts that though such a prediction may not be blasphemy according to the letter of the Mishnah, yet it was blasphemy according to Jewish sentiment and opinion right away from Jeremiah's days (Jer. xxvi.) till the days of Jesus. For the Temple was the seat of God. To foretell its destruction was blasphemous (*cp.* Acts vi. 13, as regards the case of Stephen). Moreover, W. points out that in Matthew the two witnesses who spoke of this prediction are not definitely called false witnesses, and their evidence is not said to be inconsistent. (In his 'Notes on Matthew,' however, W. has to acknowledge that this argument is not worth much; for Matthew calls all the evidence false, and all the witnesses lying. The last two are included in the general category.) That they bore false witness, and that their evidence did not tally, is Mark's judgment, not that of the Sanhedrin. If their evidence was inconsistent and false, why is it separated from that of the witnesses in 56, and treated differently by the court? Matthew shows that the text of Mark has been 'edited,' for in his narrative Mark xiv. 59 is wanting, and for ἐψευδομαρτύρουν in 57, Matthew has merely εἶπον. Hence W. asserts that 'this blasphemy' was the legal 'Todesschuld'; it was proved by consistent witnesses, to whom no

objection could be taken, and by his silence Jesus confirmed and acknowledged it.

W. seems to have come to this opinion, not because he wants to deny that Jesus, in one sense or another, claimed to be the Messiah. For he expressly says that he takes no objection to the contents of xv. 2, in which Jesus seems to admit his Messiahship to Pilate. But he thinks it is impossible to believe that the claim to Messiahship constituted blasphemy. He says: 'To the Jews a man who claimed to be Messiah was not a criminal, as he was to the Romans. Even though there can be no doubt that Jesus at the last did give himself out as the Messiah, and was for this crucified by Pilate, yet his condemnation by the Jewish authorities must have had formally another ground. According to Jewish ideas there was no possible blasphemy (*lag darin unmöglich eine Gotteslästerung*) if a man said he was the Messiah, the Son of God.'

Before this view is criticised, it must be explained why, if the prediction of the Temple's destruction was the real blasphemy, and the real ground of Jesus's condemnation, the Gospel narrative does not say so. The reply is manifold. First, Pilate, anyway, condemned Jesus for claiming the Messiahship. Surely then the Sanhedrin had done the same. Secondly, the Messiahship, when Mark wrote, was the great difference between Jew and Christian. Jesus to the latter was Messiah and Son of God; to the former he was not. Surely he had been sent to his death because the Jews refused to recognize his Messiahship and his divine Sonship. Thirdly, we can trace in the Gospels themselves a disinclination to allow that the words attributed to Jesus in 58 contained any truth. Thus Mark, or an editor, speaks of the evidence as false and inconsistent and Luke leaves this charge out altogether. Just because the tradition still accepted to a large extent the Jewish reverence for the Temple, and felt that an attack upon it would have given the Jewish authority the legal pretext they required, did it, half consciously, half unconsciously, seek to get rid of this historic ground of Jesus's condemnation and to substitute for it another.

As to the form of the prediction, it is probable that originally, if the witnesses quoted it, it was nearer to what we read in xiii. 2. J. Weiss points out that the evidence shows that the prophecy in its literal sense was 'unendurable' to the early Christians. In John ii. 21 the temple to be destroyed is explained to be Jesus's body, which is to be destroyed and to rise again. Mark stands half way. He interprets at any rate the rebuilding of the temple spiritually: the new temple is the Christian Church (*cp.* 1 Cor. iii. 17; 1 Peter ii. 5). Weiss further points out that it is not said that Jesus will build up another temple *within* three days, but *after*

three days; that is, after a short interval. The idea is that the building will, through a divine miracle, become ready all at once; it will descend—like the new Jerusalem—from heaven. Jesus in all probability did not say that *he* would destroy the Temple. Its destruction was part of the divine judgment, and as God would destroy the old Temple, so would God create the new one. Menzies takes a similar view.

W.'s trenchant interpretation of the trial, whereby the accuracy of 61 *b* and 62 are wholly rejected, and the entire weight is thrown upon 58, seems doubtful. For we must surely believe that the Messiahship claim was at least ventilated, and that it was resolved that Jesus was to be denounced to Pilate upon that ground. It seems somewhat rash in a narrative, the whole of which is so shaky and dubious as xiv. 55–64, to pin one's faith upon one piece, and strenuously to reject another. Lastly, though the prediction about the Temple may have been nearer blasphemy than the claim to be Messiah, still, on the one hand, it was not technically blasphemy according to Jewish law, as later codified; and, on the other hand, if 'blasphemy' could have been stretched to suit the one offence, it could also have been stretched to suit the other. The claim to be Messiah, without any of the ordinary qualifications of a Messiah—a claim admitted by a solitary prisoner in the full power of his enemies—must have seemed a presumptuous insolence, a kind of taking God's holy promises in vain. It could, perhaps, have been regarded as blasphemy by those who had predetermined to put out of the way a man who challenged the legitimacy of their authority, their claims, their rectitude, and their teaching. Holtzmann argues in this strain. J. Weiss thinks that the judges would not have ventured to pass a formal verdict of guilty of death because of blasphemy, when no technical blasphemy had been uttered. Hence he supposes that there was no regular verdict or regular condemnation, as mentioned in 64; but that the confession wrung from Jesus that he was the Messiah seemed enough to the authorities as a basis upon which to bring Jesus before Pilate and to demand his execution. Luke does not mention a formal verdict and condemnation. Something, too, may be said for the argument that Mark ii. 7 shows that blasphemy was an elastic conception, not confined to the mere pronouncement of God's name (Yahweh). There is also force in Menzies's words: 'If the condemnation was illegal, it may have come about in various ways. A charge of constructive blasphemy was likely to be made against him by those who were familiar with his utterances in Galilee, *e.g.* those as to the forgiveness of sins (said, ii. 7, to be blasphemous) and as to the Sabbath. A condemnation on such a charge lay within the competence of the Sanhedrin, and was likely

to impress the mind of the Jews. It is not unlikely that the charge was blasphemy, but the report of the trial cannot be considered full or satisfactory.'

60. The high priest 'stood up in the midst'; so literally. This is usually taken to mean that he got up, left his seat, and stood in front of Jesus. But the phrase may merely mean 'got up.'

61. Jesus makes no reply. This may be quite historic. The judges would not understand his point of view, his aims, his hopes, or his belief. But one remembers Isaiah liii. 7, and is a little doubtful.

It is, no doubt, highly curious, as W. says, that the high priest does not say, 'Your silence means a confession,' does not, in fact, pursue the charge of 58 at all, but raises a totally fresh question.

As to the form of the question, Jewish readers must especially notice that the high priest's question does not imply that the very idea of 'the Son of God' is itself a blasphemy. It is assumed by him that the true Messiah *would* be 'the Son of God.' Nor was Mark inaccurate in making the high priest use such words. The later metaphysical and more developed conception of the 'Son of God' had not yet arisen. The Messiah *was* the Son of God; in the Messianically interpreted second and eighty-ninth Psalms he is actually so called. In the age of Jesus the purely human character of the Messiah was not insisted on by Jewish teachers as it became insisted on after the development of Christianity. Room was given for wide speculations and fancies as to his nature and pre-existence; he stood in a special relation to God, and was in a pre-eminent sense his Son. But, of course, he was a separate and subordinate being, distinct from, and created by, God. In this sense only does the high priest speak of him as God's Son, and only in this sense does Jesus mean that he is Son and Messiah. The 'Blessed One' is merely a circumlocution for God. To a Jew, as Loisy says, the phrase 'Son of God' would have implied no 'idée metaphysique' which he rightly and truly says is more 'conforme à l'esprit de la gentilité' than to that of Judaism. The phrase would indeed be blasphemous if it implied the incarnation of a being 'qui était, pour ainsi dire, quelque chose de Dieu.' And if the scene, as Loisy thinks, has been invented by the Evangelist, or by Christian tradition, then nothing is more easy to explain than that it would have been supposed that the Jews regarded the ascription of the title by Jesus to himself as blasphemy (*E. S.* II. p. 604).

On the other hand, if it was no blasphemy for the real Messiah to be spoken of, and to speak of himself, as the Son of God in the Jewish and contemporary sense, it might conceivably be regarded

as blasphemy for a man to claim to be that Son, when he was not. J. Weiss points out that, when the fourth Gospel was written, the Jews are said to be indignant because Jesus called God his own (ἴδιον) Father, thereby making himself equal with God. And when the Wisdom of Solomon was written, the wicked are said to taunt the righteous man because 'he calls himself the child of God, he vaunts that God is his father.' They urge, in words which seem oddly relevant to the trial of Jesus: 'Let us see if his words be true, and let us try what shall befall him in the ending of his life. For if the righteous man is God's son, he will uphold him, and he will deliver him out of the hands of his adversaries. With outrage and torture let us put him to the test, that we may learn his gentleness, and may prove his patience under wrong. Let us condemn him to a shameful death; he shall be visited according to his words.' If the judges sought for a plea on which to condemn Jesus, his confession of the Messiahship would surely have sufficed, even if, in the most technical sense, it was not blasphemy.

If Jesus is asked 'Art thou the Messiah?' the further question is implied, 'Do you expect to become the King of the Jews, and to do all that we have been taught to believe that Messiah will do?' Jesus, in his reply, asserts that he will do what has been predicted of the Messiah; but he implies that the fulfilment will only take place after his death.

62. The first part of the reply of Jesus is a formal acknowledgment of his Messiahship. In Matthew and in Luke he does not do this. (Compare the parallel passages and the notes to them.) Some (*e.g.* J. Weiss) suppose that in this respect Matthew and Luke are nearer the truth. Weiss thinks that the marked divergence of Luke must show that he followed a different account or version of the trial which was also more authentic and accurate than that of Mark. In Matthew's 'Thou hast said,' some have thought that Jesus means to say, 'You suggest that I am or claim to be the Messiah, but *I* do not.' We have, however, seen reason to believe that Jesus did in some sense or other claim to be the Messiah. J. Weiss thinks that Jesus, as the version in Luke records, refused to answer, because there was no common ground between accuser and accused. He did indeed believe that he was the Son of God, and he did believe that it would probably please God to effect the transformation from the one era to the other era, from the old kingdom of sin and violence to the new Kingdom of righteousness and peace, through him. But his conviction that he was the Son of God was a sanctuary of faith into which he allowed none to enter, about which he would not speak, which he could not and would not explain to his enemies. And as to the

Messiahship, that, too, in his conception of it, would be unintelligible to them. But how subjective all this is, how conjectural! It may be more or less true, it may be false. How can we hope to guess with any approach to certainty what Jesus may have *meant*, when we do not even know with any assurance what he actually *said*?

Jesus proceeds not merely to acknowledge his Messiahship (which, as J. Weiss says, is here shown to have been in truth not a secret of his disciples, but actively discussed among the populace), but he also volunteers a statement that the famous prediction of Daniel is soon to be accomplished before their eyes. He combines with Daniel vii. 13 the equally famous phrase of Psalm cx. 1: 'The Lord said unto my lord, *Sit thou at my right hand.*' If Jesus said these words we can hardly think that he distinguished between himself, the Son of man, and the Messiah. The Son of man must be the Messiah, and both must be himself. Though now, as Menzies says, 'a Messiah in disguise, he is on the point of being invested with all that belongs to the office. The Messiah, as spiritual-minded Jews conceived him, is about to appear. Even his enemies will see Jesus clothed with all the power and splendour of the Son of man, sitting, as that personage was expected to do, on the right hand of the Power, the powerful or Almighty One (Jesus also avoids the divine name), and coming with the clouds to execute His judgment and set up His Kingdom.' If Jesus said the words, this seems their most obvious explanation. But J. Weiss ventures to think that we may regard the words, at any rate as Luke gives them (xxii. 69), as historical, and yet suppose that Jesus did not necessarily mean to identify himself with the mysterious Son of man. What Jesus was sure of, and never more sure of than now, when all earthly hope had vanished and his own death was at hand, was that the new era would soon begin, that the Kingdom was about to come. Hence triumphantly he quotes the old prediction, convinced that the hour was nigh. God would fulfil His word: 'so oder so, sei es mit ihm, sei es ohne ihn, darüber spricht er sich nicht aus.' Dr Carpenter takes much the same line. 'He may be cut off, like the Anointed Servant of an older age, from the land of the living; but the judgment, the resurrection, are nigh, when he will see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied. Undaunted, then, he confronts the anger of the council, the wrath of the high priest; as though he said, You may kill me, but you cannot baffle God! Messiah may perish, but the Son of God will come!' (*First Three Gospels*, p. 390).

W. argues against the historical character of the verse. 'Jesus not only acknowledges that he is the Messiah, but calls himself the Son of man and predicts his Parousia. It is very improbable

that he ever did that, but most improbable of all that he did it before the Sanhedrin....The solemn scene is pleaded as proof of authenticity. But if Luther's "Here stand I," when half Europe was listening, is not by any means free from doubt, how can these words of Jesus, spoken much less openly, and in the absence of his disciples, be guaranteed by the solemn scene?' In truth one's judgment must be left in suspense. But in view of what they had to report to Pilate, it does seem as if the judges would naturally have tried to get some evidence against Jesus, and some confession from himself, as to his rumoured Messiahship. Beyond this we cannot go.

63. The high priest tears his clothes. This was quite in accordance with Jewish law and custom upon hearing a blasphemy. But it may not be meant here in a purely legal sense. To tear one's clothes might also be a sign of horror and grief.

If W.'s view that 61*b* and 62 are later interpolations be correct, then 63 follows on 61 *a*. But then, how could the high priest say, 'ye have *heard* the blasphemy'? It is rather lame to argue that Jesus's silence was interpreted by the high priest as a confession, or to point out that at all events Mark, unlike Luke, has not the words 'from his mouth.'

64. Thus Mark records a formal condemnation. It is this which J. Weiss and others regard as unhistorical. It is part of the tendency to throw as much blame as possible upon the Jews, as little as possible upon the Romans. Luke does not mention a formal verdict. It would be enough to assume that an informal meeting of the Sanhedrin or of some of its leading members was held, at which Jesus was interrogated, and perhaps even some evidence taken against him. It was considered that enough had been elicited with which to obtain his successful condemnation from the Roman procurator.

M. Loisy goes furthest in denying the historical character of the trial before the high priest. He supposes that Luke has preserved from the source which both he and Mark used one accurate point. The meeting of the Jewish authorities (not a regular sitting of the Sanhedrin, but a hurried and informal consultation) took place in the morning. There were not two meetings, as Mark would have us believe, but one only. At this meeting the denunciation of Jesus to Pilate was arranged. Whether Caiaphas then interrogated Jesus is uncertain; probably he did not do so. Probably the whole scene before Caiaphas is spun (with a particular object), out of the scene before Pilate, one historical fact, and certain Old Testament passages and predictions. It is not certain that the Sanhedrin, subject to confirmation by the Romans, could

not have condemned a man to death, but Caiaphas and his friends preferred to denounce Jesus to Pilate as a false Messiah, because judgment could be more quickly obtained, while the judicial proceedings would be protected and guaranteed against any popular movement, and upon the Roman governor would be placed the responsibility of the condemnation.

As to the scene of the trial before Caiaphas, the saying about the Temple is taken from words of Jesus which he had undoubtedly used. But Loisy holds that the words (Mark xiv. 58) 'made with hands' and 'made without hands' have been added to the text, to indicate that the Temple of which Jesus was thinking is the Christian society or church, founded on the faith in the risen Christ. The true form of the words is maintained by Matthew, except that he softens 'I will destroy' into 'I can destroy.' Loisy holds that what we now read in xiii. 2 is less original than the words as found in Matthew (with this slight correction), and depends upon them. *Cp.* the notes to that passage.

The second part of the trial deals with the Messianity of Jesus, and depends upon the historic trial before Pilate.

The object of the whole scene is to fix the responsibility for Jesus's death definitely upon the Jews. It was desirable that the founder of the new religion should not seem to have been condemned by a just verdict of Pilate. On the other hand, it was a delicate thing to accuse Pilate of prevarication, and it was impossible to deny that the death sentence had been uttered by him. But the Jews were in any case the accusers of Jesus; they were the enemies of nascent Christianity; they were detested in the pagan world. Nothing then was more easy than to enlarge their part in the tragedy so as to shift upon them the entire responsibility of the verdict. Hence the elaboration of the trial before Caiaphas. Pilate has only to confirm a sentence passed by the Sanhedrin. Hence the episode of Barabbas. The execution of Jesus was the crime of the Jews; the Roman governor was guiltless (*E. S.* II. p. 610).

Though Loisy holds that Jesus's assertion about the Temple was not mentioned formally before Caiaphas in the way indicated by Mark, it may nevertheless have been mentioned to Pilate. For it may well have been regarded as an evidence of Messianic pretension.

Thus Loisy rejects the scene as it stands as well as W.'s amendment. He also refuses to admit the compromise of Dalman that the blasphemy was only limited to the words about the Son of God being seated at God's right hand, or the compromises that the high priest alleged a blasphemy where there was none, or that the Messianic claim in the mouth of a man as impotent as

Jesus appeared to be amounted to blasphemy. 'The story of the nocturnal sitting of the Sanhedrin has been inserted into a narrative (known to Luke) in which Peter's denial followed the arrival of Jesus at the high priest's house, and in which the sole meeting of the enemies of Jesus took place in the morning in order to draw up the denunciation which was to be submitted straightway to the Roman governor (*i.e.* join xiv. 53 *a*, 54, 66–72, xv. 1). The trial before Caiaphas has been deduced from the trial before Pilate, the Evangelist desiring to throw upon the Jews the responsibility of the Saviour's death. Mark is anxious to make the Sanhedrin pronounce the death sentence. The object of the questioning of Jesus is to bring about this sentence, and as the Evangelist knew that such a judgment could not have been obtained in the very early morning previous to the appearance of Jesus before Pilate, he devised a sitting at night. The words attributed to Jesus about the Temple (which Mark has enlarged) may have been borrowed from the real trial, when the denunciations of the members of the Sanhedrin and the depositions of the witnesses, which Mark transposes to the nocturnal session, had their proper place. The declaration according to which the Christ is called "Son of God" corrects beforehand the historic definition of the charge which gave the motive of Jesus's condemnation: namely, the avowed claim to the kingship over Israel: this declaration, if understood in the sense in which the Evangelist understood it, is blasphemous in the eyes of the Jews, and the blasphemy explains the sentence of death. The series of outrages which follows the condemnation seems derived from the mocking scene at the Prætorium and to have been drawn up to show an accomplishment of prophecies' (*E. S.* I. p. 102).

65. Who are the 'some' who spit upon Jesus and hit him with their fists? It is usually assumed that they are some of the judges. This seems most unlikely. Menzies says: 'Is it some of the councillors who do these unworthy acts, or others who are there, perhaps some of the witnesses? We cannot tell.' Mark distinguishes them from the servants or attendants, whose turn comes later. Luke speaks only of the men who captured him, and if any part of the ill-treatment is historic, this version seems the most likely. 'To cover his face.' Matthew and Luke explain this by adding to the word 'prophesy,' 'who is it that struck thee?' Others explain that Jesus is to foretell to the strikers their punishment. Perhaps putting a cover over his face is only meant to indicate that a prophet must be withdrawn from the visible world in order to receive his inspiration, or to obtain a vision. W. thinks that the words 'to cover his face,' which are

wanting in the MS. D, and in the S.S., are interpolated. 'Prophesy' means merely, '*We* will teach you to prophesy,' or '*We* will make you give up prophesying!' ῥαπίσματα are apparently blows upon the cheek. Either 'they received him—took him over into safe custody—with blows,' or the phrase is a Latinism, and means the same as is indicated in another reading (ἔβαλον for ἔλαβον): 'they dealt out to him blows.'

How far is this verse historic? It is conceivable that the attendants or slaves, to whom Jesus was entrusted after the trial, ill-treated and abused him, though it is not easy to say who could have reported it. J. Weiss goes so far even as to call the narrative 'an extremely life-like and vivid scene which undoubtedly depends upon the recollections of an eye-witness.' Menzies is more cautious. 'It is not necessary to suppose,' he says, 'this scene to be formed on Isaiah l. 6; the various incidents explain themselves quite naturally.' That the members of the highest court of the Jews, at any rate, should have forgotten their position, and sunk to the vulgar cruelty attributed to them, seems far from 'natural.' Holtzmann is a little more cautious still. 'As regards the fulfilment of x. 34, the particular colours (*die Farben im Einzelnen*) may be due to Micah iv. 14; Isaiah l. 6, liii. 3–5; 1 Kings xxii. 24.' This has been shown by Brandt in detail. Almost every word in Mark xiv. 65 is taken from the Greek versions of the Old Testament, in the passages referred to by Holtzmann. Even the covering of the face seems to rest upon a mistranslated and misunderstood expression in Isaiah liii. 3. Finally, the contemptuous summons, 'prophesy,' seems to depend upon 1 Kings xxii. 24. Thus the historical character of this verse is exceedingly dubious. Loisy, too, as we have seen, rejects it. Like the trial itself, he regards it as a 'dédoublement' of the ill-treatment of Jesus by the soldiers (xv. 16–20).

66–72. Peter's Denial

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvi. 69–75; Luke xxii. 56–62)

66 Now Peter was below in the court. And one of the maids of
67 the high priest came, and when she saw Peter warming himself,
she looked at him, and said, 'Thou too wast with Jesus the
68 Nazarene.' But he denied it, saying, 'I do not know or understand what thou sayest.' And he went out into the outer court-
69 yard. And the cock crowed. And the maid saw him, and began
70 again to say to the bystanders, 'This is one of them.' And he denied it again. And a little after, the bystanders said again to

Peter, 'Verily thou art one of them: for thou art a Galilæan.'
71 But he began to curse and to swear, saying, 'I know not this man
72 of whom ye speak.' And straightway the cock crowed a second time. Then Peter called to mind the word which Jesus had said unto him, 'Before the cock crow twice, thou wilt deny me thrice.' And he wept.

The admirably dramatic scene of Peter's denial may reasonably be supposed to rest upon his own honest report and confession, though the minor details are open to question. J. Weiss prefers the version in John, but Brandt has shown how improbable it is that this variant is historical.

66. The story takes up the situation in which Peter had been left in 54.

67. The fire shines upon Peter's face and reveals him.

68. He goes further off, to escape detection, into the outer court. The first crowing of the cock is only found in Mark, and not in most of the good manuscripts. The two cockcrowings are highly dramatic, but probably not historical. (*Cp.* verse 30.)

69. In this outer court there are many persons collected, 'not perhaps members of the household only, but attendants of councillors summoned to the meeting, and others' (Menzies). The same girl notices him again. Matthew speaks of a second girl.

70. They recognize him as a Galilæan, according to Matthew, from his speech or accent. This seems probable.

71. *ἀναθεματίζειν*. The verb means 'to call down curses upon oneself' (if one is not telling the truth).

72. The word *ἐπιβαλών* is hard. Its meaning must be 'to call to mind,' 'to become attentive.' Peter, however, had already been reminded by the cock. The word may be corrupt. It is wanting in Luke and Matthew. W. suggests that Mark originally had only the pregnant phrasing: 'And straightway the cock crowed a second time. And he remembered and wept.' 'Dem Urmarcus sähe es ähnlich, dass er sich hier auf zwei Worte beschränkte: sie verfehlen die Wirkung nicht.' The whole scene is indelibly fixed in the consciousness of the Western world. It is full of beauty, and yet awe-inspiring too. It tells its own lessons, and its moral need not be drawn out. Loisy regards the triple denial as historic; not so the prediction and the recollection and the tears. He

thinks the original story which Mark enlarged can easily be picked out of the narrative and restored.

The source is followed accurately up to 68 *a*. Then Peter is wrongly said to have gone out 'to the outer courtyard' (or vestibule). This is put in here because in the original story his going out is connected with the cockcrowing. To avoid the natural meaning of 'he went out,' 'to the outer courtyard' is added, which really contradicts it. Then in 69 one must omit 'saw him' and 'again,' which are added by the Evangelist. Their removal gets over the difficulty that the same girl seems to speak to the same people among whom Peter had been sitting before, and that the apostle is still there, though he had moved away. In 70 one can omit 'a little after' and 'again,' intended to lengthen out the incident, and to accentuate the triple denial. Then in 72 the words must originally have run: 'And he went out, and a cock crew,' or 'And he went out,' and it was 'cockcrow,' *i.e.* dawn. Thus the second crowing, the recollection of the prophecy, the apostle's grief, all belong to the work of 'redaction.' Peter hurried to get away, as he felt himself in peril. Did he make his way at once to Galilee, or did he stay in Jerusalem till the Friday evening? We cannot say: probably the latter. 'Toujours est-il que, s'il y a quelque part dans le second Évangile un souvenir personnel de Pierre, c'est le récit du reniement en la forme où l'a trouvé Marc' (*E. S.* II. p. 618).

CHAPTER XV

1–5. Jesus before Pilate

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvii. 1, 2, 11–14; Luke xxiii. 1–5)

1 And straightway in the early morning the chief priests, with
the Elders and scribes, and the whole council prepared their
decision, and having bound Jesus, led him away, and delivered
2 him to Pilate. And Pilate asked him, 'Art thou the King of
the Jews?' And he answering said unto him, 'Thou sayest it.'
3 And the chief priests vehemently accused him: but he answered
4 nothing. And Pilate asked him again, saying, 'Answerest thou
5 nothing? see, of how much they accuse thee!' But Jesus
answered nothing more; so that Pilate marvelled.

'In the story of the trial before Pilate, the formal accusation is wanting at the beginning, and the condemnation at the end. It is hard to see why the governor, without yet knowing anything,

asks Jesus if he is the King of the Jews, and why the accusations of the priests, which become useless after the avowal of Jesus, were not made earlier. The transposition has been effected by the redactor (one gets a better connection by reading 3 or 3–5 before 2) either to make the Pilate trial different from the trial before Caiaphas, or to make the silence of Jesus more marked, or, more probably still, to introduce the incident of Barabbas. For the favour, unexplained and inexplicable, which Pilate is supposed to have shown to Jesus has its reason, according to Mark, in the silence of the accused, not in the avowal of his Messianic claim. The episode of Barabbas corresponds (*fait pendant*) with the judgment of Caiaphas; it is interpolated in the historic tale of the trial before Pilate to make us understand that the governor did not condemn Jesus, but that he merely allowed him to be put to death, in accordance with the sentence of the Sanhedrin, after having in vain essayed to free him from the hatred of his foes' (*E. S.* I. p. 103).

1. We now pass from a difficult and hardly conceivable trial before the Jewish authorities to a difficult and hardly conceivable trial before Pilate. The historic residue in both cases seems to reduce itself to the bare fact. Some Jewish authorities procured the arrest of Jesus. They found some means of holding or declaring him worthy of death—some charge upon which they could secure his condemnation from Pilate. He was brought before Pilate, and Pilate condemned him to death. The first fifteen verses of Chapter xv hardly contain anything more historical than the short summary contained in these few words: brought before Pilate, he was by Pilate condemned to death.

Mark's favourite *εὐθύς* need not cause us difficulty or delay. *πρωΐ* is enough. Jesus was crucified at 9 A.M. Hence he must have been brought before Pilate very early in the morning.

συμβούλιον ἑτοιμάσαντες. The text is not certain. Some MSS. read instead *συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες.* The meaning is far from clear. If the first reading be taken—and its authority is greater—the meaning may be: 'having formed a resolution,' or 'having prepared their decision.' If we read *ποιήσαντες*, 'having taken counsel' or 'having held a consultation' might be the translation, perhaps also 'having taken a decison.'

In either case the idea is that the court comes together a second time. A second meeting was necessary by Jewish law, but then this second meeting must be held on another day, whereas the sessions at night and at dawn would be both on the same day, according to the Jewish method of reckoning, by which the day begins at sunset.

The interpretation of the words most consistent with what has gone before would be, as W. says, 'having drawn up their decision, their verdict; nachdem sie den Beschluss fertig gestellt hatten.'

The expression, 'the chief priests with the Elders and scribes and the whole council,' seems too full. W. would bracket 'the Elders and scribes.' One might better include in the bracket 'the whole council' also. The object of the redundancy is to emphasise the wide and general Jewish responsibility for Jesus's death.

It is a further question whether or no the entire responsibility on the Jewish side should fall solely upon the priests. (As to this, see *Encyclopædia Biblica*, art. 'Synedrium,' columns 4841 at bottom, and 4842 at top; and Additional Note 30.)

Jesus is now bound. Mark does not add Pilate's office; Matthew calls him ὁ ἡγεμών—the governor. It was the custom for the Roman procurator to come to Jerusalem from Cæsarea, his usual residence, at the season of the Jewish festivals. Apparently this was done as a precautionary measure in case of any disturbance.

2. The opening of the verse implies what is not clearly stated, unless it is implied in 1. The Jewish authorities must have made some formal accusation of Jesus to Pilate. Whether this was done by word of mouth or by written charge, or both, is not said, and remains uncertain.

Whether Jesus was condemned by the Jewish authorities because of what he said about the Temple, or because of his claim to be Messiah—it must certainly have been the latter allegation with which he was charged before Pilate. But the term Messiah is translated by the Roman authority into its purely political equivalent: 'King of the Jews.'

Jesus, interrogated by Pilate, replies: 'Thou sayest it.' This is usually interpreted to mean an absolute confession. It is alleged that 'Thou hast said' is a recognized form of affirmation, or a Jewish form of assent. This is, however, disputed and doubtful. (See Additional Note 31; and also the corresponding passage in Luke.) And from what follows it can be argued either way: either that Jesus confessed, or that he practically refused to answer. No certainty can be achieved. Anyway, Jesus did not deny the charge. It would be consistent both with his practice of evasion before hostile critics, and with his own spiritualised conception of the Messiahship and Kingship, if he neither affirmed nor denied. He was not the King of the Jews in Pilate's sense of king; yet he was, or was to be, their king, in another sense, and even in this dark hour, his faith in *this* kingship, to which God had appointed him, did not succumb or fade away.

3. W. finds difficulty in this verse, at least in its present place. It is not right, he says, that the question put by Pilate should precede the accusations of the priests. And if Jesus had already confessed, there was no need for Pilate to urge him to speak. On the other hand, if 'Thou sayest it' is not a confession, we can imagine that the priests, frightened lest their plan should not succeed, made fresh charges connected with, and bearing upon, the main charge of the kingship (*cp.* Luke xxiii. 5). But we really know, and can know, nothing definite of what went on before Pilate. Loisy conceives that what the primitive narrative and tradition told was that Jesus, denounced before Pilate as false Messiah, did not reply. Interrogated by Pilate, he confessed his Messiahship. The condemnation followed. The favour which Pilate is supposed to have shown him is 'unexplained and inexplicable' (*E. S.* II. p. 635).

4, 5. Pilate presses for a reply to the charge, and Jesus, in accordance with Isaiah liii. 7, preserves silence. Pilate marvels that he does not try to defend himself.

What probably happened was that upon Jesus's confession or refusal to reply Pilate condemned him out of hand. But such a brief narrative would not have suited the Evangelist or even his sources. Two efforts had to be made. The first was to show that Jesus acted in accordance with prophecy; the second, still more important, was to show that the true authors of the condemnation were not the Romans, but the Jews. Pilate knew well enough that Jesus was innocent. There was no danger in him. He was no revolutionary, *any more than his disciples and followers.* Pilate yielded to Jewish hatred and clamour. The guilt fell upon the Jews, not upon the Romans. The whitewashing of Pilate and the Romans was most important, not only in order to blacken the hated Jews, but in order to show to the world that the Roman governor would have wished to save Jesus: that in his eyes there was nothing criminal in the founder of the Christian religion. *And if the founder was harmless, equally harmless must be his followers.*

6–15. Jesus, Pilate and Barabbas

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvii. 15–26; Luke xxiii. 18–25)

6 Now at the festival, he used to release unto them one prisoner,
7 whom they chose to beg off. And the so-called Barabbas lay
bound with the rioters who had committed a murder in the in-
8 surrection. And the crowd came up, and began to demand what

9 Pilate was wont to do for them. But he answered them, saying,
10 'Do ye wish that I release unto you the King of the Jews?' For
he realized that the chief priests had delivered him up out of envy.
11 But the chief priests incited the people, that he should rather
12 release Barabbas unto them. And Pilate answered again and said
unto them, 'What then shall I do with him whom ye call the King
14 of the Jews?' And they cried out in answer, 'Crucify him.' Then
Pilate said unto them, 'What evil has he done?' But they cried
15 out the more vehemently, 'Crucify him.' And so Pilate, wishing
to content the people, released Barabbas unto them, and delivered
Jesus, when he had scourged him, to be crucified.

6. The trial is now interrupted by an unexpected incident—of a very doubtful historical character. Its object is still further to whitewash Pilate, and to throw the responsibility of the crucifixion upon the Jews. Pilate would have saved Jesus. The Jews insist upon his execution. They prefer that Jesus should die rather than Barabbas.

The first two verses of the section are intended to explain what is to follow. The custom alluded to in verse 6 is wholly unknown. It is extremely improbable in itself; and, whatever basis the Barabbas story may have, this part of its setting is almost certainly fictitious. We may also doubt whether the Romans would have pardoned a leader of a revolt.

7. The statements about Barabbas seem very precise, and suggest that some historical reminiscence is at the bottom of the tale. Loisy, however, calls them 'très vagues, sous une apparence de précision' (*E. S.* II. p. 642). Barabbas lay 'bound with them who had made insurrection, who in the insurrection had committed murder' (so literally). What insurrection is referred to? Is Mark quoting textually from his source? He speaks as if everybody knew to what he was referring. Is this, however, merely 'a popular, one might even say childish, way of presenting a fact of which the writer himself knows nothing'? (*E. S.* II. p. 642, n. 4). We are in complete ignorance.

ὁ λεγόμενος Βαραββᾶς. The phrase is peculiar. 'The so-called Barabbas.' Was it a nickname? For surely the words do not mean merely 'a man called Barabbas.' Barabbas is supposed to mean 'son of the father,' that is, of the 'master'—the teacher. Was he the son of a known Rabbi? We hear of Rabbis in the Talmud called *e.g.* Rabbi Samuel Bar Abba, and Rabbi Nathan Bar Abba. (For some further conjectures about this man and his name, see Additional Note 32.)

8. The crowd appear upon the scene quite independently of Jesus and his trial. Pilate is sitting in his tribunal at the wonted place and time; or the hour was announced beforehand. It was very early in the morning. The people came, we may suppose, to prefer their requests and complaints, but more especially, according to the narrative, they came to take advantage of the custom which has just been explained in verse 6. But 'ni ces détails ni les suivants ne semblent à discuter au point de vue de l'histoire' (*E. S.* II. p. 643).

9. Pilate sees his chance. He would like to release Jesus, and thinks here is his opportunity. (The historic Pilate was a man of different mould—stern, pitiless and cruel.) He suggests that the prisoner to be released should be Jesus.

Pilate's words ('Do ye wish that I release unto you the King of the Jews?') are, says Holtzmann, to be regarded as a mixture of pity and contempt. 'Shall I release this harmless simpleton who apparently calls himself your king?' The narrative implies that the people know what is going on, and that Jesus has been convicted upon the charge of claiming to be King of the Jews. Pilate is supposed to think, not unnaturally, that Jesus, though hateful to the priests, is liked among the people at large.

10. Pilate's view is that Jesus is not worthy of death. *His* kingship is not antagonistic to the Roman supremacy. This, at least, is what we may suppose that Mark would wish us to think that Pilate meant. Beyond this we cannot, of course, go, for that the historic Pilate had any such opinion as is here ascribed to him is extremely improbable. Mark's Pilate sees through the whole thing. He realizes that Jesus is to be executed, not because, from the Roman point of view, he deserved it, but because he was for some reason or other obnoxious to the Jewish priests.

11. The deepest responsibility is the priests'; and here probably the story is true enough. Not the 'Pharisees,' not the 'Elders,' not the 'Scribes,' but the governing priesthood, were the true, or, at any rate, the main, authors of Jesus's death.

Barabbas, it is implied, was well known and popular. Hence the priests suggest to the populace to ask for Barabbas instead of Jesus. Matthew has a different version. He makes Pilate himself proffer the two, and bid the people choose between them.

That the people are now against Jesus is—though probably not historic—not psychologically incredible. Jesus had disappointed them. He had played and lost. The hopes which he had aroused in them had been dashed to the ground by his arrest. Let him

pay the penalty for his folly. It is also possible that the priestly party had helped to this change of feeling. Loisy is more sceptical: 'That the people, when Jesus was once a prisoner, should have passed suddenly from admiration to hate, that not content with preferring Barabbas, they should have demanded in their rage the crucifixion of Jesus, that Pilate should have lent himself to this furious caprice, or that the priests should have had time (verse 11) between the suggestion of Pilate (9) and the people's reply to change their feelings towards Jesus—all these are traits that belong rather to legendary fiction than to history, and rather resemble a theatrical effect in a melodrama or in a childish play than historical reality' (*E. S.* II. p. 644).

12. The rejoinder of Pilate is almost ludicrously inappropriate for a Roman governor. But the motive is obvious. The Jews are to pronounce the sentence, not Pilate. Not thus were Roman governors wont to deal with their prisoners!

Pilate's words again assume that Jesus and his claim are well known. The interrupted trial is to be concluded. But the people and not Pilate are to be the judges. What do they wish Pilate to do with the man whom *they* call their King? Another reading is rather easier. 'What would ye—say!—that I should do with the King of the Jews?'

13. The people demand the punishment of death in its most terrible form. Crucifixion was a Roman method of execution, introduced by them into Palestine, and reserved for the worst offenders and criminals. The famous cry, 'crucify him!' is certainly unhistoric; but of what oceans of human blood and of what endless human misery has this invention been the cause! *πάλιν*, says W., must here be regarded as equivalent to an Aramaic 'but,' 'thereupon.' Or perhaps it merely refers to verse 11. There the people cry out for the release of Barabbas; here they cry out again, but this time for the execution of Jesus.

14. Pilate is even made to go so far as to urge that Jesus is quite innocent. But the Jews will hear of no defence or exculpation, and Pilate has to give way.

15. Pilate is anxious, or thinks it best, to satisfy the people. Hence he releases Barabbas, while Jesus is condemned to death by crucifixion. Before the sentence was carried out, the criminal was scourged. Note *παρέδωκεν*. 'The Evangelist tries to avoid saying that Jesus was sentenced and condemned by Pilate. He wants the reader to understand that Pilate was constrained by the

Jews to allow the sentence of death pronounced by the Sanhedrin to be carried into effect' (*E. S.* II. p. 645).

W. attempts to preserve a certain amount of the story: 'When Pilate came up to Jerusalem for the festival, he held his court there upon serious cases in which the judgments of the native tribunals needed confirmation: he could occasionally exercise his power of pardon. These circumstances probably are at the bottom of the tale....Pilate does not consider the mere fact that Jesus regards himself as King of the Jews an adequate ground for his condemnation, seeing that he has not broken the peace, or done anything to get the kingdom into his hands.' Not very convincing.

Brandt has a different view. He 'takes the kernel of the story to be that a certain prisoner who had been arrested in connection with some insurrection, but against whom no crime, or at least no grave crime, could be proved, was released on the application of the people, who intervened on his behalf because he was the son of a Rabbi. The incident, even though it was not simultaneous with the condemnation of Jesus, gave occasion in Christian circles for the drawing of this contrast: the son of the Rabbi was interceded for and released; Jesus was condemned. In the course of transmission by oral tradition the statement of this contrast might gradually, without any conscious departure from historical truth, have led to the assumption that the two things happened at the same time on the same occasion. Finally, the liberation of a seditious prisoner—in any case a somewhat surprising occurrence—seemed explicable only on the assumption of some standing custom to account for it; this assumption must presumably have arisen elsewhere than in Palestine.' This extract from the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, art. 'Barabbas,' well sums up Brandt's hypothesis, which seems somewhat far-fetched.

16–20. Jesus is mocked by the Soldiers

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvii. 27–31)

16 Then the soldiers led him away into the courtyard, which
is the Prætorium; and they called together the whole cohort.
17 And they clothed him with purple, and wove a crown of thorns,
18 and put it upon his head, and they began to salute him, 'Hail,
19 King of the Jews!' And they beat him on the head with a cane,
and spat upon him, and bent the knee, and did him reverence.
20 And when they had mocked him thus, they took off the purple

from him, and put his own clothes on him, and led him out to crucify him.

16. Jesus is now at the mercy of the Roman soldiery. He is utterly bereft of friend and earthly hope. To the physical agony of the scourging there is added mockery and insolent contempt. The narrative in its brief intensity is very poignant.

Jesus is led away from the presence of Pilate—(it is not said where he is scourged, or even whether the scourging preceded the scene of the mockery)—into the courtyard of the house where the governor was living.

'Which is the Prætorium' seems to be a gloss inserted from Matthew, who thinks of Jesus as taken from the governor's house to the barracks of the soldiers. But the meaning of Prætorium in the Gospels is disputed. Matthew probably meant by it the fortress of Antonia, which was the headquarters of the Roman garrison. Or it may be that the trial is supposed by Mark to have taken place at this citadel, to which Pilate had come.

A cohort (*σπεῖρα*) consisted of 600 men. The numbers are a detail.

17. Whether the scene is historic is doubtful. There are arguments on both sides. (See below.) The crown of thorns parodies the royal laurel wreath.

19. With the mock homage insult and blows are mingled. The *κάλαμος*, or reed, is to represent a sceptre. In Matthew it is first put in his hand, and then he is hit with it. A stick or cane made of a stout reed is what is meant.

20. This verse seems to imply that the scourging had already taken place. His own clothes had been removed from him for the scourging, and after it he is invested with the purple to add insult to agony. Now his own clothes are put on him once more.

Recent investigations have made it rather less unlikely that the scene of Jesus being mocked by the soldiery may be historical. There are curious parallels to the Gospel story, into the details of which I cannot, however, enter. We know about the Persian festival of the Sacæa, at which a prisoner condemned to death was put upon a mock royal throne, invested with royal purple, and allowed to have his royal will for a season. After that he was flogged and hanged. This practice has many parallels, and goes back to widespread religious ideas and ceremonies, of which the learned author of the *Golden Bough* has so much to tell us. And Philo records an odd scene once enacted in Alexandria, of which the mock hero was one Carabas, a name that gives us

pause. It is conceivable that the soldiers—possibly Orientals—seeing that Jesus was condemned upon the charge of kingship, may have mocked him in the way in which the hero of the Sacæa and of similar ceremonies and carnivals was mocked. Some, among whom is Loisy, see here and in what Philo says the origin of the incident of Barabbas. Does the name Carabas conceal the name of Barabbas? Was Jesus delivered up to the soldiers to be crucified 'in the style of' or 'in place of' Barabbas, who would then be not a historic individual, but the name of a personage who figured as king in popular festivals parallel to the Roman Saturnalia and the Persian Sacæa? (*E. S.* II. pp. 653, 654).

21–32. The Crucifixion

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvii. 32–44; Luke xxiii. 26–43)

21 And they compelled one Simon of Cyrene (the father of Alexander and Rufus), who happened to be passing by from the
22 country, to carry his cross. And they brought him unto the place
23 Golgotha, which is, being translated, The place of a skull. And they offered him wine mixed with myrrh: but he did not take it.
24 And they crucified him, and they divided his garments, casting
25 lots for them, what each man should take. And it was the third
26 hour when they crucified him. And the inscription of the charge against him was written above him: 'The King of the Jews.'
27 And with him they crucified two thieves; the one on his right hand, and the other on his left.

29 And the passers-by reviled him, wagging their heads, and saying, 'Ah, thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in
30, 31 three days, save thyself, and come down from the cross.' Likewise also the chief priests with the scribes mocked him, saying to one
32 another, 'He saved others; himself he cannot save. The Messiah! The King of Israel! Let him descend now from the cross, that we may see and believe.' And they that were crucified with him scoffed at him.

Until the death of Jesus Loisy supposes that the Evangelist followed an older source, which he enlarged and embroidered. The older source contained 'sobres indications' concerning the departure from the Prætorium, Simon of Cyrene, the crucifixion, the inscription on the cross, the two robbers, the insults of the passers-by and

of the robbers, the last cry of Jesus, and the exclamation of the centurion. Thus older and more historic portions of the narrative would be 20 *b*, 21, 22 *a*, 24 *a*, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32 *b*, 37, 39 (*E. S.* I. p. 104).

21. The statement contained in this verse is, in all probability, historic. The two men, Alexander and Rufus, were probably known both to the Evangelist and to many of his readers. They knew from their father that he had been compelled to carry the cross (or part of it) upon which Jesus was suspended. *ἀγγαρεύειν* is the technical word for 'impress' (*cp.* Matt. v. 41).

The usual idea is that Jesus was too exhausted by the scourging and the mental agony to carry his own cross, as was the prevailing Roman custom.

Simon came from the country; not necessarily from work among the 'fields.' But still, though this is not necessary, the words would be more natural if the day of the crucifixion were not a holiday—not the first day of the Passover. However, Simon may have merely been returning from a walk or visit, such as would have been permissible on the festival. It is even supposed that if field *work* had been meant, the Greek would have been *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγροῦ*, and not merely *ἀπὸ ἀγροῦ*.

22. The place of the crucifixion must have been some hill outside the city walls, which, from its shape, was called 'skull,' or 'skull place.' It cannot any longer be identified.

23. The 'wine' referred to must have been the concoction which was given to Jews who were about to suffer the penalty of death, in order that they might lose consciousness. The preparation of this drugged wine seems to have been left to the hands of the ladies of Jerusalem, who, doubtless, regarded making and giving it as a deed of piety.

Who offered the wine to Jesus? We are not told. Was it the women who 'looked on from a distance'? (40). It must, anyway, have been offered by Jews or Jewesses.

It was not 'wine mixed with myrrh,' for apparently myrrh would have, if anything, the contrary effect. The Talmud says that it was frankincense which produced the benumbing result upon the consciousness.

Jesus refused the wine. This, too, may be historic. Either he determined to suffer with full consciousness, or he had still not given up hope of a miraculous intervention from God. Some are inclined to think the verse an addition to the 'source' (a doublet of the vinegar (36), says Loisy, and an incident in which the fulfilment of ancient prophecies was indicated). Note in the Greek

the presents in 22 and 24, with the past tense in 23. In my English translation I have put the past tense throughout.

24, 25. The awful event is narrated briefly, simply, calmly. The division of the garments is an embroidery, in order to show the fulfilment of Psalm xxii. 18; but it is a fact that the clothes of crucified persons, who suffered quite naked, were the perquisites of the executioners.

The 'third hour' is 9 A.M. Some think that verse 25, with its repetition of the fact of the crucifixion, is a later addition. Matthew and Luke do not give the hour.

26. 'The inscription of the charge against him was written above him: The King of the Jews.' This, again, may be historical; for it was customary to attach a tablet, with the crime or charge for which the condemned were to suffer, either to their necks or to the cross itself.

Jesus, then, suffered because he was accused of claiming to be King of the Jews. The brief words were enough to tell the tale.

27. In spite of 28, which has been inserted from Luke xxii. 37, and is wanting in the best MSS., the statement that two other men were crucified with Jesus may be historical. We need not suppose an intentional, added ignominy. Their execution was due, and it was convenient to crucify the three criminals on the same spot.

29. How far what now follows is historical is doubtful. For it closely follows the expressions of Psalm xxii. 7; moreover, it is not easy to see who could have reported the incidents and the words.

It is natural that W. should regard 29 as historical, for it supports his theory that Jesus was condemned for his prediction about the Temple.

30. The taunt, even if not historic, admirably fits the situation, and augments the horror.

31. The statement about the priests and the Scribes may be rejected with the utmost confidence. They would not have come out on purpose to feast their eyes upon the spectacle of their enemy upon the cross. That kind of thing rather befits the officers of the Inquisition than the members of the Sanhedrin. Brandt thinks the words in 32 are a sort of echo of taunts often made in later days by opponents. 'He, who, as you would have us believe, was the Saviour of the world, the Messiah, could not save himself. Why, if he were God's Son, did he not come down from the cross?'

(Compare the reasoning in Wisdom of Solomon ii. 17–20, which is directly used in Matt. xxvii. 43.)

Equally doubtful are the revilings of the robbers. Who reported them?

33–39. The Death of Jesus

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvii. 45–54; Luke xxiii. 44–47)

33 And at the sixth hour darkness came over the whole land
34 until the ninth hour. And at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, '*Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?*' which is, being translated, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'
35 And some of the bystanders, when they heard it, said, 'Behold, he
36 calls Elijah.' And one ran and filled a sponge full of vinegar, and put it on a cane, and gave him to drink, saying, 'Let alone; let us
37 see whether Elijah will come to take him down.' But Jesus
38 uttered a loud cry, and expired. And the curtain of the temple
39 was rent in twain from the top to the bottom. And when the centurion, who stood by, opposite to him, saw that he so expired, he said, 'Truly this man was a Son of God.'

33. Jesus, according to Mark, endured six hours of agony upon the cross before his death. Often, before the release of death came, a much longer interval elapsed.

The darkness which fell upon the face of the land (or earth) happened at noon. There can be no ordinary natural eclipse of the sun at the full moon of Eastertide. The miracle depends upon such passages as Amos viii. 9; Exodus x. 22; Jer. xv. 9. Moreover, darkness and eclipses were often supposed to have happened on specially solemn occasions. Thus an eclipse of the sun is said to have taken place upon the Ides of March, at the murder of Cæsar, 'at the sixth hour till night.'

34. According to Mark, Jesus only makes one utterance upon the cross. He quotes the words of Psalm xxii. 1, applying them to himself.

Two questions present themselves. The first is: Did Jesus really say the words? The second is: If he said them, what did he mean?

Many scholars think that, like the other borrowings from Psalm xxii., these words too were borrowed from the same source, not by Jesus, but by the Evangelist, or by tradition. Jesus died with a 'loud cry.' What did he say? What had he said? Pious

phantasy soon found answers; hence what we now read in Mark and Luke. Jesus was the Messianic hero predicted and represented in the Psalm. Therefore, he is made to quote its opening words, not because those who put these words in his mouth thought that he was, or that he believed that he was, forsaken of God, but because they are the opening words of the Psalm—because they were merely taken to mean an impassioned invocation unto God. So, for instance, argue Brandt and J. Weiss. The latter says: 'The Evangelist probably did not trouble himself as to the deeper meaning of the words; he probably just regarded and used them as a fulfilled prophecy from a Messianic psalm.' So too Loisy. If Luke and John disliked to attribute the words to Jesus, that only shows that Christian feeling was more 'affiné' in the last years of the century than about 70 (*E. S.* II. p. 685). It is argued, moreover, that the only reporters of what happened at the crucifixion were the women who 'stood afar off.' They might have heard the 'loud cry,' but would not have distinguished any words.

Others argue that just *these* words would not have been assigned to Jesus. Why should the dying Messiah have been made to indicate any lack of faith, even though the famous Messianic Psalm opens with these words? Luke clearly felt the objection to them. Hence he substituted a quotation from Psalm xxxi. 5.

Those who regard the words as authentic interpret them in different ways. Dr Carpenter's interpretation has been already alluded to. 'What do the words mean?' he asks. 'Do they denote defeat and desolation?' Though such an interpretation is natural at first, it 'seems inconsistent with the whole character of Jesus, and especially with the inner history of the fatal night. The possibility of death had been in sight for weeks. He had come to Jerusalem ready to face the worst. As it approached, it proved indeed a trial more grievous than even he had foreseen. But in Gethsemane he had solemnly offered himself to God. Could he flinch when the offer was accepted? What pain and shame could undo his trust, or sever the fellowship of his spirit with the Father? It is more congruous, therefore, with his previous attitude, to interpret the cry as a final declaration of faith. The verse opens the passionate pleading of one of Israel's hymns; but the Psalm which begins with desolation closes with glowing hope (24–28):

> He hath not despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted;
> Neither hath he hid his face from him;
> But when he cried unto him, he heard...
> And all the ends of the earth shall remember, and turn unto the Lord.
> And all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee.
> For the kingdom is the Lord's;
> And he is the ruler over the nations.

'With this last affirmation of the Kingdom Jesus died' (*First Three Gospels*, p. 393).

Mr Menzies and Holtzmann argue in much the same way.

On the other hand, B. Weiss considers, not without force, that to make Jesus think of the whole Psalm and its close in quoting its opening words is somewhat arbitrary, and introduces into 'a moment of immediate feeling' 'das Fremdartige der Reflexion.' Jesus believed that God, if he chose, could effect his purpose in another way—all is possible to God—and thus he asks in his agony, why has God refused to him special and miraculous intervention? Pfleiderer argues strongly on the same side. For such an interpretation fits in with his whole picture of the last days at Jerusalem, and his view that Jesus until the last believed that the Kingdom was to be realized upon earth, and in his own lifetime, not through his death. His words upon the cross imply that he regarded his fate as the shipwreck of his holiest hopes. Of this view we shall hear more in the notes on Luke.

35. Did Jesus say the words, if he said them, in Hebrew or in Aramaic? Mark reports them in Aramaic; Matthew largely in Hebrew. The misunderstanding spoken of in verse 35 requires the Hebrew. 'Eli' could be mistaken for 'Elijah'; not the Aramaic 'Eloi.' Moreover, the bystanders would have understood Aramaic, their own language; they might not have understood, and hence might have misinterpreted, the Hebrew sounds. Jesus might well have known the Psalms in Hebrew. 'The Aramaic may,' says Menzies, 'be due to a corrector who reflected perhaps that Aramaic, and not Hebrew, was spoken in Palestine at this time.' So, too, Brandt.

The bystanders must have been Jews, who alone would know about Elijah and his connection with the Messiah. But that there were Jews present as well as Roman soldiers seems unlikely.

Elijah was to prepare the way for the Messiah. Moreover, there is frequent mention of him in Jewish legend as appearing to people in moments of distress and danger. It seems strange that B. Weiss should say that 'without doubt' Roman soldiers are meant, and that it is 'very improbable' that they would not have heard of Elijah. Equally strange is his view that the soldiers knew the meaning of the Syriac and Aramaic 'Eloi' well enough, and that the interpretation they give of it is only a malicious perversion.

36. On the other hand, if the man who offers the sponge drenched with vinegar was a soldier, a difficulty arises as to the end of the verse. There are various suggestions.

It seems necessary that the man with the sponge should be

one of the group mentioned in 35. Were they then not soldiers but Jews? And was this Jewish bystander allowed to take some of the soldiers' wine and give it to Jesus? But this seems extremely unlikely. But if it was a Roman soldier who held up the sponge to the sufferer (by means of fixing the sponge upon the end of a tall cane) in order to relieve the agonising thirst, how could he have said what follows at the end of the verse? The difficulty was felt by Matthew, who changes the subject ('but the others said'), and the S.S. does the same in this very verse of Mark.

The meaning of the words apparently is that the giver of the drink wants to prevent his companions from hindering him in his act of mercy. Hence he affects to follow up what had been said before, and suggests that they should allow him to keep Jesus alive by the drink in order that they might see whether Elijah would come to take him down from the Cross. All this, however, seems very strained.

The difficulties are about equally great, whether the giver of the drink is conceived to be a Roman soldier—for then he knows about Elijah, and the 'bystanders' must also be soldiers—or whether the bystanders and the giver of the drink are all Jews. Hence, W. regards 35 and 36*b* as later inventions—partly at least upon æsthetic grounds. 'The impression made by the moving cry of despair is painfully spoiled by the misunderstanding of the onlookers. Yet it might easily have come into the mind of Christians who talked Aramaic and were ignorant of Hebrew. They might readily have thought that the Messiah in the moment of his deepest need would have called upon the man who was to prepare and make smooth his path: "Elijah, Elijah, where art thou?," and this interpretation would have the more quickly occurred to them as it removed the stumbling-block of the Messiah thinking himself forsaken by God.' Or perhaps the play upon words was created by the Jews. The disciples said Jesus cried out 'Eli, Eli.' But no 'Eli'—*i.e.* no Elijah—came. There was none to rescue or intervene.

Whether the episode with the sponge is historical cannot be decided. Roman soldiers had a drink called *posca*, which was made of water, vinegar and egg. There may, therefore, have been the necessary material present. On the other hand, Psalm lxix. 21: 'In my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink,' causes suspicion. Luke uses the vinegar at an earlier period. (*Cp.* Luke xxiii. 36.) Loisy thinks that the earliest tradition knew of only one 'cry' before the death. This was interpreted and explained and doubled in various ways. The ascription of the exclamation in Psalm xxii. (a fulfilment of prophecy) to the dying Messiah; the call upon Elijah, the precursor of the Messiah, grew up independently, and

were then combined. Independent too at first was the fulfilment of Psalm lxix. The vinegar owes its origin to the Psalm; it is not the *posca*. Moreover this drink 'fait double emploi avec le vin aromatisé dont Marc a parlé plus haut' (*E. S.* II. pp. 684–686).

37. It is implied that Jesus accepted the proffered drink. But it did not keep him long alive. He gave one last loud cry—a cry which may have reached to the ears of the women who watched from a distance—and expired.

A good deal has been written about the loud cry—its possibility and its meaning. Usually sufferers upon the cross died of slow exhaustion. Jesus seems to have died after a comparatively short period of agony. Perhaps some vital organ gave way: there was a momentary spasm of acutest pain, a loud cry, and then all was over.

Brandt thinks the 'loud cry' unlikely to have been invented, and therefore probably historic. So too Loisy. It is probably the only detail which comes from the primitive tradition. The women may have heard the cry; or Simon of Cyrene (*E. S.* II. pp. 680, 681).

38. The curtain of the Temple is rent in twain. The symbolic meaning of the miracle is that, through the death of Jesus, there was now a complete and unimpeded access to God. 'In the Jewish Temple God was behind a veil, which was never lifted except once a year to the high priest; but Christians have access or admission' (Menzies). The thought is elaborated and clearly expressed in Hebrews x. 19–25, ix. 1–12; Ephesians ii. 14–18. Oddly enough, though Jesus would have been the last to wish it, the 'access' to the Father, so immediate and intimate in prophetic and even in Rabbinic Judaism, has been obscured by the doctrine of the Mediator and of the divine Son. It is a curious irony that Jesus, who would so intensely have disliked the idea that he, or any other man, should stand between the divine Father and his human children, has yet been made to occupy this position. There was no gulf and so no bridge was required; yet for the sake of an imaginary evil, a needless remedy was devised.

Another interpretation of the passage is apparently favoured by W., and has ancient support. The rending of the veil means the mourning of the Temple; it bewails, not the death of Jesus, but its own imminent destruction.

39. The centurion calls Jesus '*a* Son of God.' On what does he base his remark, which is not out of place in a heathen's mouth, for 'Son of God' would merely mean to him a demi-god, a divine being? The usual interpretation is that the captain is impressed

by the 'loud cry,' so unusual from those who suffered on the cross. Instead of languor and prostration, Jesus at the very moment of death shows vigour and power. Though this view is shared by the MS. D., which adds *κράξαντα* to *οὕτως*, W. calls it 'scurrilous nonsense,' perhaps because B. Weiss, among others, adopts it. Hence he supposes that the *οὕτως* ('thus') means 'under such circumstances,' and refers it to the 'darkness' mentioned in 33. This seems less likely.

'The captain,' says J. Weiss, 'stands at the end of the Gospel as the type and forerunner of the countless bands of heathen who have been won over to the message of the crucified one. The conjecture is near at hand that the captain became afterwards a Christian.' In that case, his utterance might be authentic. In the Gospel according to Peter he is called Petronius. But Mark does not know his name, which gives rise to justifiable doubts; and Brandt roundly asserts: 'Dass wir mit einer evangelischen Dichtung zu thun haben, ist offenbar.' There were many motives which would have stimulated the invention, and it provides a fine conclusion to the story. The 'loud cry' was, probably, to the Evangelist a 'cry as of thunder,' a supernaturally loud cry; such as, to the captain's mind, only a god could have uttered at such a moment, on such an occasion. Loisy also is suspicious. He denies that 'Son of God' means merely in the centurion's mouth 'divine hero' or 'demi-god.' Not so did the Evangelists understand it. We have to do with a regular conversion, a true confession of faith. Perhaps the centurion is intended to represent the first homage rendered by the Gentile world to the world's Saviour.

40, 41. The Women who saw

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvii. 55, 56; Luke xxiii. 48, 49)

40 There were also some women looking on from a distance, among
whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the
41 Little and of Joses, and Salome (who already, when he was in
Galilee, had followed him, and attended to him); and many other
women who came up with him unto Jerusalem.

Here we have a probably historical, and, if so, a valuable, reminiscence. The crucifixion was, though from a distance, actually witnessed by some of Jesus's own female friends. Incidentally, too, Mark makes an important statement that already in Galilee Jesus had been followed and waited on by some women, and that

others had joined him on his way to Jerusalem. Luke had made a similar statement at an early stage (viii. 1–3). There can be little doubt that in Jesus's attitude towards women we have a highly original and significant feature of his life and teaching.

Mary of Magdala is so called from her place of birth or residence, near Tiberias. There is no reason whatever to identify her with the woman who had been a sinner, of Luke vii.

The second Mary is said here to be the mother of James the Less and of Joses. 'James is called the Little or the Less to distinguish him from the other "celebrities" of the name. But whether it designates him as less in stature, or in age, or of less importance, there are no data for determining' (Gould). Some conjecture that this James the Less is James the son of Alphæus, the apostle mentioned in iii. 18. The more famous James was the son of Zebedee. According to another tradition, Mary was the daughter of James.

The 'many others' may be an unhistoric exaggeration. Matthew does not mention them. Salome was apparently the mother of the sons of Zebedee, if we may make this inference on the ground that Matthew, in place of Mark's Salome, puts 'the mother of the sons of Zebedee.'

Loisy points out that the women are mentioned in this place to prepare for, and lead the way to, the story of the burial and the story of the empty tomb. As he regards neither of these stories as historical, he is disposed to be somewhat sceptical as to the presence of the women. At all events their presence cannot be regarded as attested by the oldest tradition. 'La presence de celles-ci [the Galilæan women] à Jérusalem, autour de Jésus et ses disciples, peut être une donnée de l'histoire, et même leur présence sur le Calvaire: mais cette donnée était tout à fait accessoire dans la tradition, tant qu'on ne songea pas à faire de ces femmes, qui pouvaient bien, en effet, être restées à Jérusalem quand tous les apôtres étaient déjà partis, les premiers témoins de la résurrection' (*E. S.* II. p. 708).

42–47. The Burial of Jesus

(*Cp.* Matt. xxvii. 51–61; Luke xxiii. 50–56)

42 And as the evening was already at hand, because it was
43 the Preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath, Joseph of Arimathæa, an honourable councillor who himself too was waiting for the kingdom of God, came, and ventured to go to Pilate, and
44 asked for the body of Jesus. And Pilate marvelled that he should

have already died, and he summoned the centurion, and asked him
45 whether he was long dead. And when he was informed by the
46 centurion, he gave the body to Joseph. And he bought fine linen,
and took him down, and wrapped him in the linen, and laid him
in a sepulchre which was hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone
47 against the door of the sepulchre. And Mary Magdalene and Mary
the mother of Joses watched where he was laid.

42, 43. The burial of Jesus, as described in this paragraph, is probably, in substance, historic. As has been pointed out, its main points 'tradition was not likely to have invented.' Isaiah liii. 9 is inadequate for that, and is not quoted in the Gospels. That the body of Jesus was buried is confirmed by Paul in 1 Cor. xv. 4.

The part played by Joseph of Arimathæa (his birth-place or residence is usually identified with Ramathaim mentioned in 1 Mac. xi. 34, or with the locality mentioned in 1 Sam. i. 1) is also probably to be regarded as historic. Mark calls him *εὐσχήμων βουλευτής*, 'an honourable councillor,' which is usually interpreted to mean that he was a member of the Sanhedrin. If so, the obvious question arose: what part had he played at the trial? and this was answered by Luke xxiii. 51. More probably the words mean merely, as the adjective so applied leads us to infer, a man of high social rank. It is highly rash to assume, as J. Weiss does, that Joseph was present at the trial, or even that any part of the account of the trial in the Gospels is due to him.

Joseph is said to be also himself expecting the Kingdom of God. This does not mean that he was a disciple of Jesus, or that he even expected Jesus to bring the Kingdom about. There were Pharisees who eagerly expected the Kingdom—and even expected it soon. Such a one was Joseph. He may have been sympathetic towards Jesus and his teaching, but it does not follow that he was a regular disciple, though it was only natural that Mark's words would soon be understood in that sense. It seems, however, very unlikely that Joseph was not even in sympathy with Jesus or his teaching, but that he simply acted (more probably as the representative of the Sanhedrin) in order to carry out the law of Deuteronomy. 'Speed was essential; the law enjoined burial, and it also enjoined the Sabbath rest. The only way of fulfilling the law of burial without breaking the Sabbath law was to use a grave close to the place of crucifixion' (so Lake, *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, pp. 174, 182).

Matthew calls him 'rich.' This addition is probably not due to Isaiah liii. 9, but was suggested by his action and position.

'εὐσχήμων had obtained in vulgar speech the meaning "rich," though it properly means "of good standing"' (Lake, p. 50).

Only here, for the first time, and quite casually, does Mark mention that the day of the crucifixion was Friday. The words are not without difficulty. Jesus died at 3 P.M. The sun would set between six and seven. Joseph can only have heard of the death some little while after it took place. Indeed, Mark says 'it was already evening.' The word ὀψίας, W. urges, never means an earlier moment than sunset. Hence, W. says that he cannot understand what ἐπεί, 'since,' refers to. It cannot, he contends, imply that because it was not permissible to take a body down from the cross and bury it on the Sabbath, therefore there was no time to lose. For the Sabbath had already begun. Perhaps, however, the meaning may be that Joseph was anxious that as little of the Sabbath as possible should be defiled by the body (or bodies, though we hear nothing of the two thieves, or whether they were yet dead) remaining upon the cross. John xix. 31 attributes this anxiety to the Jews. Perhaps, too, the law of Deut. xxi. 22, 23, had to do with the matter.

In any case, the verse makes the Synoptic chronology very unlikely. For if Jesus was crucified upon the first day of Passover, one holy day was succeeded by another, and the words, ἤδη ὀψίας γενομένης, ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευή ('as the evening was already at hand, because it was the Preparation') become quite unintelligible. They have only a meaning if the Friday was not a festival. Loisy continues his scepticism. Even the Friday is to him dubious. 'The Passover of the Last Supper in the Synoptics, and the Passover of the crucifixion in the fourth Gospel, the Sabbath eve of the burial, and the Sunday of the resurrection, are symbolic data, from which it is now difficult for the historian to disentangle the point of departure in the actual facts. Note too that Mark's "for it was Friday" comes as a sort of extra (*comme en surcharge*). Yet it is only by this sort of gloss—though, one must admit, already known to Matthew, Luke and John—that the day of the week on which the crucifixion took place has been ascertained' (*E. S.* II. p. 700). Lake too suggests that the clause ἐπεὶ...προσάββατον ('because it was...Sabbath') may be an addition to the original text. It appears that ἐπεί is nowhere else found in Mark (Lake, p. 52).

Only Mark has 'ventured.' But it is very plausible. For, according to Roman law or custom, the bodies of crucified persons were not buried. They were allowed to rot where they hung.

44. Pilate's wonder is probably invented. He is astonished that death should have supervened so rapidly. It is clear that the early death was looked upon as something of a wonder or

a divine mercy. Six hours of appalling agony is little! One shudders to think of such agony prolonged for a whole day, or even longer, as it would appear did occasionally happen.

45. Pilate grants Joseph's request. It is implied that a bribe or payment would not have been unusual; but Pilate sanctions the burial without any such preliminary. It has been suggested that 44 and 45 may have been added later. 'There is a very harsh change of subject which disappears if 44 and 45 are omitted, and the word *ἐδωρήσατο* is not found elsewhere in the New Testament except in 2 Peter i. 3' (Lake, p. 53).

46. The sun must have set; yet Joseph is able to buy the linen he required. The vault in which Joseph places the body may have been near the place of crucifixion. It is not said by Mark that it was his own grave-vault, or that no use had been made of it before. It is not said that it was intended to be the *final* resting-place of the body. The vault was hewn out of the rock, as places for burial are in the East (Menzies). But the details of the tomb may be due to Isaiah xxii. 16, xxxiii. 16 (Septuagint). So, too, the stone which Joseph rolled against the opening may be due to the narrative which follows, or to the stone of Gen. xxix. 2, 3. But, as Menzies says, 'the tomb had to be guarded against wild beasts and against thieves; and this was commonly done in the way here described.' (See the article 'Tomb' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*.)

Joseph appears suddenly, and as suddenly disappears. The following remarks of Brandt deserve consideration: 'There is every reason to believe that the man who buried the body of Jesus did not belong to his regular adherents, that he executed his pious work as quietly as he could, and afterwards showed himself no more in Jerusalem. For otherwise, when the Galilæans returned with the cry, "Jesus has risen," Joseph, whether gladly or reluctantly, would have had to play a part. Neither the Jewish authorities nor the disciples would have left him in peace; friend and foe would have talked much more about the tomb than is now noticeable in the tradition....Ramathaim was not far from Jerusalem. The expression "Joseph of Ramathaim" indicates that the person so named had not continued to live there; but that he was or remained a resident in Jerusalem is not by any means implied. Perhaps before or soon after the disciples returned to the city he left Judæa and went abroad. Perhaps his very name first became known abroad, through some accidental combination of circumstances, and then came, through tradition, to the knowledge of the Evangelist' (*op. cit.* p. 312).

Loisy thinks that the entire story of Joseph and of the entombment is as unhistoric as the discovery of the empty tomb itself. 'On peut supposer que les soldats détachèrent le corps de la croix avant le soir, et le mirent dans quelque fosse commune, où l'on jetait pêle-mêle les restes des suppliciés' (*E. S.* I. p. 223). If this scepticism is justified, and the body of Jesus was treated as Loisy supposes, there would be something wonderfully dramatic in such a fate for such a corpse. Here is the body of a man who is to exercise the greatest influence of any man of all mankind upon the history and civilization of the world, who is to be worshipped as God by untold millions of men, thrown unregarded, uncared for, into a common ditch, to mingle undistinguished with the malefactors' bones which filled it. That would be indeed a contrast and an irony worthy of the event and its results.

47. The two Marys watch the burial. It is not said whether they had remained all the time at the same place from which they saw the crucifixion; but this is perhaps implied. If the tomb was near the cross, the women could have seen how the body was recovered and buried. It is hardly to be inferred, with B. Weiss, that they went, after the burial, up to the spot and looked at it. The imperfect *ἐθεώρουν* rather implies that they watched from their post the process of entombment. Or if the point is pressed, that only two women see the entombment, we may assume that these two leave their former post of observation, and, following Joseph, draw nearer to the grave.

The second Mary is called *Μαρία ἡ Ἰωσῆτος*. W. says this must be translated 'the daughter of Joses,' which would conflict with xv. 40. But Swete says: 'sc. *μήτηρ*,' and so Holtzmann. The point is unimportant. All the details of the story of the entombment, says Loisy, are conceived in view of, and to lead up to, the discovery of the empty tomb. Mark would impress upon our notice that the same people who saw the entombment saw also the empty tomb. He only wants to introduce a little variety in making a considerable number of persons watch the death of Jesus, while two only of these witness the entombment, and three the discovery of the empty grave (*E. S.* II. p. 707).

It is hardly desirable to add any general note upon the crucifixion and death of Jesus. For, if a beginning were to be made, it would not be easy to stop. Those who believe in a God of Righteousness can only bow the head in awed and yet trustful submission at the strangely mixed means which He takes for the progress of mankind, at the painful and involved interconnection of good and evil. In spite of the endless misery which was to

come upon the Jews because of the death of Jesus; in spite of the false theology and the persecutions and sore evils (apart wholly from the Jewish misery); in spite of the wrongs which were to be done to liberty, to enlightenment, to toleration, and to righteousness by the Christian Church—one yet sees that the death of Jesus, even as his life, was of immense benefit to the world. Christianity, as we know it, and as Paul made it, was due to his death as much as, if not more than, to his life. Some fundamental truths of Judaism (though not all of them) have been taught to a large proportion of the world by Christianity; and while in some directions it obscured those truths, in others it expanded them. That this might be done, the 'chosen people' have had to suffer. For the law of election seems to go even further than Amos realized, though what he said was sufficiently startling and revolutionary. For Amos said: 'You only have I known out of all the inhabitants of the earth; *therefore* I will visit upon you your iniquities.' But even this is not enough. Nineteen centuries of suffering compel us to realize that for some august reason or purpose we must say, 'You have I called: therefore ye shall suffer undeservedly.'

The precise proportion of responsibility which belongs to any section of the Jews of Jerusalem for the death of Jesus must always remain doubtful and uncertain. But the probability, as we have seen, is that the Sadducean priesthood, perhaps backed up by some of the leading Rabbis, were responsible, together with the Romans, for his death. Yet what matters this, so far as God is concerned? We are disposed to find a difficulty in the 'third or fourth generation' of the Second Commandment. Yet if the death of Jesus had been unanimously voted by the entire Jewish people, with votes taken by plebiscite or referendum, what difference would it make? Third or fourth generation! Why, there have been fifty generations! And the roll is not yet ended, and there seems no prospect of its close! For in substitution of the Master's command, 'Ye shall love your enemies,' Christianity has forged another: 'Ye shall hate your enemies to the fiftieth and sixtieth generation.'

But this is the will of God in His scheme for the progress of the world. We do not understand why. But the Jews have ever to realize that they have received the consecration of supremest suffering, and that they still remain the hunted, hated, wounded, but deathless witnesses of God.

CHAPTER XVI

It is unnecessary for the purposes of this book to add lengthy notes to the brief narratives which tell the story of the resurrection. It would suffice, for those who want to gain a very convenient conspectus of the whole subject, to read the article on the resurrection narratives in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. There will be found a complete summary of the facts and of the main theories. There, too, is enumerated the full tale of the inconsistencies of the various Gospels with each other, and with the statements of Paul. For the purposes of this book it is the narratives about the life and teaching of Jesus which are of the greatest importance, while those which tell of his death are less important, and those which describe his resurrection are least important of all. Dr Carpenter, in that splendid chapter of his book which he calls 'The Jesus of History,' says: 'The resurrection is not here discussed, as it belongs properly to the history of the Church.' And this is doubtless correct. But, over and above this reason, there are others which make lengthy notes upon the resurrection chapters unnecessary in this place. For this book is not polemical, and it is also not an apology. It frankly assumes the Jewish point of view. If a Jew were to write a commentary upon the Gospels in order to show why, in spite of them, he remains in religion a Jew, and does not become a convert to Christianity, he would have to show why the resurrection narratives are wholly insufficient for, and do not even help towards, his conversion. He would then have to dwell at length upon their difficulties and inconsistencies; he would have to show why he ranges himself with those Christian critics, such as the author of the article in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, who deny the empty tomb, the material or semi-material risen body, or even the 'objective' vision. But the author of this book need not enter into these discussions. He writes frankly as a Jew, and, therefore, as one who does not so 'believe in' the resurrection as would logically compel him to change his creed. He is not concerned either to defend his own faith or to attack the faith of others.

The most probable views of the resurrection stories to the present commentator are based upon the assumption that there is a real foundation for these stories. In other words, that the disciples, or some of them, saw a vision of Jesus which they believed to be a vision of their risen Master. The assumption is that in that sense, and within these limits, the Gospel narratives are historic. It is an assumption, for it can never be proved; but, all things considered, it seems the most probable assumption—far

more probable than the opposite assumptions, that the stories are fabricated, or that the disciples told what they knew to be false, or that they are completely legendary, and grew up as legends do grow up, no man knowing how.

If, then, there is historic truth at the bottom of the narratives—though the truth did not include much (such as the empty tomb) which the narratives now contain—that truth can, roughly stated, be one of two main possibilities: *Either* the disciples, or some of them, or one of them, not merely saw a vision of Jesus, but what they saw *was* Jesus in some special supernatural manifestation; *or*, though the vision was real to them, it was, as we should now say, 'only a vision,' and had no further reality, being exclusively a 'product of the mental condition of the seer.'

The first of these possibilities, again, may be held in the form that the disciples saw what we should call the 'spirit' of Jesus, either 'in true spirit form or in some kind of acquired visibility,' or, it may be held in the form that what they saw was 'only a visionary image without any real appearance of Jesus,' but that 'this visionary image was produced in their souls immediately by God in order that they might be assured that Jesus was alive' (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, art. 'Resurrection,' col. 4077). And even in the first form we may hold, as Prof. Lake has pointed out, that the real spiritual being was only perceived by the disciples under the conditions and limitations of their minds and senses. The 'being' had an objective existence, but what they 'heard' or 'saw' was due as much to them as to 'it' (Lake, pp. 271, 272).

Many persons, both Jews and Christians, would hold that no one could believe the first possibility (in either form) and yet legitimately remain a Jew. I do not myself believe this possibility —(I think the vision was purely 'subjective'); but, nevertheless, I do not think that the objective vision possibility could not be held by a Jew. For if we believe in the immortality of the soul, we shall also believe that the spirit of Jesus survived death, and it may have been the will of God that the disciples should be miraculously accorded this particular vision. So it may have been the will of God that Mohammed may have been accorded a 'supernatural' vision. When I think of the gigantic results of both Christianity and Mohammedanism, it seems to me, in some moods and for some reasons, less difficult to believe that they are based upon, or partly built up from, certain special divine interventions than that they are based upon what we call 'illusions.'

But, on the other hand, it is, for other reasons, our scientific duty to do without miracles when we can. If all other miracles are ill-founded, it is probable that this one is ill-founded too.

The whole building up of the resurrection narratives can be

adequately accounted for on the subjective vision possibility; and again, the appearance of the subjective visions to the disciples, or to some of them, can also be accounted for with adequate psychological verisimilitude. Not only has the objective vision hypothesis its own difficulties, but it is also more 'economical' to be content with the subjective vision hypothesis, if it can be adequately accounted for with fair and reasonable arguments.

No one who accepts the doctrine of 'immortality' will hesitate for one moment to believe in the 'resurrection' of Jesus, if by resurrection we mean that his life did not terminate upon the cross. If others 'live again,' then, *à fortiori*, one of the best of men so lives. But to the Jew, and to all those who hold the subjective vision hypothesis, the resurrection of Jesus is not the proof or pledge of general human immortality; but, on the contrary, the belief in general human immortality is the proof and pledge of the 'resurrection of Jesus.' If we believe already in human immortality, it does not, in one sense, make much difference whether we accept the objective or the subjective vision hypothesis: Jesus, in either case, is alive, whether the disciples 'really' saw him or not. If, on the other hand, we do not believe in human immortality, we shall still less believe in the objective vision hypothesis. Thus, to those who have not grown up in, or who have not retained, the old Christian theology, the 'resurrection' of Jesus has no central importance. Their faith does not hinge on it; the Gospel narrative can neither upset their faith nor confirm it.

A difficulty to my own mind in the subjective vision hypothesis, as set forth and explained, for example, by Schmiedel and Arnold Meyer, is one which, to many minds, will not seem a difficulty at all. It is, perhaps, less a difficulty than a sadness. It is the same difficulty or sadness which presents itself to me when Professor Margoliouth, in the plenitude of his great knowledge, would have me believe that Mohammed was largely a conscious impostor. It is hard to be content that great religious results should have had not quite satisfactory causes. The subjective vision was, in one sense, an 'illusion.' Yet upon this illusion hinged the great religious result which we call Christianity. So, too, it is hard to be content that any dross and error should be mingled with the pure gold of the prophets. But we cannot hope to understand the means which God allows or wills (whichever word may be preferred) in the development and production of human righteousness and knowledge. His will is done. Righteousness and knowledge, which are the only 'proof' of God, exist and increase. We must not stumble because we cannot understand the means.

1–8. The Empty Tomb

(*Cp.* Matt. xxviii. 1–10; Luke xxiv. 1–11)

1 And when the sabbath was over, Mary Magdalene, and Mary
the mother of James, and Salome, bought sweet spices, that they
2 might go and anoint him. And very early in the morning of the
first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre, at the rising
3 of the sun. And they said among themselves, 'Who will roll away
4 for us the stone from the door of the sepulchre?' And when they
looked, they saw that the stone had been rolled away: for it was
5 very great. And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young
man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment;
6 and they were sore afraid. But he said unto them, 'Be not
afraid: ye seek Jesus the crucified Nazarene; he is risen; he is
7 not here: behold the place where they laid him. But go, tell his
disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee: there
8 shall ye see him, as he said unto you.' And they went out, and
fled from the sepulchre; for they trembled and were amazed:
and they said nothing to any one; for they were afraid.

1. The second Mary is here called the mother or, as W. thinks, the daughter of James. *Cp.* the statements in xv. 47 and xv. 40.

They make the necessary purchases late on Saturday evening. That the women determine to anoint a corpse which had already been entombed two days and wrapped round in its cere-cloths seems very strange. W. calls it a 'bold thought.' It seems to me more—it seems to me a thought which is not likely to be historic. In any case the women could hardly have thought of anointing the corpse unless they knew that the entombment had been meant to be, and was, of a temporary character only. J. Weiss says: 'How could the women reckon upon the stone being rolled away? The cause assigned for their visit to the grave is very unlikely.'

2. They arrive very early on Sunday morning at the grave. But the sun has risen.

3. They have no idea or thought that Jesus may have risen. On the contrary, their one preoccupation is the question of the heavy stone at the mouth of the grave. Who will roll it away for them?

4. The stone has been already rolled away: for it was very big. The second part of the verse seems awkward. That the stone was very big does not prove that it was rolled away. The words would be more suitable after verse 3. In their present place they can only be regarded as a loose way of expressing the implied thought that the rolling away of the stone was something very portentous and remarkable. (So Klostermann.) Who had rolled the stone away? Is it implied that this was done by Jesus himself? He 'rises,' rolls away the stone, and disappears. Or has the stone been rolled away by invisible divine power? 'In any case,' says Loisy, 'it is understood that the stone had to be rolled away in order that Jesus might come out.'

5. The women, finding the stone removed from the mouth, enter into the vault. Instead of seeing, as they expect, the body of Jesus, they see an angel. The angel looks like a young man, but his white (priestly) garments, as well as the mere fact of his presence in that strange place, reveal his angelhood. (*Cp.* 2 Macc. iii. 26; Revelations vii. 9, 13.) It is also important to note that one good MS. has merely 'having come to the tomb' (*i.e.* ἐλθοῦσαι for εἰσελθοῦσαι). Is this original? Prof. Lake strongly holds that the young man is not an angel, but a man. The narrative, in its essence, is historical.

6. The angel's words: 'Ye seek Jesus, the crucified Nazarene,' sound a little strange. Menzies says that they are 'in character. Jesus is not described in terms a believer would use, or with any reference to his Messiahship, but in such words as might be used to identify him either to a follower or an unbeliever.'

The angel then announces the fact of the resurrection. Jesus has risen in his own very body. The angel shows the place where the body had been put, and this place is empty. The MS. D reads: 'He is risen, he is not here, lo, there is the place where they laid him.' Is this, as Lake is inclined to think, the original text? See below. (Lake, p. 69.)

7. Is there a contradiction here with xiv. 50? W. and others think there is, inasmuch as xiv. 50 supposes that the disciples had fled, immediately after the arrest, to Galilee (except Peter), whereas this verse would imply that they are still near or in Jerusalem, and that the women are to tell them to proceed at once to Galilee. But it must be admitted that it does not say in xiv. 50 that they fled at once to Galilee. When exactly they dispersed to their homes, whether after or before the crucifixion, is not stated. In any case our verse, like xiv. 28, is meant to

account for the fact that the first appearance of the risen Jesus took place in Galilee, perhaps also to account for the flight of the apostles and to justify it. Lake suggests that the true explanation of xvi. 7, by which we can maintain its consistency with xiv. 50 and yet explain that verse as implying that the disciples had already scattered to Galilee, is that the meaning of 'he goes before you into Galilee' (*cp.* xiv. 28) is, he will be in Galilee before you. Before you arrive in Galilee, which will take you some time, Jesus will already be there (Lake, p. 76).

'There shall ye see him'; that is, the disciples, not the women. The words which the women are to repeat are addressed direct to the disciples.

8. It is highly remarkable that the women are expressly stated to have disobeyed the angel's order. And if they did not obey it, how did it become known? Did they go with the disciples to Galilee and tell them *there*, either before or after the visions of the risen Jesus had occurred? But this is a very strained explanation. And, on the other hand, the reason for the women's silence is far from clear. That the occurrence at the tomb filled them with awe and fear is reasonable enough; but that, when they joined their friends, they still said nothing seems most peculiar. The trembling and bewilderment are psychologically inadequate. The only explanation which is possible seems to be that it was known that the disciples were unprepared for what they saw in Galilee. The faith in the risen Messiah owes nothing to the discovery of the empty tomb. No story of the empty tomb had reached the apostles when that faith was born within them. The empty tomb story grew up afterwards. Hence it had to be explained why the women kept silence; this is done as well as might be. When the story of the empty tomb became current and accepted, the need was no longer felt for the silence of the women. Its improbability, on the contrary, became felt. Hence the change in Matthew and Luke.

The opening word of the verse ἐξελθοῦσαι 'is not represented in the Arabic Diatessaron and in some MSS. is altered to ἀκούσαντες' (Lake, p. 62).

What follows after verse 8 is from another hand. It is interpolated and late. W. thinks that Mark always ended at 8. It was the intended end. Nothing is wanting. The resurrection is announced and proved. Others hold that the end has been lost, or that the writer was suddenly prevented from concluding his work. No certainty on this point is possible. The present ending is rather abrupt and awkward. To end a sentence with γάρ seems odd. 'It is therefore probable that the sentence originally

ran "for they were afraid of the Jews" or some such phrase' (Lake, p. 72 init.).

The more radical critics reject the story of the empty tomb as entirely unhistorical. Attempts have been made to retain the story and get rid of the miraculous elements. Thus it has been supposed that the women did go to the tomb and did find it empty, but that the reason was that the Jewish authorities had removed the body. Or, again, it is conjectured that Joseph had only provisionally put the body in his own vault, and had had it removed to another resting-place before the visit of the women. Or, again, it is conjectured that Mary Magdalene alone visited the tomb (so John), and that she had a vision, or trance, or seizure there, and that her vision may have grown into the present story. But, as Loisy well points out, the story is all of a piece. The angel is not added later; he cannot be removed without destroying the whole. In fact, all the above conjectures are very doubtful.

For the entirely legendary character of the story it is argued that Paul knows nothing about it. Secondly, that if the story had happened, the women would not have disobeyed the order of the angel. Mark's statement that the women said nothing implies that the story of the empty sepulchre was unknown when the disciples had the visions in Galilee of the risen Jesus, and that it is, in fact, a later tradition. How the story arose is not quite easy, but the growth of legend is often difficult to explain. If Jesus had risen, as the disciples believed after the visions in Galilee, then, on current theories of the resurrection, the tomb must have been empty. 'Therefore no hesitation was felt in declaring that (according to all reasonable conjecture) the women who had witnessed Jesus's death had wished to anoint his body, and then had come to know of the emptiness of the grave. In the fact that, according to Mark and Matthew, this was not alleged regarding the male disciples, we can see still a true recollection that those disciples were by that time no longer in Jerusalem.' So Schmiedel, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*. The defenders of tradition and miracle may not unreasonably argue that this is rather a poor explanation. But, nevertheless, the story itself, and the supposition of the empty sepulchre, and of the rolled-away stone, are much more difficult still. It is better to assume that the body of Jesus remained where it was placed without disturbance or miracle.

After the above paragraph was written Prof. Lake's book appeared. His view is rather peculiar. He holds that there is no reason to believe that Paul was unacquainted with the story of the empty tomb. (It is in any case difficult to prove a negative.) Moreover, he thinks that the story in Mark in its essentials is accurate and historic. The women go to what they think is the tomb: they

find it open. 'A young man who was in the entrance, guessing their errand, tried to tell them that they had made a mistake in the place. "He is not here," said he; "see the place where they laid him," and probably pointed to the next tomb.' But the women were frightened at the detection of their errand and fled. They heard very imperfectly, or not at all. Later on when they were rejoined by the men who had experienced the visions (or when, as I should put it, they rejoined the men in Galilee), they remembered the incident at the tomb. But if Jesus was risen, then the tomb was empty; so they came to believe that the young man was an angel, and that what he had told them was that Jesus had risen and that he had given them a message for the disciples (Lake, pp. 246–253, 193, 199). It does not seem to me likely that this explanation, or 'suggestion,' as Lake calls it, will permanently hold the field. Its ingenuity, however, is most undeniable.

9–20. Later Version of the Resurrection

9 [Now after he had risen, early on the first day of the week, he
appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven
10 devils. And she went and told them that had been with him, as
11 they mourned and wept. And they, when they heard that he was
12 alive, and had been seen by her, believed it not. After that he
appeared in another form unto two of them, as they were walking
13 and going into the country. And they went and told it unto the
others, but they did not believe even them.
14 Afterward he appeared unto the eleven as they sat at table,
and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart,
15 because they believed not them who had seen him risen. And he
said unto them, 'Go ye throughout all the world, and preach the
16 gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall
17 be saved; but he that believeth not shall be condemned. And
these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they
18 cast out demons; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall
take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall
not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall
recover.'
19 Now after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was taken up
20 into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of God. But they

went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord helping them and confirming the Word through the signs which followed it.]

The Gospel of Mark ends with xvi. 8. Whether the true end has been lost, or whether xvi. 8 was the intentional—though, to us, oddly abrupt—end, is disputed among scholars. But the passage which now follows (9–20) is certainly unauthentic. It is wanting in some of the best MSS. It is wanting in the S.S. It is a compilation unlike Mark in style and vocabulary. It contradicts implicitly, if not explicitly, what Mark had said as to the scene of the apparitions being Galilee. It presupposes Matthew and Luke and John. It has allusions to them all, and also to Acts.

9–11. This 'appearance' depends on John xx., but has a few touches from Luke xxiv.

12, 13. This depends on Luke xxiv. (the Emmaus story).

14. The final 'appearance,' which depends partly on Luke xxiv. 41–43 and partly on passages in Acts. The words which Jesus speaks contain many echoes. Thus 15 depends on Matthew xxviii. 19.

16. *Cp.* Acts xvi. 31; John iii. 18.

17. The signs refer to Acts ii., or to the 'tongues' of Paul in 1 Cor. xii., xiv.

18. The snake-lifting is curious. Some see an allusion to Acts xxviii. 3–5. Perhaps it is only another way of putting Luke x. 19.

19. The description of the ascension is suggested by some verses in Acts. (*Cp.* Acts i. 8–11, ii. 33.)

'The resurrection of Jesus is a Christian belief, not a fact of Gospel history. And if one were compelled to regard it as a historic fact, one would be obliged to admit that this fact is not guaranteed by evidence which is adequately sure, consistent, clear and precise' (*E. S.* II. p. 798). With these words Loisy ends his great commentary.

Extra Note on Mark xii. 1–11

Prof. Burkitt, always keen to champion the genuineness of whatever Mark says about, or ascribes to, Jesus, and specially anxious to disprove the theory of Mark's Paulinism, essays to show that the parable of the wicked husbandmen is authentic, 'a genuine historical reminiscence' of words which Jesus actually spoke on this particular occasion. One of his chief arguments is that, if it were the 'product of later Christian reflection,' it would contain a reference to the resurrection. For my part I think Loisy's elaborate analysis of the parable and his conclusions, already referred to in the notes, are more convincing than Prof. Burkitt's most ingenious pleadings. As to the absence of any reference to the resurrection, see note on verses 10, 11. Prof. Burkitt thinks that the forecast of the parable was not fulfilled. For after 70 A.D. the vineyard in the literal sense was not given to anybody else at all; it was desolate. But one need not suppose that the parable, even if later than Jesus, was written after 70. What it does suggest is that the position of vantage relative to God held before by the Jews is now to be held by 'others,' *i.e.* by Christians.

Prof. Burkitt strongly holds the view that Jesus not only foresaw his death, but regarded it as the divinely appointed means for hastening on the Day of Judgment, and thus for bringing in the Kingdom. Hence he presses the authenticity of the conversation appended to the transfiguration, in spite of its suspicious environment. 'For even in the transfiguration,' says this doughty champion of Mark, 'we have practically a narrative of what St Peter thought he remembered having seen,' while Mark ix. 9–13 is 'a piece of true historical reminiscence.' Just as the herald had to suffer and die, so too does Jesus discern that he, the Messiah, must suffer and die likewise. In John's fate he reads his own, 'even though no Scripture seemed to indicate it.' So too with Mark x. 45. There is no Paulinism here. All that the verse says is that the death of Jesus will bring ransom and redemption to many—to the true Israel. The wicked husbandmen will be slain, the sinners will perish, 'but the true Israel will be delivered from their enemies and God will reign over them. He will come and visit his vineyard.' Just so does Jesus say in xiv. 24, that his blood will be poured out 'for many'—to the advantage of many. And this result of his death was to happen very soon. I do not think that this interpretation does justice to the language of x. 45. But I agree with Prof. Burkitt that 'after the event it was easy enough to pick out Isaiah liii. and give it a Christian interpretation, but there is nothing to show that this was ever done by anyone before the Passion in Jerusalem. The one reference to Isaiah liii. in the recorded words of Jesus is the more or less ironical warning to the disciples on the last night that soon their Master would be reckoned among lawless folk (Luke xxiii. 37; *cp.* Isaiah liii. 12). The identification, the synthesis, of the Messiah and the Suffering Servant, is the result of the Crucifixion, not an anticipation of it' (Burkitt, 'Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen,' in *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religion*, Vol. II. pp. 321–328).

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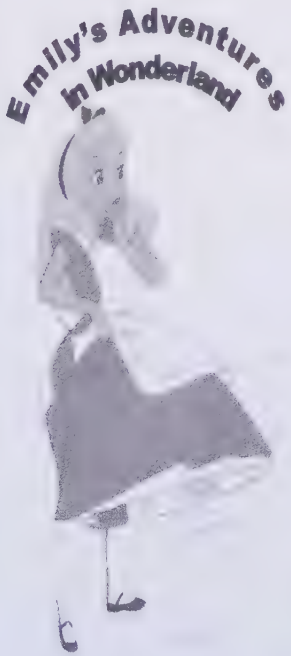

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